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PVRCHAS HIS PILGRIMES.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

The sixth, Containing *English* Voyages, to the East, West, and South parts of *America*: Many Sea and Land Fights, Inuasions *and Victories against the* Spaniards *in those parts, and the Spanish* Ilands, and Coast Townes on this side; Plantations *in* Guiana, *and many strange aduentures of English-men* amongst the *Americans*.

The seuenth, *Voyages to and about the Southerne* America, with many Marine Obseruations and Discourses of those Seas *and Lands, by* English-men *and others*.

The eighth, Voyages to and Land-Trauels in *Florida*; *Virgina, and other parts of the Notherne* AMERICA. French Plantings, *Spanish* Supplantings; *English-Virginian* voyages, and to the Ilands AZORES.

The ninth, English *Plantations, Discoueries, Acts, and* Occurrents, in *Virginia* and *Summer Ilands*, since the *Yeere* 1606. *till* 1624.

The tenth, *English* Discoueries and Plantations in *New England*, New-found-land; *with the Patent and Voyages to* New *Scotland*: Relations also of the Fleets set forth by *Queene* ELIZABETH *against the* Spaniards.

The Fourth Part.

Vnus Deus, Vna Veritas.

LONDON
Printed by *William Stansby* for *Henrie Fetherstone*, and are to be sold at his shop in *Pauls* Church-yard at the signe of the Rose.
1625.

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Bayerische
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MÜNCHEN

TO THE MOST REVERENDFATHER IN GOD, GEORGE,

Lord Archb. of Canterburie His Grace,

Primate of all ENGLAND *and Metropolitan,*
One of His MAIESTIES most HONORABLE PRIVIE COVNCELL,
His very good Lord.

HAuing brought vnto your Grace the Sheafe of my first Fruits to bee waued before the Lord, *I am bold now also to offer* (not after 7. *but aboue* 77. weekes) *these* waue loaues for my harueſt, *that both may bee hallowed by the ſame Prieſtly hand: in which reſpect your Graces Name which firſt honored my* Pilgrimage, *hath the laſt place in theſe* Pilgrime-*Volumes, that my* All *might be bleſſed by your gracious embracing* (*the* Alpha *and* Omega *of my Dedications*) *and might bee by your Fatherly benediction commended to vulgar vſe. The ſutableneſſe of the former worke to your Graces Place and recreations, cauſed the former preſumption: but now the Author, by frequent Dedications knowne and graciouſly acknowledged Yours* (*how vnprofitable a ſeruant ſoeuer*) *is guiltie not of ſingle boldneſſe; beautifying the Frontiſpice with His Highneſſe Name vnto your Graces entertainment* (*eſpecially* Leuit. 23.

in this time so many wayes Festiuall) that your Graces Name and entertainment might so much more Entitle and Endeare the same to His Highnesse. The authorising of Books in iustest order belongeth to your Grace, as doth the Author also: whose mistie conceits of ignorance, or smokie vapours of ambition, suffering the exhaling rayes of Princely heat and Highnesse, hope in the Middle Region *of your Gracious and* vertuous *moderation to be so mildly attempered, that they shall neither fall short in vanishing dewes, nor be reiected after a short blaze as falling Starres, nor transcend into combustious Comets, nor fall downe in furious Stormes, but gently descend as fresh and fruitfull Showers on the thirstie Candid Readers. Pardon farre-fetched similitudes to a Historie of farre-fetched rarities, and the Elements of the world borrowed to patronise our world of literate Elements, not being (as the commendable labours of Others) a Booke of Voyages and Trauels in the world, but the* World *historised in a world of Voyages and Trauels. Wherein our Ship hath beene longer in her Circum-Nauigation then any of the World-Compassers here related; often in danger to be ouerset, while the Authors impotent and impatient* Genius *filled all her sailes to the Top and Top-gallant beyond the proportion of her balast; whereby some leakes of vnwitting errors, happening in so new a course thorow so various Seas, implore your Graces indulgence to the Ship and Pilot. Sir* Francis Drake *a Ministers sonne, after a happy inuironing of the Globe, feasted Queene* Elisabeth *aboord his* Argo, *and then laid her vp at* Deptford, *deuoting her Carkasse to Time, Her (or rather his) exploits to Fame and Eternitie. An English Minister, beginneth and endeth his more then Circling Nauigation with the glorious Name of His Maiestie, in poore, but his best entertainment, and returning thus manned and freighted, humbly sueth to bee laid vp in the Liberties and Libraries of Saint* Iames, Yorke-house, Westminster, *and* Lambith. *Here also the Pilot further petitioneth, that his Body being more leakie then his Ship, your Grace (to whom principally the promise was made) will accept this Part of payment in satisfaction of the whole*

whole debt of his Europæan *Peregrination and Christian Visitations. But a long Epistle were injurie to your Graces more necessarie imployments for the Church and State: My selfe am the Epistle, this Worke the Seale, this Epistle but the Superscription, these Pilgrimes all humble Sutors for your Gracious fauour to the worst of*

Your Graces

Chap.

SAMVEL PVRCHAS.

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ENGLISH VOYAGES, TO THE EAST, WEST, AND SOVTH PARTS OF AMERICA: MANY SEA AND LAND FIGHTS, INVASIONS AND VICTORIES AGAINST THE SPANIARDS IN those parts, and the *Spanish* Ilands, and coast Townes on *this side*; *plantations in* GVIANA; *and many* strange aduentures of *Englishmen* amongst the AMERICANS.

THE SIXTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

A briefe Relation of the seuerall Voyages, vndertaken and performed by the Right Honorable, GEORGE, *Earle of* Cumberland, *in his owne person, or at his owne charge; and by his direction: collected out of the Relations and Iournals of credible persons Actors therein.*

THE first Voyage of this Right Honorable Earle was intended to the South Sea: and begun from *Gruneſend*, Iune 26. 1586. with three Ships and a Pinnace; the *Red Dragon* Admirall, of 260. Tunnes, with 130. men, commanded by Captaine *Robert Widrington*: the *Barke Clifford* Vice-admirall, of 130. Tunnes, with 70. men, commanded by Captaine *Chriſtopher Liſter* (he had beene taken priſoner in *Barbarie* at the battell of *Alcaſſar*, in which King *Sebaſtian* was ſlaine) the *Roe* Rere-admirall, commanded by Captaine *Hawes*: the *Dorothee*, a ſmall Pinnace of Sir *Walter Raleighs* (*This voyage being publiſhed at large in Maſter* Hakluyts *printed voyages, I will here but briefly runne ouer.*) Septemb. 7. they fell with the Coaſt of *Barbarie*, haling in with the Road of *Santa Cruce*: after that they anchored in *Rio del Oro*, and ſearched vp the Riuer, finding it fourteene or fifteene leagues vpward as broad as at the mouth, ſome two leagues ouer. The laſt of September they reſolued for *Sierra Leona*, from whence they departed the ſeuenth of Nouember. The fourth of Ianuarie they fell with the *American* ſhoare in 30. degrees and 40. minutes South latitude, the weather temperate. Ian. 10. they tooke (a little ſhort of the Riuer of *Plate*) a ſmall *Portugall* ſhip, and in her *Abraham Cock* of *Leigh* neere *London*, married in that Country, who was brought home by the Admirall. They learned that in that Riuer were fiue Townes each of ſeuentie houſholds or more. *Buenos Aeres*, fiftie leagues vp the Riuer, the reſt fortie or fiftie aboue each other; *Tuccaman* the vppermoſt 230. leagues from the entrance: In which was ſtore of Corne, Cattell, Fruits, but neither Siluer nor Gold. In this Barke were fiue and fortie *Negroes*. The next day they tooke another, in which were fiue and thirtie *Negro* women, foure or fiue Friars, one an *Iriſhman*. Their Bookes, Beades, and Pictures, coſt aboue 1000. Duckets. The Biſhop of *Tuccaman* had ſent for them to take poſſeſſion of a Monaſterie. They learned of Maſter *Iohn Drake* who were in conſort with Captaine *Penton*, caſt away

First voyage 1586.

The *Spaniſh* King had imbargued all *Engliſh* ſhips in his Ports of *Spaine* and *Portugall* 1585. whence warres were not only expected at home, but euery where honorably ſought and happily preuented. See *Hak. tom. 3. Sierra Leona.*

Abraham Cock. Andrew Battell was one of his companie. See of this voyage, *Tom. 1. l. 7. c. 3.*

Iohn Drake. Fenton and *Wards* expedition. See *Hak. l. 3.* I had it alſo written.

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away neere the Riuer of *Plate*, his companie taken or ſlaine by the Saluages: of which *Iohn Drake* and *Richard Fairweather* eſcaped with two or three others in a Canoa to the *Spaniards* and liued in thoſe parts. Here alſo they tooke *Miles Philips* left in the Countrey by Sir *Iohn Hawkins*.

Baya. After counſell taken they fell Aprill 9. with the Land of *Braſil* in 18. degrees and a Terſe, and watered in the Road of *Camana*. They proceeded and anchored before the Towne of *Baya*, and found in the Harbour eight Ships and one Caruell. The next day they forced the *Portugals* *Bold courage.* to abandon foure of the beſt of thoſe Ships, and towards them forth in deſpight of infinite ſtore of great and ſmall ſhot from the ſhoare and ſhips: one Hulke hauing in her foure and twentie pieces of Ordnance. The leaſt of theſe prizes was 220. Tunnes. After this they haled the Hulke and commanded the Maſter to follow them, which he did, together with a Caruell with fifie Butts of wine. They fetched reliefe from the ſhoare alſo in deſpite of innumerable *Indians* and all the enemies forces. May 24. they tooke a ſhip of 120. Tunnes laden with Meale and Sugar. But the voyage to the South Sea was defeated by ſome mens deſire to returne, in which Captaine *Hulks diſaſter.* *Delamour* tooke a ſmall Pinnace. The *Flemmiſh* Hulke taken into the Fleet in ſtead of the *George* caſt off, furniſhed with her men, ſuddenly tooke fire and periſhed, Ship, Men, and Goods. September 39. the reſidue reached the Coaſt of *England* after an vnprofitable and vnfortunate voyage.

The Earle in Sluce, 88. ſeruice. IN the yeare 1587. when the Towne of *Sluſe* was beſeeged by the Duke of *Parma*, Sir *Roger Williams* being Gouernour there, the Earle put himſelfe in perſon to make proofe of his valour in that ſeruice, but at his arriuall found the Towne ſurrendred vnto the Duke, the ſaid Sir *Roger* being not able to hold out longer. *Anno* 1588. amongſt many of the Nobility which diſtributed themſelues into diuers of her Maieſties Shippes vpon the approach of the *Spaniſh* Armada, the Earle put himſelfe aboord the *Bonaduenture* commanded by Captaine *George Raymond*; when *Second voyage 1588.* they wanne that honour that no Sea can drowne, no age can weare out. The Queene ſo accepted this Noble Earles reſolution, that ſhe gaue him leaue the ſame yeare to goe as Generall, and for his greater honour and ability was pleaſed to lend him the *Golden Lion*, one of the Shippes Royall, to be the Admirall; which he victualled and furniſhed at his owne charge and aduenture, hauing Commiſſion to purſue his intended voyage towards the *Spaniſh* coaſts, vnder the broad Seale of *England*, bearing date the fourth of *October*, 1588. Attended with many braue Gentlemen he ſet forth about the end of *October*, and in the Narrow Seas met with a Shippe of *Hare taken.* *Dunkerke* called the *Hare*, laden with Merchandiſe for *Spaine*, which after ſome fight he tooke and ſent home. But contrary windes firſt ſuſpended, and after that a ſtorme (which forced them to cut the maine Maſte ouerboord) deprined him of further hopes and ability to proſecute his true deſignes.

Third voyage 1589. HIs ſpirit remaining neuertheleſſe higher then the windes, and more reſolutely by ſtormes compact & vnited in it ſelfe, he procured anew of her Maieſtie the *Victory*, one of the Royal Nauie, accompanied with the *Meg* and *Margaret*, two ſmall Ships and one *Caruell*; which were ſet forth at his charges, and manned with 400. Mariners and Souldiers: the Admirall commanded by his Lordſhip, and vnder him Captaine *Chriſtopher Lyſter*: the *Meg* by Captaine *William Mounſon* Viceadmirall: the *Margaret* by Captaine *Edward Careles alias Write* Rereadmirall: the *Caruell* by Captaine *Pigeon*. The eighteenth of *Iune* they ſet forth from *Plimmouth* and within *The League then was enemy to Queene Elizabeth.* three dayes met with three *French* Ships, *Leaguers* of *New Hauen*, and Saint *Maloes* laden with *New-found-land* fiſh: two of them with the *Margaret* not able to endure the Sea, were ſent for *England*. The thirteenth of *Iuly* his Lordſhip met with eleuen *Dutch* Ships which at firſt made ſhew to abide a fight, and after a few ſhot yeelded and ſent their Maſters aboord ſhewing their Paſports from *Hamborough*, *Lubecke*, *Bremen*, *Pomerland* and *Callice*: who confeſſed that they had *Iew of Lisbone.* goods aboord to the valu of foure thouſand & fiue hundred pounds of a *Iew* of *Lisbone*, which being deliuered and diſtributed, his Lordſhip ſet ſaile for the *Aſores*. The firſt of *Auguſt* he had ſight *The Azores foure Ships taken.* of Saint *Michael*, and to diſguiſe himſelfe put forth a *Spaniſh* Flagge. Eſpying foure Shippes in the Roade, he reſolued that night to cut their Cables and to bring them away: which he accordingly performed before he was deſcried. The *Spaniards* in three of them leaping into the Sea, with much noiſe and outcry gaue the alarme to the Town, which made many vaine ſhots at his Boate in the darke. The fourth was the *Falcon* of *London*, vnder the name of a *Scottiſh* Ship, hauing a *Scottiſh* Pilot. The three *Spaniards* were laden from *Siuill* with Wine and Salles Oyle. The Pinnace tooke a ſmall Shippe wherein was thirty tunnes of *Madera* wines, ſame Wollen Cloath, Silke and Taffata. The Carracks were departed from *Tercera* eight dayes before. He manned his Boates and obtained refreſhing at *Flores* profeſſing himſelfe a friend to their King *Don Antonio*. From thence rowing a ſhipboord, the Boate was purſued two miles together by a monſtrous *A monſtrous Fiſh.* Fiſh, whoſe Finnes many times appeared about the gils aboue water foure or fiue yards aſunder, and his iawes gaping a yard and a halfe wide, not without great danger of ouerturning the Pinnace, and deuouring ſome of the company: but at the laſt they all eſcaped. Here his Lordſhippe met and accepted into conſort Captaine *Dawes* with his Shippe and Pinnace,

Pinnace, a Shippe of Sir *Walter Raleighs*, commanded by Captaine *Markesbury*, and the *Barke Lime*.

Hauing intelligence that the Carracks were at *Tercera*, he came vp to the road of *Fyall* the seuen and twentieth of *August*, and descrying certaine Shippes at anchor close aboord the shoare, he sent his Boates which boorded a Ship of 250. tunne armed with foureteene cast Peeces, and continued fight till a supply of Boates came from the Fleete to second them, and then recouered the prize. The *Spaniards* (except *Iohn de Palma*) leapt all ouer-boord to swimme to the shoare, which was so neere that the Ship was moored to the Castle, from whence the great Ordnance plaied all the time of the fight: onely it was not a play to the Master of the Caruell, whose calfe of his legge was shot away. This Shippe came laden from *Port-Ricco* with Sugar, Ginger, and Hides. The Ship-boates fetched also out of the Roade some other small Ships laden from *Guinnee* with Elephants teeth, Graines, Coca nuts, and Goate Skinnes: most of which prizes he sent for *England*. The next day, eight *Englishmen* prisoners stole from *Tercera* in a small Boate, hauing no other yard for their maine saile then two Pipe staues. These told his Lordship, that the Carrackes were departed a weeke before, which moued him to returne for *Fyall* with purpose to take that Towne.

See *Linschot*, c. 96.

A prize of *Port Ricco*.

Guinnee Ships taken.

He arriued, *September* the tenth, landing his men, the *Platforme* shot at them in their march, but they comming vp found it and the Towne abandoned, and tooke thereof possession. This Towne containeth 500. households well and strongly built of Lime and Stone, well stored with fresh water, delicate Fruites and Grapes of diuers sorts. He set a guard to preserue the Churches and Religious Houses, and staid there foure dayes till the ransome was brought him, which was 2000. Duckets, most of Church Plate. He shipped from the *Platforme* eight and fiftie Peeces of Iron Ordnance. The Gouernour of *Gracioſa* sent his Lordship sixtie Butts of Wine, but excused his want of fresh water. A Ship of *Weymouth* came thither with a *Spanish* prize worth sixteene thousand pounds, and brought newes of the West *Indie* Fleete shortly to come; which after three or foure dayes playing to and fro in rough weather (I let passe a Shippe of Saint *Malo*, which he took laden with *New-found-land* Fish) he espied going into the hauen at *Angra* in *Tercera* to the number of fifteene saile, being too farre to Leeward to come neere them: and they being strong and fortified with the Castle and Fort, he was forced to giue ouer. And although he left a Pinnace for aduice, intending to waite for them at Sea; yet she returned with newes that they had taken off their sailes, and downe their topmasts with resolution of longer stay. Wherefore he sailed to Saint *Michaels*, and being there repelled from watering, went to Saint *Maries*, where they found two *Brasil* Ships laden with Sugar, which the Flanders sought to bring a ground: but Captaine *Lyster* hasting the attempt in the face of the enemie and danger of continuall shoare-shot, boarded the vttermost, cut asunder her Cables and Hawsers and towed her away, whiles Captaine *Davies* entred the other then a ground and abandoned, and was forced to forsake her. Two men were slaine and sixteene hurt. But a greater losse followed whiles the Earle in person sought to get the other ship, Captaine *Lyster* rashly disualuing the enemies force, the Barre also detayning them on ground in the midst of danger from the enemie, to the losse and hurt of eightie men. His Lordship receiued three shot vpon his Target, and a fourth on the side, not deepe, his head also broken with stones that the bloud couered his face, both it and his legs likewise burned with fire-balls.

Fyall taken.

The spoile.

Ship of Saint *Malo*.

Captaine *Lysters* valorous attempt.

His audacious enterprise and rash endangering the rest.

The *Meg* being leakie was sent with the prize into *England*, and his Lordship held his course for *Spaine*. By the way he tooke a *Portugal* ship laden from *Brasil*, and after that another which was one of the fifteene which had before entred *Angra*, being a ship of 400. Tunnes, laden from *Mexico* and Saint *Iohn de Vlhua* with seuen hundred hides, sixe chists of Cochenele, certaine chists of Sugar and some Siluer. The Captaine was an *Italian*, and had in her fiue and twentie thousand Duckets aduenture. Thus full of ioy they resolued homewards, but Sea-fortunes are variable, hauing two inconstant Parents, Aire and Water. His Lordship sent Captaine *Lyster* in the *Mexican* prize for *Portsmouth*, which at *Helcliffe* in *Cornwall* was wracked, the Captaine and all his companie drowned except fiue or sixe. Scarcitie of drinke caused by contrarie windes, caused his Lordship to seeke to recouer some part of *Ireland* for relieſe; but wayting for entrance was put off againe, their Beere and Water being all spent. Three spoonfuls of vineger were allowed to each man at a meale with some small relieſe squeezed out of the lees of their wine vessels: which continued fourteene dayes without other supply then the drops of Haile and Raine, carefully saued with Sheets and Napkins. Some dranke vp the soyled running water at the Scupper-holes; others saued by deuise the runnings downe the Masts and tarred Ropes; and many licked the moist Boards, Railes, and Masts with their tongues like Dogs. Yet was that Raine so intermingled with the sprie of the fourming Seas in that extreme storme, that it could not be healthfull: yea, some in their extremitie of thirst dranke themselues to death with their Cannes of salt-water in their hands. Notwithstanding this extreme scarsitie, his noble charitie caused equall distribution of the small store they had aswell to all his prisoners as to his owne people. By this time the lamentable cryes of the sicke and hurt men for drinke was heard in euery corner of the ship: for want whereof many perished (ten or twelue euery night) more

American ships taken.

Captaine *Lyster* drowned.

Miserable distresse for want of drink.

Salt deadly draught.

The Earles care and courage.

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more then otherwise had miscarried in the whole Voyage. The storme continuing added to their misery, tearing the ship in such sort, as his Lordships Cabbin, the dining roome, and halfe Decke became all one, and he was forced to seeke a new lodging in the hold. His minde was yet vndaunted and present, his bodily presence and preuentions readie. The last of Nouember hee spake with an *English* ship, which promised him the next morning two or three tunnes of Wine, but soone after vnfortunately came on ground. The next day hee had some supply of Beere, but not sufficient to enable him to vndertake for *England*. Hee therefore (the winde seruing) put into *Ventre Hauen*, in the Westermost part of *Ireland*, where hauing well refreshed, the twentieth of December he set sayle for *England*. His Lordship in this Voyage tooke thirteene Prizes, but that which was worth more then all the rest was lost, yet the profit redoubled his aduentures. At his arriuall in *London*, hee met with the vnfortunate newes of the death of his eldest Sonne *Francis* Lord *Clifford*, which died the twelfth of December, 1589. yet was comforted with the birth of the Ladie *Anne Clifford* (borne the last of Ianuary following (his Daughter, and by the death of *Robert* Lord *Clifford*, who dyed the fourteenth of May 1591.) his heire, now the vertuous wife of the Right Honourable *Richard* Earle of *Dorset*.

Ventre Hauen in *Ireland*.

The Countesse of *Dorset* borne Ian. 31. 1589.

The fourth Voyage 1591.

THis Honourable Sparke was further kindled and enflamed by former disasters, and obtayning of her Majestie a new ship called the *Garland*, a ship of sixe hundred tunnes, added the *Samson* Vice-admirall, a ship of his Lordships, of two hundred and sixtie tunnes, the *Golden Noble* Reare-admirall, and to them the *Allagarta*, and a small Pinnasse called the *Discouerie*. With these he set forth 1591. at his owne charge to the Coast of *Spaine*, where hee tooke good purchase, a ship laden at Saint *Thomas* with Sugars, which he was forced to cast off by an irrecouerable leake: another also which after long contrary winds in her course for *England*, was driuen to put into a *Spanish* Harbour for want of victuals. But in two other hee was more vnfortunate. For Captayne *Munson* being sent to dispatch the goods, and the *Golden Noble* to accompany them (which the nights calmenesse prohibited) the ships being thus seuered, were by the Gallies of *Penecha* set vpon, his Lordship being within hearing of the shot, but by reason of the calme not able to releeue them: so that the two ships were recouered, Captayne *Bayly* slaine, Captayne *Munson* and the rest carried Prisoners to *Penecha*, and thence to *Lisbone*. His Lordship wrote to the Archduke *Albert*, then Vice-roy, for their good vsage, otherwise threatning requitall to theirs of whom he presumed hee should take store. For feare whereof the common sort were returned a few dayes after new clothed, Captayne *Munson* with sixe others only detayned. His Lordship hauing intelligence of a great Armada prepared in the *Groyne*, to bee sent against the Lord *Thomas Howard* then Admirall of her Majesties fleet at the *Asores*, attending to surprize the West *Indian* fleet, sent the *Moone-shine* with aduise; otherwise the Lord *Howard* had runne the fortune of Sir *Richard Greenuile*, who lost his ship and life, or rather exchanged the one for honor, and for the other made the *Spaniards* the greatest losers in so deere a purchase. Thus weakned by disaduenture, he was forced to returne for *England*.

Ship of Saint *Thome* taken.

Chance of warre: Takers taken.

Aduise.

Sir R. *Greenuile*.

Fifth Voyage 1592.

HIs Lordship considering the inconuenience of her Maiesties command, not to lay any *Spanish* ship aboard with her ships, lest both might together be destroyed by fire, rather chose to seeke out amongst the Merchants, then to make further vse of the ships Royall. And so hee hired the *Tigre* a ship of six hundred tunnes, furnished by the Owners for three hundred pounds a moneth wages, in which he went in person, there to adding his owne ship the *Samson*, and the *Golden Noble*, with two small ships.

Ill beginnings.

These in the yeere 1592. were set forth, but so crossed with winds, as three moneths victualls were spent in Harbours, before they could get to the Westward of *Plymmouth*: whereby also one of his Lordships principall designes was frustrate, which was the taking of the Carrikes outward bound, as also the meanes to performe his intended Voyage to the West *Indies*. Whereupon, not like to satisfie that expectation which might arise from a personall expedition of his Lordship, he transferred the chiefe command to Captayne *Norton*, and returned to *London*, leauing instructions with the Admirall to goe for the *Asores*. Captayne *Norton* neere Cape *Finisterre*, met two of the King of *Spaines* Gallions, returning from *Brest* in *Brittanie*; in fight with whom the *Golden Noble* receiued a shot in her fore-mast, which made them doubt of her further sufficiencie: but hauing fished it as well as they could, Captayne *Cave* her Commander espied an Argosie bound for *Lisbone*, and gaue chase to her within shot of the Fort of *Cascais* within fiue fathome water of a shoald called *Catchops*, and there in sight of the men on shoare laid her aboard, and returned into *England* with her.

His returne, and Captayne *Norton* substituted.

Argosie taken.

Flores courtesie.

Santa Cruce a Carrike.

The Admirall with the rest of the fleet arriued at the *Asores*, and hauing watered and refreshed at *Flores* (which that Iland permitted to all men of warre, as not able to withstand them) put to Sea and spreading themselues, the *Santa Cruce* was descried, which made all the haste she could for *Angra* in *Tercera*. They hasted after, and being within halfe a league of her, they espied Sir *Iohn Burroughs* in the *Re-bucke*, a ship of Sir *Walter Raleighs* of two hundred tunnes (which had ridden vnseene on the Easterne side of the Iland) standing to crosse the Carrickes way, so that

Sir. *I. Burrough.*

now

now ſhe was forced, the wind being Weſterly to luffe vp, & recouer the Road of *Lagoona* on the South end of *Flores*. The law and cuſtom of the Sea, making al ſhips of war then together (though not formerly conſorted) equall ſharers according to their tunnage of the prizes gained, Captayne *Norton* out of ciuil reſpect (and not needing help) conſulted with Sir *Iohn Burroughs*, and they agreed to board her the next morning. But a ſtorme in the night forced them al from their anchors, which the next day being ſomwhat alleiad they recouered the road & found the Carrike warped as neer the ſhore as they could, hauing indeuored alſo to put aſhore ſuch goods as time would permit) and fired, with all her ſayles and flags vp and Ordnance laden, which went off on euery ſide when the fire came to them: a ſight more pleaſing to the *Portugals* then the *Engliſh*, whom thoſe accounted now the Owners of that conſumed ſubſtance. The ſurge alſo (iſſue of the late ſtorme) ſcarſly permitted their Boates to land, to ſeeke to get wrackes, and what the *Portugals* had carried aſhare: euery man (for feare of wracking the Boates on the Rockes) being vp to the neck, and ſome ouer head and eares before they could obtayne the ſhoare; where alſo they were forced on hands and knees to climbe vp a ſteep hill; on the top whereof ſtood many Ilanders tumbling downe great ſtones on them. But all difficulties were made eaſie by reſolution and hope, which brought them to the Towne (now forſaken by her Inhabitants) and made them Maſters of the wracked goods, which ſeemed to flye thither for refuge from the fire and water.

Sea-cuſtome of ſharing.

Portugals fire their Carike.

Aiui ſacra fames.

Towne taken.

Whiles they were thus employed about this burnt Carrike, Sir *Robert Croſſe* Captayne of the *Foreſight* of her Maieſties, Maſter *Tomſon* Captayne of the *Daintie* (a ſhip of Sir *Iohn Hawkins*) Captayne *Newport* in the *Golden Dragon* came into this conſort. They were much grieued with this ſpectacle, but comforted that there had but one of the fiue Carrickes paſſed, this had fallen into this terrible Purgatory, and three were ſtill expected. They ſpread themſelues, & continued expecting from the nine and twentieth of Iune, till the third of Auguſt, at which time Maſter *Tomſon* firſt had ſight of the great Carricke, called *Madre de Dios*, and comming vp, gaue her a broad-ſide of Ordnance; & falling a ſterne came (hauing laden his Ordnance) again and againe to deliuer his peales to hinder her way, till the reſt of the fleet could come, the Carricke anſwering with the like. Sir *Iohn Burroughs* and the *Golden Dragon* came in about three a clocke, and Sir *Iohn* receiued a ſhot of a Canon Perier vnder water in the Bread-roome, which made him beare vp to ſtop his leake. Sir *Robert Croſſe* was the next, who to giue her his broad ſide, came ſo neere, that becalming his ſayles he vnwillingly fell aboard the Carricke, which hauing laſhed her faſt by the Strowdes, ſayled away with her by her ſide. The Earle of *Cumberlands* ſhips, worſt of ſayle, were the laſt which came vp, about eleuen a clocke at night, not minding then to boord her: But hearing the *Foreſight*, calling to Captayne *Norton*, *And you be men, ſaue the Queenes ſhip:* he gaue order to the *Samſon*, to lay her aboord on the one ſide, and promiſing to doe the like in the *Tigre* on the other, which about twelue a clock was performed. The *Tigre* running ſtemling aboord, broke her beake-head to the huddings; the *Samſon* laid the *Foreſight* aboord, and entred thorow her into the Carricke, whereby the *Foreſight* without entring any one man, tooke opportunitie to free her ſelfe.

Madre de Dios a great Carrik

The fight.

Queenes ſhips danger.

Carike entred.

And now both ſhips companies being entred into the Fore-cheynes, the Fore-caſtle was ſo high, that without any reſiſtance the getting vp had beene difficult. But heere was ſtrong reſiſtance, ſome irrecouerably falling by the boord, and the aſſault continued an houre and an halfe, ſo braue a bootie making the men fight like Dragons, till the Fore-caſtle being gained, the *Portugals* ſtowed themſelues in holds. The *Engliſh* now hunted after nothing but pillage, and were readie to goe to the eares about it, each man lighting a Candle, the negligence of which fired a Cabbin, in which were ſixe hundred Cartrages of Powder. The rumour hereof made them all readie to forſake the Carrike, when Captayne *Norton* with ſome others with buckets of water, aduentured the quenching of that fire: Feare of leake by the fight and neerneſſe of the ſhoare were great parts of his care. All theſe dangers freed, contention about ſo rich a pillage was welnigh kindling in the Commanders, beeing ſo diuerſly commanded and employed: but Sir *Iohn Burroughes* pretending the Queenes name, Captayne *Norton* yeelded that hee ſhould take care of the Carricke, which he accordingly repayred, lands about eight hundred *Negros* on *Corno*, detaynes the ordinary Saylers, commits the Gentlemen to a ſhip of the Earle of *Cumberlands* to goe whether they would, who eſcaped not a ſecond rifling by other *Engliſhmen* of warre, which tooke from them (thus negligently diſmiſſed) nine hundred Diamonds beſides other odde ends. The Earle of *Cumberland* had notice by a Pinnaſſe ſent from Captayne *Norton* twentie dayes before the Carricke came into *England*, and had Commiſſion from the Queene for her ſafe harbouring. Hardly ſhe eſcaped the Rockes of *Silly* (the *Tigre* alſo participating in that danger) and came to *Dartmouth*, being ſo huge and vnweldie a ſhip, as ſhee was neuer remooued out of that Harbour, but there laid vp her bones. His Lordſhips ſhare would haue amounted according to his employment of ſhips and men, to two or three Millions, but becauſe his Commiſſion large enough otherwiſe, had not prouided for the caſe of his returne, and ſubſtituting another in his place, ſome adiudged it to depend on the Queenes mercie and bountie. Neyther yet by reaſon of ſome mens imbezelling had her Majeſtie the account of the fifth part of her value; and

Fight and *Engliſh* Victorie.

Danger by fire.

Contention about the bootie.

In *M. Hak.* his ſecond Tome, this Carikes purchaſe is attributed principally to Sir *I. Burgh.* there may the Reader alſo ſee her dimenſions & goods, &c. I haue here followed that Relation which I found, and leaue free iudgement to the Reader. My copie alſo argueth my Lords caſe, which I haue omitted.

the

the Earle was faine to accept of sixe and thirtie thousand pounds for him and his, as out of gift.

Sixt voyage. 1593.

THe next yeere 1593. his Lorship procured two ships Royall, the *Golden Lion* Admirall commanded by himselfe, the *Bonadventure* Vice-admirall, and therewith employed the *Backe Chaldon*, the *Pilgrime*, the *Anthonie*, and the *Discouerie*: which three last when hee came to the Coast of *Spaine* hee sent for the West *Indies*. Hee tooke from the protection of fourteene great Hulkes, two *French* ships of Saint *Malowes* (which then held for the league, and were therefore reputed in state of *Spaniards*) of great value, one of which he carried with him, and sent the other into *England*. The *Spaniards* hauing intelligence, set forth an Armada against him, which waited for him at the Ilands, and the Earle hearing of their beeing at *Flores*, and within fiue leagues of them, lighted on a ship which they had sent to descry, which before shee could recouer her fleet, he tooke. He learning by these that the *Spanish* fleet trebled the force of his, hauing kept company with them one day, quitted them and kept tenne or twelue leagues distant from them three weekes. In which space he fell sicke beyond hope of life, without returne or refreshing from the shoare. Captayne *Monson* with much hazard, procured him some refreshing from *Corue*; and leauing the rest of the ships (which tooke one Prize after) hee returned for *England*, this prouing the most gainfull Voyage which he made before or after.

Two *French* ships very rich taken.

Scout taken.

His sicknesse and returne.

The seuenth Voyage. 1593.

THe *Anthonie* of one hundred and twentie tunnes, commanded by Captayne *Iames Langton*, Pilot *Antonio Martino* a *Spaniard*, which had long liued in those *Indies*, and wel acquainted with those Ports: the *Pilgrime* of one hundred tunnes, commanded by Captayne *Francis Slingsbie*, *Diego Petrus* a *Spanish* Pilot, and the *Discouerie*: these three after farewell solemnely taken and giuen by shot on all hands, shaped their Course for the *Antillas*, and fell with the Iland of Saint *Lucia*, there and at *Matinnio*, refreshing themselues three dayes, they concluded to attempt the taking of the *Rancherias*, which are the Pearle-fishings of *Margarita*, contayning sixe or seuen seuerall small Villages, which for that purpose they inhabit but not aboue one of them at once, when their fishing failes there, remouing to another and so by course, hauing emptie houses standing alway readie for that purpose. The Pearles for more safetie are monethly carried to the Towne of *Margarita* three leagues from the waters side. They kept out of sight all day for feare of discouerie, and at night landed and visited two emptie *Rancherias*: but taking a *Spaniard* which then came thither in a Boate with two *Indians*, they made him their guide to the inhabited *Rancheria*, fiue leagues off, commanding the Boates to row along the shoare, and not to double the point till euening. The two Captaynes with eight and twentie men, marched by land in the heat, which with want of water much annoyed them. They came thither in the beginning of the night, and agreed to assault the place in three places at once, notwithstanding their small numbers, lest they should gather head any where. The *Spaniards* at first thought it had beene some false alarme of the Gouernour, and bid *away with this iesting*, but finding it earnest, hastily fled to the woods. Thus did they take the Towne, with some two thousand pounds value in Pearle besides what other pillage the Souldiers gate. Their weapons they brake for feare of pursuite.

Pearl-fishings.

Rancheria assaulted and taken.

In the morning they went aboord the fishing Boats, and tooke their Oysters gotten the night before: and gate aboord their ships (much in suspense for them, not knowing of this sudden enterprize) the fifth day after they had gone from them. The shippes now comming before the Towne demanded ransome for their houses and Canoas, to redeeme which from destruction they gaue two thousand Duckets in Pearle. But Caruels of aduice hauing euery-where giuen intelligence of them, at *Cumana* they found them on their guard and returned, not without losse. Thence they coasted *Terra Firma*, till they came to the Ilands of *Aruba* and *Corresao*, where they landed and refreshed themselues: Thence to *Rio de Hache*, which they thought to haue taken, but found the enemy ready for them, with other intelligence that they had carried their goods into the Mountaynes.

Aruba and *Corresao*. R. de Hache.

Strange watering.

They therefore set saile for *Hispaniola*, came to Cape *Tuberone*, and thence to the Bay of Saint *Nicholas*, and thence to *Fort Plat*, and others on the North side: thence to *Mona*, and so *Sauona*, where they watered againe, in this manner. The Iland is low destitute of any Spring, and to the Sea a small fine Sand. Not twenty paces from the wash of the Sea digging a hole and setting therein a Hogshead (the head knocked out) water is plentifully taken, seeming to be no other then the Sea water, losing the saltenesse in that passage. Thence they went to the Riuer of *Socko*, about 5. l. Eastward of Saint *Domingo*, and went in the night 4. l. vp and suddenly surprised an *Estanca*, that is, a Farme place, where slaues keepe the great mens cattle, make their *Cassani* bread, dresse their Ginger and Fruites, and doe other offices of Husbandry. Being thereof possessed, they came to parlie for ransome of their Houses, and for their *Negros*, for which they gaue them the flesh of thirtie Beeues with *Cassani* and Fruites. Beefe will not keepe in those parts aboue foure and twenty houres, vnlesse first salted, and then dried in the Sunne, being first cut into two sides like Bacon, without any bone left in it, nor any peece of flesh thicker then

Estancha or *Stantia*.

Beefe how kept there.

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a mans hand. It must first be searched with a Knife, then rubbed ouer with Salt, and hauing so remained twelue houres must be dried in the Sunne: and foure hot dayes drying will saue it sufficiently.

Other *Estanças* being likewise taken yeelded like contributions. From thence they went vp on another Riuer called *Manaseua*, where there was an *Ingenio* of Sugars which they tooke for their prouisions and caused the owner to ransome it from burning. Thence they went to the mouth of the harbour of Saint *Domingo*, and rid there at the East side of the same, at Point *Torrosilo* to intercept any Shipping comming forth. The Sergeant Mayor came hither to treat for ransome of some prisoners, and with him an *Englishman* of Captaine *Lancasters* company of Captain *Raymunds* fleere, whose Ship was newly cast away comming out of the East *Indies* into those parts, a little to the West of Saint *Domingo* at *Acon*. The *Spaniards* set forth two Caruels to intercept the Boates, which they did, but the Ships recouered the taken and takers together. They brought foure brasse Falcons of Captaine *Lancasters* Ship, ten others of Iron they left for the heauinesse being somewhat farre from the water. They tooke also a fine Frigot hidden vnder the trees, which they brought for *England*. Ri. *Manseua*. Cap. *Raymund*.

Thence they went for *Iamaica*, and there found two Barkes laden with Hides and *Cannafistola*, one of which they manned and sent for *England*, taken by a *Frenchman of warre* by the way. Thence they went to *Cuba*, to Cape *Corrientes*, and Cape Saint *Antonio*, to expect shipping comming for the *Hauana*, but in vaine. Thus after eight moneths spent in the Country, the *Antonie* and the *Frigot* went to the Bay of *Honduras*; the *Pilgrime* at *Hauana* spent some few dayes, and then set saile for *England*, where they arriued in *Plimmouth*, *May* 14. 1594. *Iamaica*. Bay of *Honduras*.

The *Antonie* and the *Frigot* within foure leagues of *Porto cauallo* descried seuen Shippes in the Road, the least of nine score tun. They anchored within Culuer shot of the *Spanish* Shippes and moored their Ships a head and sterne, and bent their broad sides vnto them, and there fought all that day with those seuen Shippes and all night, now and then a shot: Captaine *Langton* sent the Boate and Shallop to the shore, from whence they brought a Frigot of twenty tunne. The next morning they fired the Frigot, and with their Boates purposed to bring her crosse the Admirals halse. But when they saw them comming, they all ranne into the Boates and got ashore. The Admirall let slippe the other sixe, vnhanged their Rudders, and carried them ashore that none should saile away with the Shippes if they were taken. They laded the Admirall with the best out of all the Shippes, and sent ashore to know if they would ransome the rest, which they delaying, they fired one of them laden with Hides and Logwood, and then another laden with Sasaparill. But the King of *Spaine* had forbidden them any ransoming, and they came not. All their Ordnance was heaued ouerboord saue two or three Brasse peeces, in hope some *Englishmen* might be the better for them afterward. One of them was a Shippe of fiue hundred tunnes. They brought away the Admirall of 250. and came into *Plimmouth* the fifteenth of May, the next day after the Pilgrims arriuall. *Porto Cauallo*. The fight. Ships fired.

ANno 1594. The Earle of *Cumberland* on his owne charge with the helpe of some aduenturers set forth for the *Tercera* Ilands the *Royall Exchange*, Admirall of 250. tunnes, commanded by Captaine *George Cave*: the *May Flower* Viceadmirall, of like burden, commanded by Captaine *William Antonie*: the *Samson* Rereadmirall, commanded by Captaine *Nicholas Downton*, a Caruell and a small Pinnace. They set forth from *Plimmouth*, April 6. In the way they tooke a small Barke laden with *Galicia* wines, &c. Iune the second, they had sight of Saint *Michael*; After ten dayes they descried the great Carracke of 1000. tuns, called the *Cinque LLagas* or *Fiue Wounds*. The *May Flower* first got vp to her and receiued an vnwelcome salutation. In the night the *Samson* came in and continued the fight, and at last the Admirall. They agreed that the Admirall should lay the Carracke aboord in the Prow, the Viceadmirall in the Waste, and the Rereadmirall in the Quarter. But it fell out that the Admirall laying her aboord at the looffe, recoiled a sterne, the Viceadmirall being so neere that she was faine to runne with her bolt sprit betweene the two quarters, which forced the Rereadmirall to lay her aboord on the Bowe. The eight Voyage 1594. The great Carracke called Fiue wounds. Borded.

After many bickerings, fire-workes flew about interchangeably. At last the Vice-admirall with a Culuering-shot at hand fired the Carrick in her Sterne, and the Reare-admirall her Forecastle by a shot that gaue fire to the Mat on the Beake-head, from thence burning to the Mat on the Bolt-sprit, and so ran vp to the Top-saile-yard: they plying and maintayning their fires so well with their small shot, that many of those which came to quench them were slaine. These fires encreased so sore that the Vice-admiralls fore-saile and fore-top-saile were both burnt, the Reare-admirall being in like predicament, whiles the Admirall with much danger and difficultie quenched the fires throwne into her from the Carrick. To saue themselues in this heat and furie, the Admirall and Vice-admirall fell off, leauing the Reare-admirall foule of the Carricks sprit-saile-yard in great danger to haue beene consumed with her, had they not helped her off with their Boats. Carracks fired. English Ships in danger.

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Pitifull distresse of the Carrike.

In this distresse the companie brought the Commander *Don Francisco de Mele* to put forth a flagge of truce: but the Carricks Carpenter more desperate, comforted him with hope of quenching the fire, whereupon he cryed, *Coragio, I will neuer yeeld*, notwithstanding the protestations, contestations, and obtestations of the lamenting vnderlying companie. One inraged on him, charging him with this soule vncharitablenesse, threatning vengeance on him and his for this obstinacy in suffering so many soules to perish, rather then to accept the *English* assistance. Some of their chiefest, rich in chaines and jewels, cast off all, and naked as they were borne cast themselues into the Sea to aduenture vpon *English* mercy; amongst all which, was taken vp by the Reare-admirals Boat, two men of note and three of inferiour qualitie. These three were clothed and set on land: the other two were *Don Manu Velio Periera* (who had sometimes bin Gouernour of *Mozambique* and *Sofala*, and returning for *Spaine* in a Carrick of great value, lost neere *Bona Speranza*, was now here a passenger) and *Bras Carero*, Captaine of another Carrick cast away neere *Mozambique*, here also a passenger. These two were brought into *England* and ransomed. 10

The impediments of taking the Carrike.

Three impediments happened to the Assailants, the Reare-admirall hurt with a shot and made in person vnseruiceable being a valiant man; the Vice-admirall slaine; and the Admirall himselfe Captaine *Cane* shot all the first thorow both the legs; whereof shortly after his returne hee dyed. The Caruell and Pinnace were accidentally absent: one and twentie were slaine in the fight. In the Carrick were many of qualitie; and before infection had fallen amongst them neere the Cape, their number of white and blacke men exceeded 1100. all which perished but those before named. The burden of this Carrick and her lading in wealth did farre exceede the *Madre de Dios*, returning after a long voyage fraighted with pearles, jewels, drugs, silkes (her meanest lading pepper) besides the best of the *Nazaret* (lately cast away) her commodities, the Captaine whereof had beene *Bras Carero* aforesaid. 20

Another Carrike.

They set saile after this disaster for *Flores* and after some refreshing, on the nine and twentieth of June descryed another Carrick of 1500. Tunnes, which they supposed to bee the Saint *Philip* one of the King of *Spaines* men of warre. After some more cautelous sight occasioned by that conceit, they sent their Boat to summon her to yeeld to the Queene of *Englands* ships vnder the command of the Earle of *Cumberland*, or else to vndergoe the fortunes of the *Five wounds*, the sorrowfull witnesses whereof they presented those two former Captaines: to whom the Generall *Don Lewys de Cofkyno* answered; *As your Generall hath beene at the burning of the Five wounds, so I haue beene at the burning and taking of the Reuenge of the Queene of England. Therefore let him doe what he dare doe for his Queene, and I will doe what I am able for my King*: commanding the Boat instantly to be gone. The fight was renewed, but intermitted by the calme, and remitted by the remisser companie, their Captaines being slaine and wounded. Whereupon they gaue ouer and arriued in *England* in August and the beginning of September, hauing done much harme to the enemie, and little good to themselues. 30

The ninth voyage. 1595.

THe Earle not liking his ill partage in the *Madre de Dios*, nor this vnhappie losse of two Carricks for want of sufficient strength to take them, builded a ship of his owne of 900. Tunnes at *Detford*, which the Queene at her launching named *The Scourge of Malice*, the best ship that euer before had beene built by any subiect. She made his Lordship three voyages, and after was sold to the East *Indian* Companie, whence shee made many returnes (before in the name of the *Dragon* related) and proued fortunate against the *Portugals* in the East. His Lordship had thought to haue gone in her in person, and prepared the *Alcede* his Vice-admirall, commanded by Captaine *Monson*, the *Antonie* commanded by *Daniel Iarret* and the old Frigot. But when he had gone as farre as *Plymouth* on his intended voyage, Her Maiestie by Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *Iohn Hawkins*, sent for him to returne, which commandement his Lordship obeyed, but the ships proceeded to seeke their aduenture, giuing command of the Admirall to Captaine *Langton*; which Captaine *Monson* misliking went forth literally to seeke his owne fortune in the *Alcede*. The *Scourge*, the *Antonie*, and the *Frigot*, went together to the *Assores*, where first they tooke a Saint *Thome* Caruell of 100. Tunnes laden with Sugars. After which neere the Iland of *Flores* in a fogge they espyed a great Ship lying by the Lee, which they conceiued to be a Carrick, but found it to be the Saint *Thomas*, Vice-admirall of the King of *Spaines* fleet, lying for the wafting of the East and West *Indian* fleetes: with whom they fell in so hot a fight that shee was glad to beare vp to recouer her selfe amongst the rest of her Consorts; which after the cleering of the fogge they discerned not farre from them. Thence they went to the Coast of *Spaine*, where they tooke three *Dutch* ships of the East-Countries laden with Wheat, Copper, and other munitions and prouisions for the King of *Spaine*. Hauing spent their victuals they returned. 40

The *Dragon* a fortunate ship to the East *Indian* Societie: surprised vnluckily by the *Dutch*; see *Hores* relation. *To.* 1. *l.* 5. *An.* 1595. Fight. 50

Tenth voyage. 1596.

AN. 1596. his Lordship set forth againe the *Scourge of Malice*, in which he went in person accompanied with the *Dread-naught* of the Queenes, and some other small ships; and about thirtie or fortie leagues from *England* was incountred with a storme, wherein the *Scourge* spent her mayne mast, and was made vnseruiceable for that voyage: so that hee was forced to returne for *England* in the *Dread-naught*. 60

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THe ſame yeere perceiuing that the Earle of *Eſſex* and the Lord Admirall were to goe to the Coaſt of *Spaine* with a great fleet of the Queenes, together with a ſquadron of *Flemmiſh* men of warre, his Lordſhip thought good to awaite ſome gleanings in ſo great a Vintage, and ſet forth the *Aſcenſion* of 300. Tunnes and foure and thirtie pieces of Ordnance, manned with 120. men, commanded by Captaine *Francis Slingsby*, chiefly to expect ſuch ſhips as ſhould come from *Lisbone*. The *Aſcenſion* thus furniſhed, met with ſuch a fret of winde that with all haſte they handed in their ſailes, and being within the Hooke of *Godwins Sands* droue with two anchors ahead, till they were within two Cables length of the Sands. They then let fall their ſhort anchor, which by Gods grace ſtayed them till the next day noone (hourely expecting their wrack) and at laſt cut their Cables. Hauing refurniſhed themſelues at *Plimouth* they ſet forwards and comming to the Rocke, lay off and on. After ſome fruſtrated attempts by the Boat on a Caruell (in which the Captaine was ſore wounded) the King of *Spaines* Admirall *Strago* ſet forth ſixe ſhips againſt them, and himſelfe and another ſhip laid the *Aſcenſion* aboard, the one on the Bow, the other on the Quarter, and now the mouthes of the great Ordnance (being neere in place to whiſper) roared out their thunders and pierced thorow and thorow on all hands. Which ended, the *Spaniards* leaped into the fore-chaines and mayne-chaines, thinking to haue entred the ſhip, but were brauely repelled. The *Engliſh* ſeeing many *Spaniards* together vnder the Admirals halfe decke, diſcharged amongſt them a Fowler laden with caſe ſhot to their no ſmall harme: ſo that the *Spaniards* had enough and were content to fall off. Of ours two and twentie were ſlaine and hurt, which loſſe lighted aſmuch on them which hid themſelues as thoſe which ſtood to the fight. To preuent the like afterwards, they put ſafe in hold the Chirurgeon, Carpenter, and Cooper for the publike dependance on them, and made faſt the hatches that others ſhould not ſeeke refuge. But the *Spaniſh* Admirall making a brauado, and ſeeing them readie to receiue them, tacked about and went in for *Liſbone* without any further leaue-taking. The *Aſcenſion* continued on the Coaſt till they had but fourteene dayes victuals left, and then returned with hurts to themſelues, and loſſe alſo to his Lordſhip.

Eleuenth voyage.

Godwine ſands.

Sea-fight.

AN. 1597. the vndanted Earle hauing furniſhed and victualled his owne ſhip the *Malice-Scourge*, vndertooke a voyage in perſon. Vnder him in it commanded Captaine *Iohn Wats* outward, and Captaine *Iames Langton* homewards. The *Merchant Royall* was Vice-admirall, commanded by Sir *Iohn Barkley*; Captaine *Robert Flicke* commanded in the *Aſcenſion*, Reare-admirall; Captaine *Henrie Clifford* commanded the *Samſon*, after whoſe death at *Porto Rico*, *Chriſtopher Colthurſt* was her Captaine; Maſter *Iohn Ley*, and homewards *Thomas Cotch* Captaines of the *Alcedo*; *Francis Slingsby* Captaine of the *Conſent*; Captaine *Iames Langton* of the *Proſperous*, and homewards Captaine *Iohn Wats*; Captaine *Henrie Palmer* in the *Centurion*, and homewards after his death his ſonne *William Palmer*; *Hercules Folyambe* Captaine of the *Gallion-Conſtance*; Captaine *Flemming* in the *Affection*; Captaine *Chriſtopher Colthurſt* in the *Guiana*, homeward *Gerard Middleton*; Captaine *Henrie Iolliffe* in the *Scout*; Captaine *Robert Carelos*, and after his death *Andrew Andrewes* in the *Antonie*; Captaine *Edward Goodwin* in the *Pegaſus*; Captaine *Henrie Bromley* in the *Royall Defence*; Captaine *Iohn Dixon* in the *Margaret* and *Iohn*; Maſter *Iohn Lea* Captaine of the *Barkley Bay*; *William Harper* Captaine of the old *Frigot*. To make vp the ſcore we may reckon two Barges vſed for landing of men, as occaſion required.

The twelfth voyage.

Names of the ſhips and their Captaines employed in the twelfth voyage.

For the land Souldiers, Sir *Iohn Barkley* was Coronell Generall: Captaine *William Moſey* Lieutenant Colonell: Captaine *Hercules Folyambe* Sergeant Major: Captaine *Arthur Powell* Lieutenant Colonell of the Earles Regiment: Captaines, *Lewis Orrell*, *Thomas Roberts*, *Henrie Gyll*, *Thomas Cocke*, *Hugh Starkie*, *Ralph Rookesby*, *Roger Tirwhit*; Captaine *Andrew Andrewes* Leader of the Earles Companie: Captaine *Iames Tothill* Leader of Sir *Iohn Barkleys* Companie: Captaines, *Iames Euans* and *George Orrell* Corporals of the field: Captaine *Iohn Man* Prouoſt Marſhall: Captaine *Arthur Milles* Maſter of the Artillerie and Prouant Maſter.

The noble Earle thus attended and furniſhed (chiefly at his owne charges) ſet ſaile with this Fleet from *Portſmouth* the ſixt of March. But you ſhall haue a better Relator.

His Lordſhip hauing had the ſpoile of all things at his pleaſure, prepared for the ſending aboard the Ordnance, Munitions, Bels, Ginger, Sugar, &c. of braſſe Ordnance hee tooke aboue ſixtie peeces: ſetting ſaile for *England* Iuly 16. In which returne his Lordſhip loſt a Barge, by his commandement ſunke in the Hauen to the prejudice of the Enemie. Another Barge caſt away in a ſtorme at the *Bermudas*. The *Pegaſus* wracked vpon *Goodwin* Sands, and the old Frigot vpon *Vſhent*, with the loſſe of about ſeuen hundred men, whereof ſix hundred dyed of the bloudie flix and Calenture at *Porto Rico*: ſixtie ſlaine in fight, and fortie drowned in the wracks of the old *Frigot* and *Pegaſus*.

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CHAP. II.

The Voyage to Saint Iohn de Porto Rico, *by the Right Honorable,* GEORGE, *Earle of* Cumberland, *written by himſelfe.*

1596. WOrthieſt of your Sexe, my chiefe Commandreſſe, to giue content to your wiſh in bare plainneſſe. I haue ſet downe the courſes and fortunes of my late performed iourney. The ſixth day of March, with my whole Fleet I ſet ſaile out of the Sound of *Plimouth*, the winde being proſperous though much. Wee kept altogether till the when the faire paſſage put mee in hope that God had prepared this an vnlooked for fortune, if it were well handled, in getting vpon the Coaſt of *Spaine* ſure intelligence whether the Carricks were gone, and how neere they were readie if not gone. The doing of which vndiſcouered, though I knew was hard; yet not impoſſible for him that could well worke: And conſidering the mightie importance, I tooke the courſe to doe it my ſelfe, taking with me the *Guiana* and the *Skout*; which two I meant ſhould onely be ſeene vpon the Coaſt, and left the reſt of the fleet, appointing them where to lye till I came vnto them. But God whoſe will is beyond mans reſolutions, forced mee to alter this; for my Maſts not made ſo ſufficiently as I expected, both now began to ſhew their weakneſſe, eſpecially my mayne Maſt, which I continually looked would haue gone ouer board. My Mariners were at their wits end: and I proteſt I would haue giuen fiue thouſand pounds for a new one; the greateſt part of my ſtrength both by Sea and Land hauing beene loſt, if that ſhip had returned in this extremitie.

His purpoſe fruſtrated.

Deſect in the mayne Maſt.

Hearing all that would, I heard many opinions to little purpoſe, and at length reſolued (though many thought it dangerous) leſt the winde ſhould with a ſtorme come vp at Weſt North-weſt, to goe to the Burlings and there ride, till my Maſts were fiſhed, my ſelfe knowing the Roade, though not any elſe in my ſhip: the windes they ſpake of, I feared not; my onely doubt was that I ſhould be diſcouered, being within three leagues of *Penechia*; Caruels comming off euery day to fiſh; but this extremitie forced deuice how to hide what I was. For goe thither I muſt, hopeleſſe otherwiſe to repaire thoſe deſperate ruines. My ſhip was black which well furthered my deuice, and though ſhee were great, yet ſhewed not ſo afarre off. Wherefore I came in about eight of the clocke at night vpon Thurſday, when I was ſure all the Fiſher-men were gone to ſell their fiſh at *Lisbone*, and from the mayne they could not make mee: this was the ſixteenth of March. Before the morning I had downe my top-maſts, my mayne yard vnrigged, and all things readie for my Carpenters to worke. The ſmall ſhips with mee I made ſtand off to Sea all day, that not hauing any in my companie I ſhould be the leſſe ſuſpected. And thus with a ſtrange Flagge and Ancient vpon my poope, I rid without giuing chaſe to any, as though I had beene ſome Merchant, euery day diuers ſhips comming by me that were both good prize, and had beene worth the taking. Vpon Sunday night the Fiſher-men returne to the Burlings; wherefore to goe away vndiſcouered of them, and alſo ſoone to meet with my fleet, which I had appointed to tarry for mee in that heigth betwixt twentie and thirtie leagues off, and that they ſhould keepe with them what ſhips ſoeuer they met, that were outward bowne: I ceaſed not working day nor night, and by Saturday at night was readie to ſet ſaile, when within night I heard the Ordnance goe off betwixt me and the ſhoare, and well knew it was a ſmall ſhip of *Hampton* and my little Pinnace the Skout, that were in fight with a ſhip which they chaſed to windward of mee before night, and fearing their match too hard, as in truth it proued, I, for loſing time let ſlip mine anchor, and ſoone came to helpe the poore little ones much ouer-matched. At my firſt comming vp ſhee ſhot at me; yet forbare I, and went ſo neere that I ſpake to them, and demanding of whence they were? anſwere was made, of *Lisbone*. Then aſſuring my ſelfe ſhee was a *Biſcaine*, and would fight well, I came cloſe to her, and gaue her my broad ſide, which ſhee ſo anſwered as that I had three men killed, fiue or ſixe ſhot, and my ſhip in ſixe or ſeuen places, ſome of them very dangerous. So I laid her aboard and tooke her, ſhee proouing a ſhip of *Hamburgh*, laden with Corne, Copper, Powder, and prohibited commodities. I made the more haſte to end this fight, for that I would be out of the ſight of the Land before day, which as I deſired I was, and there met with a *French* man laden with Salt going into *Liſbone*: which ſmall Barke was very fit to ſerue my purpoſe. For putting ſome of my men into her, I ſent her into *Cales* Road, commanding them to fall with it by day in the morning, and keeping themſelues cloſe to ſhew none but the *French*, and make a waft to call ſome *Portugall* to them for Pilotage vp the Riuer. This deuice ſucceeded well: for betimes in the morning they were faſt by a Caruell that was going to fiſh, which (not ſuſpecting them) came cloſe to them, ſo as the men I put in ſhot at them with Muskets ſo faſt, as not any of them durſt ſtirre to handle their ſailes till their Boat went aboard, and ſo brought them off to me. Theſe men came that night from *Liſbone*, and aſſured me that the next faire winde there would come forth fiue Caracks, with more treaſure then euer went in one yeere for the *Indies*, and fiue and twentie ſhips for *Braſil*. This welcome newes was accompanied with the meeting againe of my whole fleet, which at that very inſtant I deſcryed. So none being ioyned, I wiſhed for nothing but an happy houre to ſee thoſe long-looked-after

Penechia.

Biſcainers good fighters.

Ship of *Hamburg* taken.

Intelligence from *Lisbone*.

Fiue Carraks and twentie fiue ſhips.

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after Monsters, whose wealth exceedes their greatnesse; yet bee they the greatest ships in the world. My fleet being thus ioyned, I called all the Captaines and Masters aboard, and gaue directions where and in what order we should lye, and how we would fight, not doubting to meete them being vndiscouered, and well knowing the way they would come. Being drawne from our rests with our ioy in our hope, wee so long continued gasing for that which came not, as I began to feare some vnluckie accident, and leauing my fleet alone, with a Caruell I went in with the shoare, and with her and my Boat got another Caruell, by whom I vnderstood that the very same day that I tooke the first Caruell at the Rock, there came into *Lisbone* a ship that brought *Spaniards* out of *England*, and was in *Plimouth* when I came by, which assured them that I was comne forth, and they verily beleeued was looking for them, so as they sent Caruels of aduice to search euery where for me, one of which when I returned to my fleet, I vnderstood had comne by them to windward and discouered them all. So I feared it was vaine to tarry there any longer; for either they would shift their course or not come at all. So knowing that their seeing of me could not hurt, I went to see if they were comne so low downe the Riuer, as that it were possible to lay them aboard in the night where they rode. Now againe I left my fleet at Sea, and (the winde something fauouring me) got in betwixt the Cat-ships, from whence I saw them riding in the Bay of *Wiers*. Here had I too much of my desire, seeing what I desired to see, but hopelesse of the good I expected by seeing them: for they were where no good could bee done vpon them, riding within the Castle of Saint *Iulian*, which hath in it aboue an hundred peeces of great Ordnance; so as though I could haue got in (which I verily beleeue I could) it had not beene possible to haue returned, the winde being euer very scant to come forth withall, and hanging for the most part so farre Northerly, as that for feare of the Cat-ships, I must of force haue comne close by their platformes. With this vnpleasing sight I returned to my fleet, and that night being the fift of Aprill, wee went altogither for the South Cape. The eight day I went from thence towards the *Canaries*, and the thirteenth day I came to *Lancerota*, where by diuers both *Englishmen* and *Spaniards* I had beene informed that there dwelt a Marquesse, that was worth 100000. pounds, if he could be taken suddenly: which I doubted not, hauing aboard mee three or foure which had beene prisoners there, who assured me they could bring me into the Road by night: and being on land could guide me to the Castle where he dwelt, how darke soeuer it were. But they fayled in all: for when I came to the land, they knew not where the Road was; so as I was forced to anchor finding ground, but where it was they knew not. And in truth, it was so neere a ledge of Rocks, as if we had gone any further, the ships had beene in danger. In the morning, though then I had no other hope left me to catch the Marquesse, saue onely that perhaps he would hold his Castle; yet I thought it meete to set all my Souldiers on shoare, for that till this time I neuer had giuen them any trayning, and *well knew many of them* to bee very raw and *vnpractised to seruice at land. Wherefore my selfe* then fearing an ague, tooke physick, was let bloud, and sent Sir *Iohn Barkley* with them, knowing for certaine that place could make no resistance against such a force. So being landed they marched to the Towne, which the guides said, was but three miles from the landing place. But it proued more then three leagues, the most wicked marching for loose stones and sand that euer I saw. That night I heard not from them, nor the next day till night, when I had word brought that they had taken the Towne and Castle without resistance. Onely as they marched the people of the Countrie (I meane the Mountayners) would watch if any straggled, and would most desperately assault them with their Lances, being so swift of foot, as when once they runne, not any could come neere them. In the Castle was not any thing but some few peeces of Ordnance dismounted. In the Towne (whose houses were most beggarly) some little wine onely, which little was too much; for it distempered so many, that if there had beene a strong enemie to haue attempted, they should haue found drunken resistance; the meaner sort being most ouer-throwne alreadie, and the Commanders, some distempered with wine, some with pride of themselues, or scorne of others; so as there were very few of them but that fell to most disorderly outrage one with another. And Sir *Iohn Barkley* with much griefe told me, if I tooke not some seuere course to remedie those things, he assured himselfe it would be the ruine of our voyage. Whereupon the next day I went on shoare to see my men trayned, and calling all the Commanders before me, rebuked them for those faults, and gaue Articles both for their courses at Land and Sea, reading to them my Commissions, that they might know I had full power to execute those punishments I set downe for euery offence; and assuring them I would not be slow in doing it if they offended. The next day being the one and twentieth of Aprill, I set saile, and betwixt the *Grand Canarie* and *Teneriffe* met with the *Royall Defence*, a ship which should haue comne with mee out of *England*, but being not readie followed me; and thwart the Rocke, after I was comne from thence met with a Caruell, which by ten *English* men that were prisoners in *Lisbone*, was stollen forth in the night. They assured me (word being brought thither that I was gone off the Coast) they resolued to send forth the Carracks, and that within a few dayes they would come forth. Which I making knowne to all my Commanders, they agreed with me that it was fit to spend some few dayes and looke for their comming; so did we: but not seeing them, the yeere was so farre spent that I assured my selfe they were

New intelligence.

Another attempt.

No hope that way.

He comes to the *Canaries*. Rich Marquesse.

Poore performance of rich promisers.

He lands his Souldiers.

Sir *Iohn Barkley*.

Towne and Castle taken.

Poore purchase and yet too rich.

The Earles honorable care and prouision.

Caruell stollen forth by *English* captiues.

were either gone by, or would not goe this yeere, their time for doubling the Cape of *Buona Speranza* being now past; for they neuer went out so late but once, and then were all forced to returne.

Danger of late going forth for the Cape of *Good Hope.*

Though many would imagine the missing of this faire fortune should much haue troubled me; I assure you it did not: the reason I will let you know hereafter. Now againe, calling all the Captaines and Masters aboard me, I first asked them whether they thought it was fit to tarry any longer vpon that hope, telling them mine opinion how little reason there was in it, and that longer stay might much hurt our other purposes, to which all agreeing, we resolued to proceede. Then I asked whether they thought the time was not too farre spent to get *Farnanbuco?* to which many answered; No. And though I well knew what it was, I would not reply till I had called two *Portugall* Pilots, which I brought with me out of *England*, old men that had at the least beene twentie times apiece there out of *Portugall:* And asking their opinions, they told vs that they had gone it at that time of the yeere, but diuers times put backe, and at their best passage beene sixe or seuen weekes in getting one degree. To which there were that answered, though sometimes it happened so, yet it might fall out otherwise: and if not, though we should be long in getting thither, yet there was assurance to win that place with ease, and getting it to haue wealth enough. Till this I kept secret, what now euery occasion gaue mee fit time to vtter. Hauing dispatched from mee a ship that was in Trade at the *Canaries* and bound for *England*, and being so farre shot to the Southwards, as I was sure not to meet with any going to the Northwards; so as not any newes where I was could come into *Spaine*, till it came out of the *Indies:* which winning of time would giue me so good leisure to fortifie my selfe in the place whither I meant to goe, as hardly I would bee supplanted till either wee honorably quitted the place, or had supply; you may see, too griedie desire is a dangerous enemie, for where I should haue but lightly touched this as yet, I was almost entring into the bowels of my intention, the time ripe I saw to speake more freely then I had done. *I told them I had aduisedly considered, of all these things now pleaded, and could, as I thought, before their speech haue giuen them so sufficient reasons for the shaping of some other course then* Brasil, *as would haue stayed all these pleadings. But I thought it better first to beare euery one speake his minde, and then to vtter my conceit. Which though I assured my selfe was the best for vs, yet if any amongst them could giue reason against it, I would not onely take it well, but be drawne to them. Then layed I before them how our men were already many of them sicke; and that vndoubtedly the crossing the Line would keepe those from recouering, although the passage were as good as man could wish. Besides, I remembred them of intelligence giuen vs both vpon the Coast of* Spaine *and the Iland, that the King had sent thither to defend the place against me six hundred Souldiers; and also it was likely that he had giuen order, that if they saw not themselues strong enough to resist, that with their portable goods they should flee into the Mountaines, and set their Sugar and Brasil wood on fire; then were we sure to haue nothing: and lastly, if wee beat long vnder the Line, vndoubtedly the most of our men would fall sicke, and then should we be forced to returne without doing any thing; for to no other place could we goe, once bearing vp vpon that occasion.*

Old *Portugall* Pilots.

Rash aduisers.

The Earles mature and discreet intendments.

His speech.

With this I pawsed, to heare if there would be any thing said by them: but not any speaking, *I told them I well perceiued by their silence the doubts my words had driuen into their mindes: but not to conceale any longer from them, that which hitherto I had for all their goods done, the truth was I neuer had intention, after I found I could not get out of* England *before Christmas, to goe for* Brasil, *but onely for the west* Indies, *where there were many possibilities to make a voyage by: as first, the sacking of* Margarita, *which they knew was rich; then* Porto Rico, *after that Saint* Domingo, *then in July the outward bound fleet would be in the* Acoa, *where we could not misse them: and if these gaue vs not content, in the end of July or August, wee should meete the fleet at Cape Saint* Antonio. Many of these reasons I vttered, more to carry my men with good liking thither, then for any thought I had of diuers of them. And my speech had desired successe, for they all went with greedie desire, and hopefull expectation, I appointing them to make what haste they could to *Dominica*, where we would stay one for another, thinking it better to goe straggling thither then to goe togither, there being possibilitie to meete some purchase by the way, which we were in most likelihood of when we spred furthest. Therefore we spred thus till we met at *Dominica*, wee straggled all saue the *Alcedon*, the *Centurion*, and two *Flemmings*, laden with Corne, which I tooke vpon the coast of *Spaine*, and still carried alongst with me, as chiefe meanes to effect my most desired purpose. These with all the rest came safely to *Dominica*, where wee carried our sicke people ashoare the three and twentieth of May, and tarried till the first of Iune.

His purposes and probabilities.

They proceed.

They arriue at *Dominica.*

This Iland is onely inhabited by *Indians* that mightily hate the *Spaniard*, but loue the *English* very much. They brought vs great store of Potatoes, Pines, Plantins, Tabacco, Mammyes, Indies-pepper, and other of their Countrie commodities to trade. They most desired to haue Swords, Hatchets, or Knines, and very much Clothes. But if they could get none of these, they would sell their commodities for glasse beades, and such trifling things. From hence I went to the *Virgines* Ilands which are not inhabited, and there purposed againe to muster my men, the Iland of *Dominica* being so wooddie as that there I could not doe it; and in the euening the third day I came there to an anchor. The next morning early I had them on shoare, and after muste-

Las Virgines.

ring

ring them for many reſpects, found it meet to ſpeake to them, which as neere as I can remember, was thus: *Kinde Countrymen and fellow Souldiers, I am ſure there is none here but haue marked,* My Lords *and the wiſeſt wonder at my light regarding the many groſſe faults committed amongſt you ſince my* ſpeech. *comming to Sea; ſuffering euery man to doe what he would, vrging no man further then he liſted: Many cauſes drew me to this patience, onely one I will now vtter, the reſt being fitter to conceale to my ſelfe, then to make ſo many acquainted with. The great hope of meeting the Caracks made me hope for a ſhort iourney; which hapning, I thought it better to returne with euery mans good word, then by iuſt puniſhing of any to haue their ill word at my returne. But that hope as you now ſee is altogither paſſed, and now we are ſettled to another courſe, which though it may be will not proue altogither ſo rich, and muſt of force keepe vs longer abroad; yet I aſſure you vpon my honour and conſcience, I doe conſtantly beleeue there will ſpring out of it more glorie to God, more ſeruice to our Prince and Countrie, and more honour to our ſelues, then could haue done by the Caracks if we had taken them all. For the better performance we muſt fall to another courſe; I in gouerning, you in obeying; I in directing you what to doe, you in following my direction. To which end I haue already deliuered you certaine Articles, wherein you may ſee how the breach of them ſhall be puniſhed. And though theſe twentie dayes at the leaſt you haue had them amongſt you, yet heare I there are ſome which wiſh they could but light vpon ſo much as they would conceale from me. Baſe conditions be hatefull things in men profeſſing Armes, there is none baſer then theft; and no theft ſo baſe as for a man to ſteale from his owne companion. And he that concealeth any* Baſeneſſe of theft. *thing gotten in this iourney, ſtealeth from euery man in it, all going to haue their part of whatſoeuer is gotten. This I thought not vnfit particularly to touch, becauſe the ſpeech hath giuen great offence to the whole Armie, and no doubt may encourage ſome men of lewd and baſe humours amongſt vs to doe the like: but let the warning I now giue you driue theſe thoughts out of their thoughts that hold them: and be alſo a warning that they heedfully obſerue the reſt of the Articles. For I aſſure you, my ouer-patient and forced ſluggiſh humour is ſhaken off, and I will neither ouer-ſee, nor ſuffer to paſſe vnpuniſhed ill deſeruers.*

This deliuered, I preſently ſhipped my men which were by muſter and gaue order to ſet ſaile. Now hauing ſet all things in order, and wanting nothing but ſure knowledge, where might bee our ſafeſt and moſt commodious landing, there were many of my Maſters and Sea Captaines that would willingly haue gone through the *Virgines*, as Sir *Francis Drake* did; when Sir Francis hee was there. But I finding the way through the paſſages more certaine and ſafe tooke that Drake. courſe; more deſiring to be the firſt that tooke *Porto Rico*, then the ſeoond that paſſed through the *Virgines*. And the fift day in the morning, I ſent for Captaine *Lanckton*, and *Knotsford*, who was Maſter of the Gallion, very expert in thoſe Countries, and was Pilot with *Iohn Hawkins* when hee dyed, and putting either of them into a ſmall Pinnace, ſent them before that they might make the landing place before night, and my ſelfe with the fleet did linger, and ſo when it was darke, putting out all our ſailes, came to them vndiſcouered, which was about one of the clocke that night. But they did mee no good, for the place they went to diſcouer was further They arriue at from them then they expected, ſo as it was darke before they came to it, and for feare of carry- the Iland. ing me to leeward ſtayed, and told me they had done nothing. Wherefore I ſtood cloſe vpon a winde off and on, vntill the morning, when being cloſe by the ſhoare there was to my ſeeming Euill ſurmiſes. a ſmooth landing place, which by all them in my fleet that were there with Sir *Francis Drake*, I was told was impoſſible to get, the winde ouer-blowing all day out of the Sea. Wherefore I tooke my Boat and Sir *Iohn Barkley* with me, rowed thither, and found it not onely ſmooth, but His ſearch. by the view of our eyes a moſt goodly ſandie Bay, to march all alongſt by the Sea ſide till wee came to the Towne. Being well pleaſed with this ſight I returned aboard, and gaue order to all the Commanders preſently to land there. But by diuers of them many obiections were made againſt landing there. Firſt, that the march ſeemed to be great: Then, that none knew the ways Obiections. and laſtly, if the Towne ſtood in an Iland, as they often had heard it did, we ſhould be forced to returne to our ſhips, not hauing meanes to get vnto them. *Gentlemen*, ſaid I, *a willing minde makes* The Earles *long ſteps with great eaſe: I haue beene ſicke and am not now ſtrong; you ſhall goe no further nor faſter* anſwere. *then I will doe before you: for guides wee need no better then our eyes; the Towne ſtanding by the Sea ſide, and we landing from the Sea ſee no other but faire ſandie Bayes all the way thither: ſo as much neerer we might land if we were ſure there were any where to leeward ſuch a head-land as this that maketh ſmooth landing within it. But that being vncertaine I meane to take this, which I doe aſſuredly beleeue God hath directed vs vnto; for I am ſure, it is better then any euer told me of. And for your laſt argument, that if it be an Iland we ſhall not get into it, that reaſon is nothing; for you ſee our Boats may row by vs, and when we ſhall come to any water they may ſet vs ouer, if it be deepe: in ſhallow places we ſhall paſſe our ſelues. So all you haue or can ſay being now throughly anſwered, let me haue no more ſpeaking, but get your men all into your Boates, and follow in order as I haue directed you. I will goe before in my Boat, and when you ſee my Colours diſplayed, make all the haſte you can to land. This doe with good heart and courage, aſſuring your ſelues you haue the mayden-head of* Porto Rico, *and ſo poſſeſſe the keyes of all the* Indies. *And though there bee not ſo many millions in it as there was when a greater force then we went without it: yet aſſure your ſelfe the Towne is rich. The laſt yeere there were eighteene ſhips laden with Ginger and Sugar from it. I aſſure you there are mynes of gold in it. And though theſe*

be motiues to draw you to fight, yet haue I not told you of one. You being Souldiers and carrying the mindes of Souldiers, will, I doubt not, carry you beyond all profit. It is thought by men of iudgement too strong for this strength to carry, because it hath alreadie resisted a much stronger force: so as we should haue iust cause to be proud of taking it, and (beleeue me) assured we are to take it, now we see where to land quietly, the Indian *Souldiers liuing too pleasantly to venter their liues: for if they liue two or three yeares, they get with the labour of their slaues (without taking any paines themselues) whatsoeuer they loose; so as they will make great showes, and is maybe indure one brunt; but if they doe any more, feare me in peeces.*

This said, the Captaines that were there went for their men, telling all the rest my resolution. And as soone as they saw me rowe towards the shoare all followed as I had directed. Thus landed we the sixt day in a most fine place, where not any wet his furniture nor saw any enemie. By which meanes all our troopes were put in good order, and we made much stronger; then a small resistance before we were martialled would haue made vs. This place was 3 leagues from the Towne, towards which we marched in the extreame heate of the day, the way being sandy, and would no doubt haue tired many, but that going all alongst by the Sea, we at pleasure marched in it when we listed; and besides had the place wee went to, still in our sight, which standing vpon the top of an hill shewed much nearer then it was. When wee had gone some three leagues, we saw six or seuen Horsemen; which (the forlorne hope) comming within sixteene or twenty score of, presently turned their Horses and galloped away. Not long after there came a *Negro* willingly offering his seruice, which I was most glad of; assuring my selfe he would haue guided me to the Towne: but he not speaking *Spanish* nor vnderstanding it, we were led by him to the entrance of the Sea that maketh the Iland, where I imagined with Boates to get ouer. But of that we were hindred by a bulwarke standing on the Iland side close vpon the mouth of the entrance, and hauing in it fiue peeces of Brasse. The entrance is not aboue sixtie yards ouer, and a little within it is stopped quite ouer with piles driuen in; so as it was not possible to get in there so long as the enemy possessed it. Then were we at our wits end, but I assured my selfe there was some other good way ouer where those Horsemen rid which we saw before; and with much a doe made this dumbe guide vnderstand that I would haue him carry me to the place where they went ouer. When I perceiued he vnderstood me, I followed him through the most wickedest wood that euer I was in in all my life, & at length he brought me to the reare part of all my troope. And for that it grew late, and I was loath to loose any time, I made them march, being Sir *Iohn Barkleys* Regiment; and gaue order mine owne should come in the reare, not hauing place nor time then to shift them. We had not gone farre, but we crossed the footing of the Horsemen we saw before, and following them were about Sunset brought to a narrow Bridge, whereon three might goe a front about two score ouer, and to our seeming about the midst of it a strong Gate of wood close shut; and at the further side of the water a Block-house with Ordnance, by which there stood fiue *Spaniards*. When I and Sir *Iohn Barkley* had viewed this place, we vnderstood by another *Negro*, that comming thither, at a low water we might passe ouer wading besides the Cause. And he telling vs that it was not low water till two of the clocke in the morning, we returned to a little plaine (that we passed by before) to rest our men and giue them some refreshing, for the better inabling them to fight in the morning.

They land the sixt of Iune.

Negres misleading.

A Bridge.

THus farre the same honourable hand hath beene our Actor and Author: but here when hee comes to doing, breaks off speaking, and (tam Marte quàm Mercurio) *exchangeth words for swords, and Mercuriall arts into Martiall acts; of which we haue another Relator, as of the rest of this Voyage: a man neere in attendance to his honourable Master. But I cannot giue him that which yet this giues him, a name*. It is a copious discourse, which we haue somewhat abridged; both in that former part of the Historie, which you already haue from Him which best knew it; and in the rest, in some superfluities or digressions* (seeming such at least to me, who hauing so much worke, make my selfe more to make the Reader lesse) *prouiding neuertheless that not a drop of necessary blood be lost, or strange matched, how often soeuer we seeme to open a vaine to our redundant Authors bleed. It was another cause which made me leaue out a politicall discourse and* State-moral *mysterie of this History, written by the same Noble Commander, whose worth here we honour. The times are altered, and howsoeuer Planets haue their peculiar course, fixed Starrs must moue with their Orbe, and follow the first Moueable. The men of* Bethshemesh *bought dearely their prying into the Arke: and I know not how I may be tolerated to vtter now in publike, those State-mysteries which he then in priuate counselled for his Countries good. I could also be willing, as I know the world would be greedie of such morsels: but* Aesops *Dogge snatching at the shadow of a morsell in the water, lost that which he had in his mouth, and his Crowe gaping to sing to please the Foxe displeased her selfe with losse of all her other wealth and purchase. Euery where in this vaste worke we haue beene wary, and yet scarce wary enough of this danger, in our wariest warinesse; wherein yet (if any such fault be) it is not an itching finger, busie in things aboue vs, but store of businesse in so multiforme a taske perhaps hath occasioned ouersight eyes to, otherwise dimme enough. Once; whatsoeuer the King and State disclaime, I disclaime also as not mine, because I and mine are theirs, and no further desire to be or see mine owne then in the publike, of which, and for which (vnder God) I am, haue, can, write, do, speake, acknowledge all things. I will pry in the East and West* Indies *rather then state it at home.* CHAP.

* I haue since heard that his name was Doctor Layfield.

CHAP. III.

A large Relation of the Port Ricco *voiage, written, as is reported, by that learned man and reuerend Diuine Doctor* LAYFIELD, *his Lordships Chaplaine and Attendant in that expedition; very much abbreuiated.*

§. I.

The Shippes employed in the Voyage and accidents on the Coasts of Spaine, *in the* Canaries, *and the Nauigation thence to* Dominica.

HIs Lordship being authorised by Letters Patents giuen at *Westminster* the foureteenth of Ianuary, to leuie Forces seruiceable by Sea and Land, came downe to *Portesmouth* the eight of February, wherein nothing memorable happened till Munday, being the thirteenth of March. *While we were at Morning Prayer, his Lordship happened to see a Gallant of the company (purposely I name him not) reading of* Orlando Furioso; *to whom himselfe in person went presently after Seruice, all the Company being by, and hauing told him that we might looke that God would serue vs accordingly, if we serued not him better; bad him be sure that if againe he tooke him in the like manner, he would cast his Booke ouer-board, and turne himselfe out of the Ship.* The next day by obseruation it was found, that towards the euening we had runne within fiue or sixe and twenty leagues of the North Cape: whereupon his Lordship gaue direction to the Vice-admirall, that he should carry his Flagge in the Maine-top, and with a peece of Ordnance should hale in the rest of the Fleete to his Lee, and that they all with him as their Admirall for the time, should this night winde South and by West; and there they should ride off and on scattering themselues to the North and South, in the height of the *Burlings*, till his Lordshippe should come to them. In the meane season himselfe attended onely with the *Guiana*, and the *Scourge*, *Scout*, run to fall in with the North Cape, meaning by the taking of some Caruell or some Fisherman to haue some certaine intelligence in what forwardnesse the fiue Carracks were which at this very time his Lordship knew were outwards bound, The defect of his maine Maste caused him to stand in for the *Burlings*.

Ann. 1596. Aug.

Worthy gift of a worthy man.

The *Burlinges* or *Berlinga*.

The *Burlings* is an Iland something longer then broad, and by the violent beating of the Sea, it selfe almost made two Ilands, and within few yeares it will be so; exceeding rockie it is and barren aboue measure. We found no liuing thing in it, but Lyzards and some few Conies.

The *Canarie* Ilands.

Vpon thursday, being the thirteenth of Aprill, we had sight of the Ilands. The first that was within kenning, was *Alegranza*, the most Northerly of the *Canaries*: we left it on the star-boord side, as also three little hils rather then the Islands hauing all one name of the *Grange*. In the afternoone we had *Lancerota*, one of the six great *Canaries*, in cleere kenning. The next morning twixt fiue and six, we were come to an anchor in the Roade, which beareth East South-east of the Iland. His Lordship had taken colde with watching the last night, whereupon he found himselfe so ill the next morning (being good Friday) that he kept his Cabbin, and was glad to take some strong Physicke: He sent therefore for Sir *Iohn Barkley* his Lieutenant generall, and gaue him order to land with certaine Companies, to the number of betweene fiue and six hundred men. They were in their March by ten that morning, and marched the next way (as they thought) to the chiefe Towne of the Iland, but their foremost desire was if they might, to haue surprised the *Marquesse*, who commandeth both that and the next Iland called *Fortenentura*, as his owne possession. The Towne is from the place they landed at, as they coniecture, some ten miles at the least. By fiue in the afternoone they entered the Towne, which besides the expectation they found clearely quitted of the enemy, and nothing in a manner left, sauing good store of very excellent Wine and Cheese. After the Towne was assured, Sir *Iohn* sent a troope to a strong Hold some halfe a mile of from the Towne, called the Castle; a place which the *Marquesse* had fortified with good store of Munition and Ordnance. When our Troopes were come vp the Hill, they found twixt 80. and 100. Ilanders and *Spaniards* within and about the house, but without fight they quitted the place, so that our men entered it without losse or danger. They found in it a dozen or more cast Peeces of Brasse, the least Bases, the most whole Culuering and Demiculuering, and an innumerable company of Stones laid in places of greatest aduantage. The Houle it selfe built of squared stone, flanked very strongly and cunningly, both for defence and offence: the entrance thereunto not as in our Forts of equall height with the foundation and ground, but raised about a Pikes length in height, so that without the vse of a Ladder, there could

They take the chiefe Towne of *Lancerota*.

The Castle taken.

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could be no entrance there. I haue heard sundry of our wisest Commanders say, that if they had drawne in their Ladder and onely shut the doore, twenty men victualled might haue kept it against fiue hundred. The Towne consisteth of somewhat more then a hundred houses, whose building is rude, being commonly but of one Storie, their Rooses flat and something sloping to cast of raine, couered onely with Canes or Straw laid vpon a few tasters, and very dirt cast vpon all, which being hardned by the Sunne, becommeth of showre-proofe.

The Towne described.

Inhabitants.

The Inhabitants are of very able and active bodies, their stature commonly tall, of swiftnesse (in that Mountainous Countrie) not farre behinde their Horses and Cammels: their Armes are Pikes and Stones; when a Peece is presented to them, so soone as they perceiue the cocke or match to fall, they cast themselues flat to the ground, and the report is no sooner heard, but they are vpon their feete, their stones out of their hands, and withall they charge with their Pikes, and this in scattered incounters or single fight (for either they know not or neglect orderly battalion) oftner giueth then receiueth hurt. The Iland it is not round, but stretched somewhat in length to the North-east and South-west, parted by a ridge of Hils from end to end, as *Italie* is by the Mountaines-*Apennine*. These hils are barren, otherwise then that in prettie store they feede flocks of Sheepe and Goates. Their Vallies promise no fruitfulnesse, being very sandy and dry, something like Rye-fields in *England*, and yet they yeelde passing good Barley, and Wheate. Their beasts be Sheepe and Goates, few Neate, many Asses, fewer Camels, but fewest Gennets, and these of no great stature. The Iland is thought to exceede the Wight both in breadth and length: of the Temper a man may iudge (besides that it lyeth in 28. degrees, and some minutes) by the complexion of the Inhabitants, which is blackish, and by their Harueſt-time, which was past before the middest of Aprill, and looke for a second about Michaelmas, their landing there was vpon good Friday. The next day, the fifteenth of Aprill, Sir *Iohn Barkeley*, being out of hope to finde the *Marquesse*, not knowing where to seeke him, whom feare had taught to hide himselfe closely, marched backe to the Nauie, without farther harme to the Towne or Castle, then borrowing some necessaries. There is in the Towne a Church of old, and a Frierie not yet finished. Their Church hath no windowes, nor admitteth light otherwise then by the doores; it hath no Chancell, but is one vndeuided roome, stone seates along the sides, and in the one end an Altar with the appurtenants: for the people seemeth full of ignorant Superstition, many Buls and Pardons being found in diuers houses. The Friery is a prettie square, with more commodities of fresh water and Gardens, then any other place of the Towne, euen the *Marquesse* his house.

The Iland of *Lançerota*.

Beasts.

One harbest done before the middest of Aprill.

The Church.

They came that night to the waters side, yet thought it better to lodge abroade then aboord, though there were Boates to receiue them. The next day being Easter day, his Lordship hauing something recouered his strength, after dinner, went ashore to the Companies, hauing seene them trained, knowing that the enemy watched for aduantage of scatterers, saw all his men shipt first, and then himselfe tooke Boate. The next day, being Munday, all the Captaines dined aboord the Admirall, and after dinner his Lordship caused his Commission (which was exceeding large in many points) to be openly reade; and Articles of gouernment were giuen for Sea-matters to the Captaine of euery Ship, and for seruice by Land to the Captaine of euery company; besides which Articles to the Sea Captaines, was deliuered a sealed letter, which they should open, if vpon any accident they lost the Fleete, and thereby learne direction where to seeke his Lordship. But withall it was expresly articled, that in no other case they should aduenture to open it; and that if they came into any danger of being taken by the enemy, they should not faile to cast the Letter ouer-boord sealed, as it was deliuered; for in no sort would his Lordship haue his purpose disclosed, no not by examination nor torture.

While his Lordship was coasting neere *Taneriffa*, the breathes rather then windes were so diuers, that it was doubled on euery side almost and came so close aboord the shore, that we did easily see into *Santa Cruz*, and some other coasting Townes, and might discerne the men vpon the hils, the rather by coniecture, by reason of the eminencie and height thereof; among which there is one aboue the rest incomprable, generally held to be much higher then the *Pyke* of the *Açores*, being then couered with Snow, when the bottome was as hot as at Midsummer it is in *England*. The Iland though to the Sea a very high land, yet is full of many very fruitfull Plaines, and Vineyards, yeelding to the King yearely (by credible mens report) 28000. Buts of *Canary-Sacke*. Certaine it is, that in common reputation it is held richer not onely then the rest, but euen then the grand *Canaria* it selfe (though it seeme not so goodly a champion Countrie (for we had that also in very neere kenning.) And that the King esteemeth it more, no man can doubt seeing he keepeth a farre greater Garrison there, then in the *Canaria*.

Pike of *Teneriffe*.

Riches thereof Captain *Leighs* voiage to *Orenoque*.

Captaine *Charles Leigh* which hitherto had commanded of the *Alcede*, on the fourth of May last, the Fleete and in his owne Barke, called the *Blacke Lee*, runne himselfe alone for the Riuer of *Orenoque*. His Lordship after diuers consultations determined that the Fleete should goe for *Dominico*. (His speeches, Captaine *Slingsbies* employment, and other particulars, are here for brevity omitted.

An old *Portugall* Pilot told his Lordship that he had beene in eight and twentie voyages into *Brasil*,

Brasil, but at this time of the yeere onely in one; wherein, hee saith, the windes were so contrarie, and they had so many other difficulties, that they were forced to put in againe and loose that yeeres voyage; so that the windes being in these parts at set times of the yeere, themselues also constantly set, we might well thinke wee should bee encountred with the same difficulties. All this while we held on our course for the West *Indies*, running West and by South, and West South-west, but bearing still to the Westward, both because we are likelier to keepe the fresher gale that way (though some were of contrarie opinion) and because the later wee entred within the Tropick, we should bee the likelier to meet with the *Brasil* fleet, whose course homewards must of necessitie be much to the North. By Wednesday the tenth of May (for till then wee met not with any memorable accident, seeing to tell of the flocks of flying fishes, might iustly seeme triuiall) we were come so directly vnder the Sunne, that none could see euidently the shadow of a stile set perpendicularly, but if there were any it inclined rather to the due South. For by obseruation by the Astrolabe (the vse of the staffe now fayling) we were found to haue passed our Tropick three degrees and a halfe, and the Sunnes declination that day was precisely twentie degrees. This was more cleerly perceiued at night by taking the height of the Crosier (a starre which of all other distinctly to be perceiued neere the Antartick Pole, serueth for those Southerly parts, as the lesser *Beare* doth to the Northerly countries.)

Sunne in their Zenith.

The Crosier.

It is a long step from the *Canaries* to the West *Indies*, which first of all wee had in our kenning vpon Sunday being the one and twentieth of May. But to lay, if it be but a handfull of peeble stones, in this gap. Vpon Saturday being the thirteenth of May, we had the first gust, and it had many followers, for few dayes passed without raine. When this raine began, immediately wee all felt a very noysome sauour, it was very sulphurous, and lasted so long as the raine did. Whether this proceeded of the nature of the water that fell from so neere the Sunne, or from the ship being very drie (as on land after a great drought there will rise a hot sauour) it is not cleerly knowne, nor yet determined, but that others may the better, this obseruation is expressed. This sauour was not felt vpon the decks, nor any where else besides the Cabbin, or at least not any where so much. The reason whereof may happily bee, that the aire being suddenly beaten in, and that by narrow passages, came the more violently, and by consequent the more sensibly into the Cabbin, then into other parts of the ship, and therefore whatsoeuer qualitie it bore with it, it was there the stronglieſt felt. In the following of as great gusts as that which came first, there was no such sauour felt, the fleet going still farther and farther from the Sunne. And which may be most to the purpose, not any of them that felt it, found any distemper after it, onely the sense was much displeased therewithall; his Lordship had at this time taken much physick, but still rather to preuent sickneſſe, then for to recouer health (for God be thanked, his body was very able to obey his minde) finding no difference in the world in the working of physick there and in *England*. Nauigators may helpe themselues by his Lordships obseruation: That vpon Friday being the nineteenth of May, the colour of the Sea began sensibly to alter, that whereas before it was of a cleere azure, it then began to incline to a deepe blacke. We were that day a hundreth and sixtie leagues (or thereabouts) from the West *Indies* and held our selues so certainly in the height of *Dominica*, that wee runne a due Westerly course. It is not vnlikely but this colour will be found in the same place at another time. And in such a course, wherein (besides the great difference of Cardes) a man must bee forced to trust to a dead reckoning; this may bee some helpe to a heedfull man. Vpon Sunday in the euening his Lordship directed the Master to runne that night with an easie saile, because he tooke himselfe neerer land then most of the Mariners would consent to, being himselfe the first that both spyed and cryed land; they were but few that did assent at the first: some desired it so much, that they durst not let themselues be ouer credulous; others happily would haue had themselues the first discryers, but his Lordship still made it land. Wee set saile for the land, and within two houres it was made to bee *Matinino*. Leauing it therefore on the larboard side, wee stood for *Dominica*, and within an houre or thereabouts had it in kenning.

Gusts.

Vnwholsome raine.

Colour of the Sea black.

Matinino.

Dominica.

§. II.

Description of Dominica *and the* Virgines. *Their landing on* Port Ricco, *march, fights, and taking the Towne.*

BY two in the afternoone wee were come so neere aboard the shoare, that wee were met with many Canoes, manned with men wholly naked, saue that they had chaines and bracelets and some bodkins in their eares, or some strap in their nostrils or lips; the cause of their comming was to exchange their Tabacco, Pinos, Plantins, Potatoes, and Pepper with any trifle if it were gawdie. They were at the first suspicious that wee were *Spaniards* or *Frenchmen*, but being assured that wee were *English* they came willingly aboard. They are men of good proportion, strong, and straight limmed, but few of them tall, their wits able

Naked *Indians.*

to

Their *Canoas.* to direct them to things bodily profitable. Their Canoes are of one Tree commonly in breadth, but containing one man, yet in some are seene two yonkers sit shoulder to shoulder. They are of
The people described. diuers length: some for three or foure men that sit in reasonable distance, and in some of them eight or nine persons a rowe. Besides their Merchandise for exchange, euery one hath commonly his Bowe and Arrowes; they speake some *Spanish* words: they haue Wickers platted something like a broad shield to defend the raine, they that want these, vse a very broad leafe to that
Red painting. purpose, they prouide shelter against the raine because it washeth of their red painting, laid so on that if you touch it, you shall finde it on your fingers.

That night, hauing with much adoe found land, within a quarter of a mile of the shore, we ankored for that night onely, for though there were a good watering place, and a very sweete riueret fast by vs, yet his Lordship ment to way ankor the next morning, and to beare in to another watering place, wherewithall we certainly looked for a hot Bathe. Their Oares wherewith
Their Oares. they rowe are not laid in bankes as Ship-boates haue, but are made like a long Battledoore, saue that their palmes are much longer then broade, growing into a sharpe point, with a rising in the middest of them a good way; very like they are to blades of bigge Westerne Daggers, that are now made with grauing. The shankes of these Oares are of equall bignesse, and at the top crosset, like a lame mans crutch. These they vse alwayes with both their hands, but indifferently as they finde cause to steere this way or that way. The next morning wee bore in to the North-west end of the Iland, where we found a goodly Bay able to receiue a greater Navie then hath beene together in the memorie of this age. There his Lordship found the hote Bathe fast by the side of a very fine Riuer. The Bathe is as hot as either the Crosse-bathe or Kingebathe at the Citie of *Bathe* in *England*, and within three or foure yards runneth into the Riuer,
A hot Bathe. which within a stones cast disburdeneth it selfe into the Sea. Here our sicke men specially found good refreshing. In this place his Lordship staied some six dayes in watering the whole Fleete, which in that time was all come sauing the Frigat, one of the blacke Pinnaces, and one of the *Flemmings* (which we hoped to be before vs, for they haue directions.) It was held conueniene here to take a Muster of our companies, and something better to acquaint euery one with his owne colours; but the weather was so extreamely foule, that in three or foure dayes spent to this purpose, there could be nothing done. Vpon Wednesday therefore, being the last of May,
The *Virgines.* it was resolued to stay no longer there, but to come againe to ankor at the *Virgines*, and there bestow one day in training our men. For that was our way to Saint *Iohn de Puertorico*, whether his Lordship now declared it was his purpose to goe first of all. By this time (for his Lordship would not haue any thing done in that foule weather) the other blacke Pinnace was taken down for a long Boate to serue for the more conuenient landing of our men.

That euening and the next morning all our men were brought aboord, and on thursday night
Description of *Dominica.* our sailes were cut for the *Virgines*. To describe this Iland, it lieth North-west and South-east, the soile is very fat, euen in the most neglected places, matching the Garden-plats in *England* for a rich blacke molde: so Mountainous (certaine in the places where we came neere the Seacoasts) that the Vallies may better be called Pits then Plaines, and withall so vnpassably woodie, that it is marualious how those naked soules can be able to pull themselues through them, without renting their naturall cloathes. Some speake of more easie passages in the Inland of the Iland, which make it probable that they leaue those skirts and edges of their Countrie thus of purpose for a wall of defence. These Hils are apparelled with very goodly greene Trees, of many sorts. The tallnesse of these vnrequested Trees make the hils seeme more hilly then of themselues happily they are: for they grow so like good children of some happy ciuill body, without enuie or oppression, as that they looke like a proud meddow about *Oxford*, when after some irruption, *Tems* is againe cooched low within his owne banks, leauing the earths Mantle more rugged and flakie, then otherwise it would haue bin; yea so much seeme these natural children delighted with equalitie and withall with multiplication, that hauing growne to a definite stature, without desire of ouertopping others, they willingly let downe their boughes, which being come to the earth againe take roote, as it were to continue the succession of their decaying progenitors: and yet they doe continually maintaine themselues in a greene-good liking, through the liberalitie partly of the Sunnes neighbourhood, which prouideth them in that neerenesse to the Sea, of exceeding showres; partly of many fine Riuers, which to requite the shadow and coolenesse they receiue from the Trees, giue them backe againe, a continuall refreshing of very sweete and
A Town found in *Dominica.* tastie water. For the Inhabitants of this Countrie. A Captaine or two watering neere the place where his Lordship first anchored, found a leasure to rowe vp a Riuer with some guard of Pikes and Musketers, till they came to a Towne of these poore Saluages; and a poore Towne it was of some twenty cottages rather then Houses, and yet there was there a King, whom they found in a wide hanging garment of rich crimson Taffetie, a *Spanish* Rapier in his hand, and the modell of
Wilde Maiesty. a Lyon in shining Brasse, hanging vpon his breast. There they saw their women as naked as wee had seene their men, and alike attired euen to the boring of their lippes and eares, yet in that nakednesse, they perceiued some sparkes of modestie, not willingly comming in the sight of strange and apparelled men; and when they did come, bulie to couer, what should haue bin better

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ter couered. The Queene they ſaw not, nor any of the Noble wiues, but of the vulgar many; and the Maidens it ſhould ſeeme they would not haue ſo ſquemiſh, for the King commanded his Daughters preſence, with whom our Gentlemen did dance after meate was taken away. This withdrawing of their wiues ſeemeth to come of the common ielouſie of theſe people; for (it is reported) that though they admit one man to haue many wiues, yet for any man to meddle with another mans wife, is puniſhed with death, euen among them. And no meruaile if the ſeueritie of law be ſet inſtead of many other wanting hinderances. It ſeemeth that themſelues are wearie of their nakednesſe, for beſides the Kings apparrell, they are exceeding deſirous to exchange any of their Commodities for an old Waſte-coate, or but a Cap, yea or but a paire of Gloues. Adultery puniſhed with death.

It is pretie that they ſay is the difference twixt the habit of a Wife and a Maide. The Maide weareth no garter (and indeede ſhe needeth none) but the Wife is the firſt night ſhe is married (which is not done without asking at the leaſt the conſent of her parents) ſo ſtraightly gartered, that in time the fleſh will hang ouer the liſt. The haire of men and women are of like length, and faſhion. But of all other things it is moſt memorable, that whereas their Houſes are priuate to all other vſes, yet they haue one common place, where all their men at leaſt take their diet, nature teaching them that Law which in *Lecurgus* his mouth was thought ſtrange and perhaps needeleſſe. The King ſitteth in the ſame great roome with the reſt, but withdrawing himſelfe into ſome more louely part, accompanied onely with three or foure of the beſt eſteeme; their meates are their fine fruites, yet haue they Hennes and Pigges, but it ſhould ſeeme rather for delight, then victuall: their drinke is commonly water, but they make drinke of their Caſſain, better of their Pines (and it ſhould ſeeme that might be made an excellent liquor) but the beſt and reſerued for the Kings cup onely of Potatoes: their Bread is Caſſain. The laſt report of them ſhall bee what I haue ſeene in experience, namely their great deſire to vnderſtand the *Engliſh* tongue; for ſome of them will point to moſt parts of his body, and hauing told the name of it in the language of *Dominica*, he would not reſt till he were told the name of it in *Engliſh*, which hauing once told he would repeate till he could either name it right, or at leaſt till he thought it was right, and ſo commonly it ſhould be, ſauing that to all words ending in a conſonant they alwayes ſet the ſecond vowell, as for *chinne*, they ſay *chin-ne*, ſo making moſt of the monaſillables, diſſillables. But it is time to leaue them who are already many leagues of. Difference of maide & wife. Common diet roome. Kings ſtate. Deſire to learn *Engliſh*.

On thurſday night his Lordſhip ſet ſaile for the *Virgines*, and on ſaturday morning had them in ſight: and in the afternoone we were come to an ankor. On Whitſunday in the morning betimes (for there was a fit place ſought out the euening before) our land forces went on ſhore, and there his Lordſhippe tooke a perfect muſter of them. The Companies indeede were (though after much ſickneſſe) goodly, in number one might well ſay not ſo fewe as a thouſand. When the Companies had bin trained into all ſorts, and faces of fights, at length his Lordſhippe commanded the Drummes to beate a call, and the troopes being drawne in the neareſt cloſeneſſe that conueniently they might be, that he might be heard of all, his Lordſhip ſtanding vnder a great cliffe of a rocke, his proſpect to the Seaward, ſtept vpon one of the greater ſtones (which added to his naturall ſtature, gaue him a pretty height aboue the other company) ſo commanding audience, made a ſpeech to them. They come to the *Virgines*. My Lords land companies about one thouſand. The ſpeech you haue before in his own relation, and therefore here omitted.

After which, the Fleete then within one dayes ſailing from *Puerto rico*, his Lordſhip preſently appointed Officers for the field. They all made vp a dozen Companies: whereof if any wanted the full number of 80. they were plentifully ſupplied, by a large ouerplus of gallant Gentlemen that followed his Lordſhips colours, borne by Captaine *Bromley*; and Sir *Iohn* alſo had more then 80. ſo that the whole Armie appointed to Land, was neere vpon a thouſand, ſpecially ſeeing the Officers of ſeuerall Companies were not reckoned in theſe numbers. The Offices thus beſtowed, his Lordſhip forthwith commanded euery man to be ſhipped in Boates, and to goe aboord, where after dinner it was debated, whether it were better to paſſe through the *Virgines*, a way not clearely vnknowne (for diuers of our company both Souldiors and Marriners had gone it before with Sir *Francis Drake*, in his laſt voyage) or elſe to hold the old courſe through the *Paſſages*. It was acknowledged that the *Virgines* was the neerer way, but withall none can denie, but that it was the more dangerous; for the way is very narrow (about the breadth of *Thames* about *London*) and we durſt not promiſe our ſelues the continuance of a leading winde. The way through the paſſages was found to be farther about, but withall it was without danger, and therefore hauing no great haſte chooſe the ſafer way by the paſſages; for (ſaid his Lordſhip) I chooſe rather, to be the firſt that ſhall take *Puerto rico*, then the ſecond that ſhall paſſe the *Virgines*. The *Virgines* are little Ilands not inhabited; ſome thinke for want of water, ſome thinke that is no cauſe, and that there is ſtore of water. They are very barren and craggie, ſomewhat like the *Burlings*, but being much more ſandie, as it is much more hot. Among theſe many ſcattered Ilands there is one called the *Bird-Iland*, by reaſon of the incredible ſtore of Fowle. So ſtored is it with plentie of Fowle, that neuer was *Engliſh* Doue-coat more willing to yeelde her increaſe then that hillocke, for you may take with your hands onely, as much See before the names of the Captaines and Commanders, here omitted. Sir Fr. *Drake*. The *Virgines* deſcribed. Bird-Iland.

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Incredible ſtore of Birds.

much as you will to the filling of Buſhels and Quarters. That euening we cut ſailes, and ranne through the *Paſſages* in the night time.

Vpon Monday afternoone, we made our ſelues to be not farre from *Puerto rico*; and our deſire was to beare in with it in the morning before day, that by that meanes we might leaſt of all be diſcouered. For this cauſe therefore the *Scout* and the *Anthony* were ſent before to make our landing place, and that done to returne, which was about midnight. His Lordſhips greateſt care was and had bin ſome dayes to ſet his men ſafely and well on land, for he doubted not to make them a way, if once they were landed without impeachment. Himſelfe therefore hauing commanded that Sir *Iohn Barkley* ſhould come aboord with him, tooke a Boate and went himſelfe no otherwiſe accompanied then with Sir *Iohn* and the Cockſons gyng, to diſcouer a landing place. Without long ſtay he returned againe, ſo wet, that he was forced to change his apparell, but withall gaue preſent commandement that euery Captaine and Ship ſhould put their men into Boates, and that they ſhould follow his bloudy colours, which he would haue preſently landed.

They land vpon the Ile of Saint *Iohn de Puerto rico* the ſixt of Iune.

By eight of the clocke that tueſday, being the ſixt of Iune, his Lordſhips regiment, and moſt part of Sir *Iohn Barkleys* were landed, which amounted neere to the number of a thouſand men. We began to march as ſoone as we could be brought into any order, & the forlorne hope drawne out, which was led by Captaine *Andrewes* the Commander of his Lordſhips priuate Company, which that day was brought vp in the the Battell by Captaine *Powell*, Lieutenant Colonell of his Lordſhips regiment. The way we marched was along the Sea ſide, commonly on firme, ſometime on looſe ſand, but yet it was a faire march, for three leagues at the leaſt, till we met with a blacke-Moore, who we hoped ſhould haue bin our Guide (and ſo he was willing to be) but he neither ſpake good *Engliſh*, nor good *Spaniſh*, and beſides was affrighted, ſo that a great while he did miſlead vs; for through moſt vnpaſſable roeks and clifts he brought vs: for betwixt the clifts where we ſtood, and the Iland wherein the Towne ſtood, there we ſaw an arme of the Sea, in breadth not Calieuer ſhot, but on the other ſide was a fort with fiue peece of great Ordnance, and ſome, though not many, Musketeers; for both the euening before they had diſcouered our Nauie, and this morning our landing, as we were ſure by diuers Horſemen, whom we ſaw come forth to view our ſtrength. Here there was offer made by ſome, ſo to plant a number of Musketeers in theſe rockes, as that they might beate them in the fort from their Ordnance: this was thought poſſible, and afterwards was done but now deferred, becauſe though we had no annoyance of the fort, yet we knew not how to get ouer, for the depth of the paſſage meerly vnknown, and our Boats yet had not found any landing place neere the fort. And while here we were at a flat bay, euen at our wits end, what courſe we might take to come to the Towne, there was ſent a Peece or two of great Ordnance (but without any hurt) from another fort, which ſtandeth vpon the narroweſt part of the ſame arme of the Sea, and was the onely paſſage that was vſed from the maine Iland where we were, to the Iland where the Towne is.

Negros miſguiding.

Here the *Nigro* was ſomething comforted, and brought to the little wit he had; at length, with much adoe, being made to vnderſtand, we tooke our ſelues to be out of the way, becauſe wee could not paſſe that way; partly with threatning and partly with promiſes if he brought vs into a better way to the Town; he began againe to leade, and we to follow with as nimble mindes as weary bodies, for we had marched from morning till now that it was euen in the edge of the euening; but we would not be weary.

Bad March.

At length through many vntroden pathes, or rather no pathes, but ſuch wodden holes, as would haue taught the moſt proud body to ſtoope very humbly; he brought vs into a beaten ſandy way. But for all this we were not neere the Bridge which muſt be paſſed, and diuers euen of our leaders began after ſo long and troubleſome a march to faint, ſo that order was giuen to ſtay the Vantgard, when it pleaſed God to helpe by one meane or other to as many Horſes, as kept vs from ſtaying our march. There might be ſeene a poore tyred Iade, without Saddle or Bridle, onely with a match in his mouth very welcome to them that commanded the beſt Horſes of *England*. But at length we ouercame the length of the way, and euen to the Bridge were come, but it was ſo late, that that night we were out of hope to paſſe it, being (as we had great reaſon to thinke) fortified againſt vs. Onely the Companies were commanded to keepe their guard, till his Lordſhip in perſon with Sir *Iohn Barkley* went as quietly as they could to take view of the place; which they found to be narrow and a long Cawſe-way leading to a Bridge reaching from the one Iland to the other. The Bridge they perceiued to be pulled vp, and on the other banke was there a ſtrong Barricado, a little beyond which was a Fort with Ordnance.

Bridge and Barricado.

But how much or what we could not learne, nor by how many men it was held, yet perceiued they it abſolutely not to be paſſed but at a low water. Our Mariners and Sea-men could ſay little to the ebbing and flowing in this Countrie, and therefore the onely way to know the fit time of aſſault, was to ſet a continuall watch to giue preſent information of the ebbe. The meane time the Armie was led backe to repoſe themſelues a while.

In a great Lawne we all ſat or lay downe, and with freſh water, which the firſt *Negro*, and another, that was afterwards taken in this wood, led our men to, they refreſhed themſelues;

ſome

some had some Bread, his Lordship was no niggard of that he had. His lodging that night was his Target; I lay at his head, and to my remembrance, neuer slept better. In the morning (two houres at least before day) the allarum was giuen very quietly, and was readily taken, for we needed not but to shake our eares. The Companies were streight ranged, and euery man had forgotten how weary he had bin the last night, so forward they were to be in seruice. Euen betwixt his Lordship and Sir *Iohn Barkeley* there grew a little question; whether of them should haue the point that day. Sir *Iohns* answer was, that his Lordship might command them all, and therefore it was at his pleasure to haue or leaue the point; but since it had pleased him to diuide the Armie into two Regiments, and his Lordshippes Leaders had all the last day had the Point, he tooke it to be neerer the order of the Warres if the other Regiment this day were respected. This reason together with request to his honour to remember himselfe to be the Generall, and therefore his place should not be so full of danger, so farre moued his Lordship that Sir *Iohns* Regiment had the Point; neuertheleſſe his Lordshippe would be at the seruice in person. Thus the manner of the enterprize being vpon the present resolued on, his Lordship put himselfe into his Armour, so did all the Commanders, and who else had Armours, for they looked that the seruice should be hot, as indeede it proued.

Sir *Iohn Barkeleys* honourable ambition.

By and by the enemies Centinell had discouered the approach of our Companies, and they tooke the Alarum. It may be well said it was well fought by the *English*, and if it had bin day that euery one might haue seene what he did, it is to be thought so many would not haue deserued so much commendation. The assault continued aboue two houres, during which time the *Spaniards* were not idle. For though the assalants left no way in the world vnattempted, yet no way could they finde to enter the Gate. The Cawsey, which was the ordinarie way of passage, was purposely made so rugged: that our men to keepe them on their feete, made choise to wade in the water besides it. Here his Lordship was (by the stumbling of him that bore his Target) ouerthrowne, euen to the danger of drowning; for his Armour so ouerburdened him, that the Sergiant Maior that by chance was next had much adoe at the first and second time to get him from vnder the water: when he was vp, he had receiued so much Salt water, that it droue him to so great extremity of present sickneſſe, that he was forced to lye downe in the very place vpon the Cawsey; till being somewhat recouered, he was able to be led to a place of some more safetie and ease; in which place the Bullets made him threatning musicke on euery side. His Lordshippe being brought to this little safe place (whence yet he would not be remoued till the fight was done) Sir *Iohn Barkeley* led on his Regiment, from whom there were not leſſe then 3000. *English* Bullets sent among the *Spaniards*, who had not so many hands as we, yet were not much behinde vs, in sending these heauy leaden messengers of death. For besides six peece of great Ordnance, which were bent and played inst vpon the Cawsey, and some pretty store of Musketeers; at a port fast by the gate lay there a fowler, or a cast peece, that did more skathe, then all the rest, for that at once shot many murthering shot, whereupon the peece is also called a murtherer; for all this our Soldiers came to the very gate, and with Bils, some two or three that they had, wanting other fitter instruments, began to hewe it. At their ports and loope holes they were at the push of the Pike, and hauing broken their owne, with their naked hands tooke their enemies Pikes, and perforce brake them.

The fight betwixt the *English* and *Spaniards*.

The Earles accidentall danger.

Valiant assaults at the gates.

But for all this no entrance could be got. Sir *Iohn Barkeley* attempting to discouer if any passage might be found of either side of the gate, twice waded so farre, that if he could not haue swamme, he had bin drowned. They that were come to the gate called to their owne Companies, that some Pikes should be drawne to them: this word was giuen farther then was intended, for by and by all the Pikes were called for. Then his Lordships colours began to march, and to the Cawsey came, where hee was very exceeding sicke lying vpon the ground in a place, no leſſe dangerous then if he had bin vpon the Cawsey; a place so perilous that it had bin as safe being at the entry of a breach by assault: but the end was, it could not then bee taken; the tyde came in so fast, that what was at our knees before, was now come vp to our middles: and besides the day began to breake, which though some thought would be aduantagious for vs, yet certainely it would haue bin the death of many a man; their Ordnance being bent to scoure the Cawsey, and the ruggedneſſe which they had made to hinder our approach, had made vs forsake it; which if the day had once discouered to them, they might easily haue bent their Artillery to our much greater losse. But God would not haue more bloud shed, nor ours as yet to haue our wils. The Companies therefore were brought off to the place where we lodged all night, before where the Chirurgians were presently to looke to the hurt, which were not many, and the slaine much fewer, all vnder fiftie of both sorts. No Commander slaine or hurt but two Lieutenants. Lieutenant *Chelmley*, that had serued excellently well, and Lieutenant *Belings*. The losse that the enemy had was much like, sauing that of the assaults there were some few more slaine: from this place our Companies marched to the Sea-side, whether his Lordship had appointed victuals to meete them.

Sir *I. Barkleys* courage.

His Lordships perill.

The tide hinderеth them.

His Lordship hauing giuen the Souldiours some time to refresh themselues, in the meane time went himselfe aboord so sicke that in truth he was to be feared, with purpose to repose himselfe

His Lordship goeth aboord.

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for that night, but his thoughts were ſo buſied and reſtleſſe, that within few houres he came aſhore againe, and preſently put in execution a purpoſe, which his Lordſhippe had this meane time digeſted: it was to land men at the other Fort. For effecting whereof he gaue direction that one of the Ships ſhould beare in cloſe to the ſhore, though it were (as indeede it proued) with apparent danger of caſting her away: But the ſeruice was to be done whatſoeuer it coſt: Withall there were in the rocks on the other ſide ouer againſt the Fort (I meane that which we firſt came to ſee, but could not come at) ſome fifty Musketeers placed, to beate the enemy from their Ordnance: meane while there were ſhipped in Boates Captaine *Coach*, and Captaine *Orrell* with two hundred Pikes and ſhot to land on the other ſide the Fort, twixt it and the Town, that they hauing made good the place, might either make a ſtand till the reſt of the forces were landed (if it were thought needefull) or elſe might march and charge the other Fort on that ſide, when our men ſhould aſſault it on this ſide. This plot tooke very good effect; for within an houre that the attempt was giuen, partly the Ship, and partly the Musketeers had ſo beaten the Fort, that the Boates had good leiſure to land; whereupon within ſhort ſpace the enemy quitted the place without loſſe to be ſpoken of to our Companies: for of all ours there were not aboue three hurt, and one ſlain, onely the Ship was driuen vpon the rockes, and finally caſt away. Their direction was that the Souldiers ſhould make the place good (for there was no doubt of their ſufficient ſtrength) the Boats were commanded to come backe againe to his Lordſhip, who appointed to tarry at a Conduit which is in the maine Iland but from whence men might be landed betwixt the point or the Bridge, and the red fort, called *Mata-diabolo*.

His returne and ſecond Stratagem.

Good ſucceſſe thereof.

Ship loſt.

The red Fort, called *Mata-diabolo*.

Our men were ſafely landed ſome pretty diſtance beyond the red Fort; where the *Spaniards* were ready to receiue them, and a while they skirmiſhed gallantly, but finding themſelues ouerweake, they made an honorable retreat till they were fallen into the wood, in the edge whereof they made their firſt ſtand. Ours marched directly to the Fort, which they found quitted, and there lodged all that night. By that time that the Boates were come backe to his Lordſhip, the Moone was growne ſo light, and the water fallen to ſo dead an ebbe, that there was no hope of paſſge till the next floud. There was not ſo much as a candle or a match to be ſeene in the Fort, whereupon his Lordſhip told Sir *Iohn Barkeley* that he tooke that Fort alſo to be quitted, the rather becauſe ſome were ſeene paſſing from the Fort to the Frigat. Hereupon himſelfe accompanied with Sir *Iohn Barkeley*, went to the Cawſey to ſee if they could perceiue any more certaintie, and Captaine *Rukesby* was ſent and brought certaine intelligence, that the enemy was gone.

Spaniards beaten.

The *Engliſh* take the Fort.

Another Fort quitted.

By this time it was growne very late, and our men needed ſome refreſhing: the Companies therefore were drawne vp to the place where we had lodged the laſt night, where hauing eaten ſomething they were within a while brought downe to the point, where meeting with Captaine *Coach* and Captaine *Orrell*, all began to march directly towards the Towne. And now our men made but little doubt of all, hauing once ſet ſafe footing in the leſſer Iland. It was night when we began to march, and by breake of day we were at the Towne. This day was thurſday, Iun. 8. The paſſage is wooddie on either ſide, and ſo narrow that not paſſing three at the moſt can march in ranke; and from the Towne this Fort is a mile and a halfe: yet all this way being ſo fit for Ambuskadoes, or for the *Iriſh* manner of charging by ſudden comming on and off, there was not a Dogge that barked at vs, ſo that in great quietneſſe wee came to the Towne, and found it quitted of all able to make reſiſtance: for beſides women and men, whom either age or wounds had diſabled for the warres, all the reſt had quitted the Towne, and betaken themſelues as to their laſt hope, to one of their Forts to the Sea-wards, called *Mora*.

They enter the leſſe Iland and march to the Towne.

The Towne quitted of all people able to beare armes, and entred by the *Engliſh*.

§. III.

The Fort Mora *beſeeged and taken. The Towne deſcribed: the Mines. Purpoſe to hold the place; altered by the death and ſickeneſſe of many.*

AFter that the place was aſſured with ſufficient guards, and euery Company quartered: firſt of all the *Spaniards* that were left were deliuered to the Prouoſt, and then his Lordſhip ſent a Drum to ſummon the Fort to be deliuered to him for the Queene of *England*, who had ſent him thither to take it. The Gouernour made anſwere that the King of *Spaine* had ſent him thither to keepe it, and that ſo long as he liued it ſhould not be deliuered. After this ſummons his Lordſhip tooke exceeding care for the taking in of this hold with the leaſt loſſe of men that poſſibly might be; for he conſidered that he was to leaue a ſtrong Garriſon there, and that he muſt himſelfe goe home well guarded. His purpoſe therefore was to take it without fight, onely with a ſtraight ſiedge to force them to yeelding: his Lordſhips ſpeciall purpoſe and deſire was by hunger to driue them to a yeelding (as in the end hee did) but withall

The Fort ſummoned.

The Gouernors brauado.

Care to ſaue mens liues.

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withall he prouided a batterie, if their victualls should last longer then he wished and hoped. At one time therefore he tooke order to cut off all possible meanes of reliefe of victualls, by sending Boates, which continually lay twixt the Fort and their Mayne; and withall hee prouided two plat-formes, and seuerall Gabions, that from two places at once their wall might bee beaten. To this purpose there was brought from the *Scourge* two whole Culuerings, and two Demiculuerings, and about the Towne were found foure other peeces that would serue for batterie, among the which one was that which had slain Sir *Nicholas Clifford* there not long before. By Saturday the seuenteenth of Iune the Ordnance was readie to batter. But his Lordship would not haue them begin on the Sabbath day; so that it was deferred till Monday. Sir *Nicholas Clifford.*

All this while the noise of warre was not so great among vs, but that the still voice of Iustice was well heard. It is no newes that in such companies there will bee outrages committed; and so was it there: for his Lordship publikely disarmed a very good Souldier, for ouer-violent spoyling a Gentlewoman of her jewels. But because this was not terrible enough to the rest, and he was desirous to arme Iustice with the authoritie of all the Commanders, forthwith hee caused a martiall Court to bee called. Whereupon the Article of defacing Churches or Houses of Religion, and of offering force to Women, there were two condemned to die. Hee that had done violence to a *Spaniards* wife, was a Souldier, and had giuen very good proofe of his valour, so farre, that his Lordship had taken speciall notice of him, but being conuicted of this crime, there was no place left for mercy, but hanged hee was in the market place; the *Spaniards* as many as would come, being suffered to be present at the execution. The other-fellow was a Sayler and an Officer in the Vice-admirall, for defacing some things in the Church, without order from the Generall, hee was brought thrice to the Gibbet, and at length his Lordship was intreated to grant him mercy. These few but indeed notable examples of iustice haue since held vs in much better termes of duly obedience. His Lordships iustice. Souldier disarmed for vnmanly and vnmannerly vsage to a woman. Churches and Women secured. Rauisher executed. Sacriledge terrified.

Vpon Monday the batterie began to speake very loud: both the Gabions beat vpon a Caualero which they had made vpon the Point next to the Towne. The Ordnance which they had planted thereon, by dinner time was iudged to bee dismounted, and though that were the thing specially respected in the batterie, yet because the Wall and the Caualero that stood vpon it began to nod, they beat that place till towards the euening. All this while scarce was there a *Spaniard* to be seene vpon any part of their wall, whereas before the Ordnance began to play, there could not within the sight and reach of the Fort, foure or fiue of the Souldiers come together, but there would a shot of great Ordnance be sent to scatter them. In the euening the Canoneers found that they had spent all the Culuering shot, and therefore shut vp that day with the lesser peeces. Against the morning there was more prouided; but in the meane season it was perceiued, that the Caualero was alreadie sufficiently beaten, and that with the next raine (which in that Countrie and time of the yeere, is neither seldome nor little) it would fall, being (as all the Countrie is) of a sandie earth, it did but crumble into dust. The Canoneers therefore were appointed in the morning to beate the other Point neerer the Sea. For that so flanked the Gate, and the breach alreadie made, that without great danger there could not any approch be made, and his Lordship was growne exceeding niggardly of the expence of any one mans life. Raines

This wrought so with them in the Fort, that about one a clocke, they sent forth a Drum to demand parley. His motion was, that two of their Captaines might be suffered to speake with two of the *English*. It was granted; and they met in a place of the greatest indifferency that could be found, so that neither partie should discouer others strength. The demands were deliuered in Paper, written in *Spanish*: the summe whereof was; for themselues they desired that with Colours flying, match in their cocks, and bullets in their mouth be set beyond the Point at the Bridge, to goe whither they would. Further, they demanded all the prisoners to bee deliuered without ransome, and that no mans *Negroes* and Slaues should be detayned from them. His Lordship vtterly refused any such composition, but told them because hee tooke no pleasure in shedding Christian bloud, hee would deliuer them some Articles, which if they liked, hee would without more adoe receiue them to mercy. Which Articles were these, deliuered vnder his Lordships owne hand to the Gouernour. Parley demanded. Conditions demanded.

A resolution, which you may trust to.

I Am content to giue your selfe and all your people their liues, your selfe, with your Captaines and Officers to passe with your Armes: all the rest of your Souldiers with their Rapiers and Daggers onely. Articles offered.

You shall all stay here with me, till I giue you passage from the Iland, which shall bee within thirtie dayes.

Any one of you, which I shall choose, shall goe with me into England, *but shall not stay longer there then one moneth, but being well fitted for the purpose, shall bee safely sent home into* Spaine *without ransome.*

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It was doubted whether there were any in the Fort that ſpake *Engliſh*, and therefore ſome were wiſhing the Articles were tranſlated into *Spaniſh*. But his Lordſhip peremptorily refuſed to ſeeke their language, but would haue them to finde out his; but becauſe it was now growne late, he gaue them reſpite to thinke what they would anſwere till eight a clocke the next day, and promiſe was giuen on either ſide, that neither ſhould practiſe to put things out of the ſtate they now were in. The next morning rather before then after the time appointed, there returned to his Lordſhip, beſides the two former Captaines, both hee that now was, and hee that had beene laſt Gouernour, and withall they brought with them one of good place in his Lordſhips ſeruice whom they had taken priſoner, while he was viewing a peece of Ordnance that lay neere the Fort. Theſe alſo required (as Captaine *Lanſois* and the Sergeant Major before) priuate audience who without much difficultie yeelded vpon the foreſaid conditions; and farther deſired they might haue two Colours left them, & in lieu hereof they made promiſe that nothing ſhould be ſpoyled in the Fort. That day the Gouernour and his Companie dined with his Lordſhip, and after dinner the Gouernour went and brought out his Companies out of the Fort (which of all ſorts were neere foure hundred) and deliuered the keyes to his Lordſhip, who immediately brought in his owne Colours, and Sir *Iohn Barkleys*, and placed them vpon the two Points of the Fort. The *Spaniards* without being pillaged (for beſide all promiſes his Lordſhip ſuffered them to carry their ſtuffe away) conueyed ſafely into a ſtrong Caſtle in the Towne called *Fortileza*. This Fort was taken in vpon Wedneſday being the one and twentieth of Iune, and vpon Thurſday our fleet was commanded to come into the Harbour, for all this while it had rid without. This Fort is to the Sea-ward very ſtrong, and fitted with goodly Ordnance, and beſtowed for the moſt aduantage to annoy an enemie that poſſibly could bee deuiſed. It is held abſolutely impoſſible that any ſhippe ſhould paſſe that Poine without ſinking inſtantly, if the Fort doe not graunt her paſſage: And the riding without the Harbour is very dangerous as wee found by the loſſe of many Anchors and Cables, to the extreme danger of many of the Ships, and the finall caſting away of one of them. The Fort to the land-ward is not altogether ſo ſtrong as towards the Sea, but yet being victualled able to abide a long ſiege.

Spaniards yeeld the Fort.

The Fort *Mora* wherein were 400. Souldiers, deliuered vp to the *Engliſh*.

The deſcription of the citie of Saint *Iohn de Puerto Rico*.

The Towne conſiſteth of many large ſtreets, the houſes are built after the *Spaniſh* manner, of two ſtories height onely, but very ſtrongly, and the roomes are goodly and large, with great doores inſtead of windowes for receit of aire, which for the moſt part of the day wanteth neuer. For about eight in the morning there riſeth ordinarily a freſh breeſe (as they call it) and bloweth till foure or fiue in the afternoone, ſo that their houſes all that while are very coole, of all the artificiall day the ſpace from three in the morning till ſixe, is the moſt temperate, ſo that then a man may well indure ſome light clothes vpon him; from ſixe till the breeſe riſe is very ſoultering, from fiue in the afternoone hotteſt of all the reſt till midnight, which time alſo is held dangerous to be abroad, by reaſon of the *Serenaes* (they call them) which are raynie dewes. And indeed in the nights the Souldiers which were forced to lie abroad in the fields, when they awaked found as much of their bodies as lay vpwards to bee very wet. The Towne in circuit is not ſo bigge as *Oxford*, but very much bigger then all *Portſmouth* within the fortifications, and in ſight much fayrer. In all this ſpace there is very little loſt ground; for they haue beene ſtill building, inſomuch as that within theſe three yeeres, it is augmented one fourth part. The Cathedrall Church is not ſo goodly as any of the Cathedrall Churches in *England*, and yet it is faire and handſome; two rowes of proportionable pillars, make two allies beſides the middle walke, and this all along vp to the high Altar. It is darker then commonly Countrie Churches in *England*. For the windowes are few and little, and thoſe indeed without glaſſe (whereof there is none to be found in all the Towne) but couered with Canuas, ſo that the moſt of the light is receiued by the doores, the greateſt whereof is iuſt in the Weſt end to the Seaward, ſo that out of it a man walking in the Church may behold the ſhips riding in a very faire Harbour. The other two doores (beſides that which is priuate from the Biſhops houſe) are on either ſide, a little aboue their Quire. For that of all other things is the moſt ſingular and differing from the faſhion in *England*, that their Quire is in the very loweſt and Weſtermoſt part of their Church, wherein is the Biſhops ſeate rayſed three good ſteps aboue the reſt, and pompouſly built. On either ſide of him ſeeme to ſit ſixe Prebends, and vpwards are places for ſinging men and Quiriſters. Their Church wanteth no neceſſarie implement. On the North ſide a faire paire of Organs; at either ſide-doore a poore mans boxe: aboue the Organs on the ſame ſide, there is a decent Pulpit very conueniently placed; on the other ſide of the ſide-doores, there were two Lauers for holy water, to ſprinkle the Incommers, and in the South-weſt corner faſt by the great doore is there a place ſeemly incloſed with Ioyners worke, where is a faire Font placed. This Church is ſacred to Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*, as is all the Iland; beſides his Image there were many other in particular ſhrines, which the Souldiers could not bee held from defacing vnorderly. There are in the Citie three or foure little Chappels to Saint *Anne*, Saint *Barbara*, and others.

Freſh aire.

Heat, how ordered.

Great dewes.

Greatneſſe.

Cathedrall Church deſcribed.

No glaſſe windowes.

The doores, &c.

Quire in the loweſt part of the Church.

Chappels.

Beſides the Fort, which held out thoſe few dayes, and is of ſome twice twelue ſcore remoued

mooued from the Towne: there is in the West and by South side of the Towne a strong Castle, The Castle.
built of squared stone, commonly called the Kings house, named before *Fortaleza*, wherein was found good store of Munition. Betwixt this Castle, and the Fort *Mora*, there is another peece of fortification of squared stone and battlemented, it also coasteth along the Sea, and may beate the harbour. So that all things considered, it was the mightie hand of God, which with the losse of two men onely at one shot slaine with a peece of Ordnance, deliuered a place of such strength, to so small a troope of men, the rather if it be considered, that we came not thither vnlooked for; for they had particular warning a moneth at least before, and to the waterside where Boates vse to land out of the harbour, they had cast vp a strong ditch to impeach landing there, but God brought vs a better way. There is also a faire Frierie standing on the North side Monasterie.
of the Towne, but little distant from it: it is built of Bricke in a good large square, with a Church and Hall, and all necessary roomes for a Pryor and Couent of Fryers; it seemeth not to be perfected yet, for they are beginning of a Cloyster not yet couered. The Couent was fled all, saving one old Fryer, who in the little broken Latine that he had told me, that they were *Dominicans ordinis predicatorum mendicantium*. The situation of this place is exceeding delightfull: it standeth vpon the ease hanging of a hill, inclosed on three parts well neere by the Sea. The soile sandie and very light, like to our Rye-fields in *England*: the temper as in that heighe hot, and yet rather effectually and in operation, then to the sense. There books haue their glewed backs, there melted and loosened; Flowers or Fruites candied in *England*, there lose their crusty and *English* Comfits grow liquid. But after some little acquaintance, it is likely it would proue a very healthfull place; for though they spake of some mortality (as what place in the world is alwaies free from that scourge of God?) that hath bin there of late, yet haue I bin told by them that haue liued there, in seuenteene moneths there haue not aboue two bin buried, and those of extreame age. And at his Lordships comming hither people of 80. and 90. yeares old were of good abilitie of body.

The rest of this little Iland (at the east halfe of a league in length) is for the most Woods com- Woods of vn-
plaining of the want of dressing and industrie, yet are they all youthfully greene, and none with- knowne trees.
out some fruite or other, but so strange as would pose the professors of that skill in *England*: and in these woods Horses and Oxen grow fat, if they be suffered to rest. Therein be also some large inclosures carefully dressed, not vnlike to our manner of dressing Hop-yards, and euery hillocke laden with the fruites of the Countrie. Lemmons or rather Lymes, and the goodliest Oreinges that euer I saw are ordinarily to be found where no man set them. In and about the Towne there is store of Coker-nut-trees, which, beside the excellencie of the Fruite, giue a very delightfull gracing to the Towne. There is not in this little Iland any knowne Riuer or Spring, but hard beyond the point in the other Iland there is an excellent Conduit of very good fresh water, handsomely ouerbuilt with squared Stone; and in the Towne euery house hath a large Well, and some two, so as they cannot want water in such plentie of raine, which is there both often and abundant. And if men will not lose themselues with ouermuch ease and pleasure, there will be no necessarie thing wanting. But the eminent and knowne profits of this place are Ginger, Sugar and Hides, besides the secrets of the Gold Mines, howsoeuer of late yeares neglected. Some reasons haue beene giuen, *why the King left working though he knew there were exceeding store of Gold.* The first is, the very store of Gold; for say they the sweetenesse he found, made him vnwilling to haue any copartners, and therefore knowing this place to bee the neerest to the *Indies* to Why those
those Countrimen, whom he most feared that they would in time become sharers with him, mynes are
he would not lay such a baite to entice them to set footing there, where being once entered, neglected.
they would not onely guild their fingers, and pay their Souldiers for the present with his Treasure, but would make this their baiting place in the longer iourney to the other Ilands, and continent of the *Indies*, which are the very coffers whence he feedeth his warres. And if it be obiected, that the working in these Mines was ceased before the King had cause to feare the *English* or *French* inuasions thereinto, there being then no warres twixt him and them; let them rest satisfied, that with the answer made by a *Spaniard* to his Lordship, obiecting the same, that *the warres were then a brewing*. Secondly, they say that the King left working in this, because he would haue all not onely this, but the other Mines also; for he saw that all men, as they doe loue wealth, so doe they also seeke after ease, And if with lesse labour they may get the same profit, none will vndergoe needlesse trauell. From which generall, the descent is very easie and direct to this particular. That if in a shorter voyage and lesse time his subiects were sure to make themselues Masters of as much gold, as if they went farther and should come no heauier home; hee should finde but few that would fetch gold from *Peru*, or the other more inland parts of the *Indies*, when as they might haue it with halfe the trauell, and in halfe the time. Besides, the *Spaniards* great lands and pouertie of men will not suffer all workes goe forwards at once. There are among the *Spaniards* whom God hath deliuered to his Lordships hands, the same *Lansoit* of whom was spoken before. In what reckoning hee is held by the *Spaniards*, may bee perceiued, by their imploying him, in time of so great necessitie. Once it is confessed, that hee almost onely was hee that held the rest from present yeelding, and who after yeelding (which

yet they say was without his consent) taketh the losse of the *Spaniards* most of all to heart. He seemeth truly to be wise aboue the common pitch of Souldiers which is his profession, yet hath he beene heard say and protest by the faith of a Souldier, that there is not so rich and good a myne in all the Kings Dominions to the Westward, as that of *Puerto Rico*. Others whose fathers were imployed in the workes, report what their dying fathers told them. But that which maketh most of all to the purpose, is the present preparation which the King is euen now a making, for the reuiuing of these workes afresh in *Puerto Rico*, by setting two hundreth *Negroes* to worke, and for that purpose had sent great store of Mattocks and Spades thither, there found in his store-house, and for what other vse they should haue needed, is not well conceiueable.

Much time was spent in taking order how the *Spaniards* might be dispatched to *Carthagena*; (for thither it was resolued they should bee sent) being a place so farre to the leeward of *Puerto Rico*, as that they neither could in haste themselues make any head, nor send newes to *Spaine*, to procure the leuying of any forces thence: and in prouiding victuals for this place, and repayring ships that were first to come for *England*. Vpon Thursday being Saint *Peters* day, there was a saile discryed at Sea in the morning, and by noone shee was come into the Harbour, which with much astonishment shee found turned *English*. The *Spaniards* had some few dayes before reported that they looked for a ship to bring from the *Hauana* much of the Souldiers pay that was behinde. This held vs for the time in great suspence of hope and doubt, whether this might bee shee or no; the rather because this seemed to bee of the same bignesse that they had spoken of, but when shee was fallen into the trap, it was found indeed to bee a very Mouse, where we looked for a Mountaine. For her lading was a number of poore naked *Negroes* from *Angola* to bee sold there. Yet was shee a pretie Boat, and of her lading likely to bee made of good vse. Within few dayes after there was another saile almost taken after the same manner, yet perceiuing a greater fleete riding there, then shee could hope to finde *Spanish* shee got her tack aboard, and went away lasking, so that though the *Affection* was sent away in chace after her, yet shee escaped.

Saile descryed.

A ship of *Negroes*.

Vpon Friday being the seuenth of Iuly, all things being made readie for their passage, the *Spaniards* were imbarked in a Caruell, and in another ship, which during the time the ships rode without the Harbour, for feare of them whom shee could not passe, or enuie that they should receiue good by her, ranne her selfe desperately ashoare, but shee and most things in her were saued, and here shee saued the sending away of a better ship. With these two, wherein the baser *Spaniards* were put, there were two other ships sent to waft them, wherein also went the Gouernour and some few others, who deserued some respect. And for themselues it was permitted them to come directly home for *England*. The next day being the eighth of Iuly, there came to his Lordship two *Negroes* from the mayne Iland with a flagge of truce, and a letter from one *Seralta*, an ancient Commander in that Iland, and who vpon a wound receiued in the first fight at the bridge had with-drawne himselfe into the Countrie. The effect of his desire was, that being in great distresse through feare of the *English*, that daily marched vp and downe the Countrie, he desired his Lordship to grant him and his protection to trauell without danger. Whereunto his Lordship made this answere to be written, and sent him. *That he must absolutely denie his request, but yet if himselfe, or any of his Nation, or any dwelling with him or them would within eight dayes come vnto him to* Puerto Rico, *he should by the vertue of that his Letter bee protected from being taken or spoyled, by any of his Souldiers: and this hee willed him to signifie to them neere about him, that they might giue notice of the same throughout the whole Iland. And further, his Lordship promised that to as many as would come, that they should both come safely, and if they so would should bee imbarked, and sent away as the Gouernour with the rest of the* Spaniards *were alreadie.*

His Lordships honorable resolution and intendment was, not to come so farre from home, to take onely or spoile some place in this other world, and then run home againe: but hee had determined (by the leaue of God) to keepe *Puerto Rico*, if it pleased God to giue it into his hands. That was the place he meant to carry, whatsoeuer it might cost him, being the very key of the West *Indies*, which locketh and shutteth all the gold and siluer in the Continent of *America* and *Brasilia*. He knew that Saint *Domingo* might with much lesse losse bee taken, and would bring much greater profit for the present; in regard whereof, and of the desire hee had his Aduenturers should become gayners, his thoughts sometime tooke that way, but finally they stayed at *Puerto Rico*, and there setled themselues. As this was his resolution before hee had it, so was it also after he had it, and then not onely his, but euery man of worth or spirit saw such reason in his Lordships designments, that some thought themselues not so graciously dealt withall, that they were passed ouer, when others were named to stay. But God had otherwise disposed. For within a while that his Lordship had beene in *Puerto Rico*, many of our men fell sicke, and at the very first not very many dyed. The *Spanish* as well as the *English* were both sicke and dyed of the sickenesse, as besides *Seralta* was seene in diuers others. Others suspected their bodily labours to haue procured it, and both seeme to haue concurred.

Purpose of stay and holding the place.

Alteration by sickenesse and mortalitie.

In

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In Iuly and Auguſt is their Winter, ſo called for their great raines at thoſe times, which to bodies alreadie rarified by the heat of the Sunne then ouer them, and yet rather where vehement exerciſe hath more opened the pores whereby inward heat is exhaled, muſt needes be very dangerous. It was an extreme coolenesſe of the body, which within few dayes would grow into a flux of bloud, ſometimes in the beginning accompanyed with a hot Ague, but alwayes in the end attended by an extreme debillitie and waſte of ſpirits: ſo that ſome two dayes before death, the armes and legs of the ſicke would be wonderfull cold. And that was held for a certaine ſigne of neere departure. This ſickneſſe vſually within few dayes (for it was very extreme to the number of ſixtie, eighrie, and an hundred ſtooles in an artificiall day) brought a languiſhing weakneſſe ouer all the body, ſo that one mans ſickneſſe (if hee were of any note) commonly kept two from doing duties. And this was it, which rather then the number alreadie dead, made his Lordſhip firſt thinke of quitting the place. For though towards the beginning of Iuly, there were not much aboue two hundred dead, yet was there twice as many ſicke, and there was no great hope to recouer the moſt of them. The ſhips were left weakly manned, for when we landed we landed about a thouſand men, of which the greater part was dead or made vnſeruiceable for the preſent. There were aboue foure hundred reported dead when his Lordſhip left the Towne, and ſurely as many ſo ſicke, that moſt of them could not bring themſelues aboard, before his Lordſhip left the place. After that it was once openly giuen out what his Lordſhip purpoſed, then was order taken to make readie the ſhips, in which time theſe things happened. Vpon Friday the ſeuenth of Iuly, there was a ſaile diſcryed, which being come in was found to bee one of our owne, though made ours by purchace. Heretofore it was noted, that at our comming from the *Canaries*, wee wanted the Frigat and one of the black Pinnaces, which being ſent vpon a piece of ſeruice with Captaine *Slingsby* in the *Conſent*, had left him, and were gone after a chace, but how farre or whither none knew till this ſaile came in, which told vs that they had taken that chace, whoſe lading was Muttons onely and Hennes, paſſing from one Iland to another, but withall they had ſo irrecouerably loſt the fleet, that after they had there ſtayed fiue or ſixe dayes, beating vp and downe to finde vs againe, but without effect. Captaine *Harper* that commanded the Frigat, was forced to breake open his Letter, to know his direction whither his Lordſhip had appointed him to come to him. According whereunto they firſt ſtood for *Margarita*, where not finding his Lordſhip, nor hearing any newes of the fleet, they put off againe for *Puerto Rico*, according to the direction they had receiued. But by reaſon of the violence of the Current there not ſo well knowne to them, they were driuen to the leeward of *Puerto Rico*, and ſo had beene at *Domingo* before they came to vs. There they heard newes of his Lordſhips being at *Puerto Rico*, and that he had taken the Towne, but the Fort held out ſtill. Making therefore all the haſte they could, bearing vp as high as the *Paſſages*, they got thither at laſt. The men in this ſhip were they which had beene in the black Pinnace, but becauſe ſhee began to bee leakie, and not to brooke theſe Seas, they had ſunke her, and put themſelues into the prize, which being of better ſaile then the Frigat, had out-gone her ſome dayes ſayling, for they told vs ſhee would alſo bee there within few dayes, and ſo ſhee was on Tueſday next after, hauing loſt one man of their companie, all the reſt were very ſtrong, and in good liking. Vpon Wedneſday the nineteenth of Iuly, there came into this Harbour a Caruell: Shee was found to bee of *Margarita*, laded onely with paſſengers that were bound for *Spaine*. There were alſo found ſome rags and medicine pearle, to the value of a thouſand Duckets; the men were not many, and it ſhould ſeeme they had not further furniſhed themſelues, then might prouide them neceſſaries at their arriuall in *Spaine*, and to preſent their friends. Vpon interrogatories therefore he found it very certaine by the agreeing confeſſion of them all, that they were ſo farre from hearing of any fleet of the *Engliſh* in theſe Weſterne parts, that in much ſecuritie the Kings Chiſt was yet remayning in *Margarita*, with no more then the ordinarie guard. For beſides the old Garriſon of about thirtie Souldiers, there was not any new ſupply. Onely they had receiued direction from the King, that ſeeing the Chiſt was very rich, they ſhould not aduenture to ſend ſo great treaſure without aſſured ſtrength; and therefore his pleaſure was ſignified to be, that it ſhould attend his ſending of ſome Gallions or Frigats for the ſafe wafting of the ſame. The Chiſt had not beene ſtirred ſome yeeres, and therefore rich it muſt needes be, in a place which ſo plentifully yeelded pearle. Triall was made by his Lordſhip with three ſhips; but *Margarita* lying South-eaſt or South-eaſt by South from *Puerto Riceo*, and the windes at that time of the yeere conſtantly blowing Eaſt South-eaſt or South-eaſt by Eaſt, they were forced backe fruſtrate of their hopes.

Winter (ſo called of abundance of rain) in Iuly and Auguſt.

The diſeaſe.

400. *Engliſh* dead of ſickneſſe in *Puerto Rico*.

Black Pinnace ſunke.

A thouſand Ducats worth of pearles found.

The Kings rich Chiſt of pearls in *Margarita*.

§. IIII.

Purpoſe of returne. Treatie with the Spaniards. *His Lordſhips departure. Deſcription of the Iland, the Beaſts, Fruits, Plants, &c.*

HIs Lordſhip after he ſaw it was not Gods pleaſure, that this place ſhould yet bee kept by the *Engliſh*, had made ſome offers afarre off to the *Teniente*, and other chiefe men that were in the mayne Iland, for ranſomming their Iland and Citie. To this purpoſe he vſed one *Antonio Robles*, a Licenciate in phyſick, that had beene taken in the ſhip of *Angola*, whereof I noted ſomething before. This *Robles* is a man, whom ſome learning and much experience added to his naturall wit, had made very ſubtile and craftie. Hee once returned, but ſoone after gaue the ſlip, as alſo did two others. By reaſon of this accident, the old Gouernour and the reſt of the *Spaniards*, were reſtrayned of much libertie they had, and were kept in cloſer durance: which wrought with them in ſuch ſort, that at his Lordſhips returne into the Harbour, the Gouernour *Pedro Suarez* made offer to his Lordſhip, that if it would pleaſe him to ſend one *Vincent Lopez* (that was in reſtraint with him) againe to negociate with the *Teniente* touching the ranſome of the Citie and Stanſies, he would become ſuretie for his returne. His Lordſhip refuſed to write any more to men ſo vnworthy of his curteſie, which they had much abuſed; Marry if you, ſaid my Lord, doe ſee likelihood that any thing would bee effected, and would your ſelfe and as from your ſelfe write to them to perſwade them for their owne good, I would vpon your word and ſuretiſhip, be content that the ſaid *Lopez* ſhould paſſe. Thus vpon Tueſday the firſt of Auguſt, was *Lopez* diſpatched with one Letter to the Biſhop, and another to the *Teniente*, both from *Pedro Suarez*. Vpon Thurſday the third day, *Lopez* returned. And brought his Lordſhip a Letter in ſhew from the Licenciate in phyſick, *Antonio Robles*, but indeed it was an anſwere from the *Teniente*, *Pedro Garcia*, and the reſt, into whoſe hands the gouernment fell, vpon the ſending away of the preſent Gouernour *Antonio Beluſchere*. In this Letter, beſides many idle excuſes for his owne treacherous breach of promiſe (the conuenient doing whereof was in likelihood the cauſe, that he ſpecially was deputed to write for the reſt) there was offer made, that if it would pleaſe his Excellencie, to ſet downe and ſend them a definite ſumme, which he would accept, they would looke into their preſent abilitie, and accordingly would ſend his Lordſhip aſſurance, that within ſeuen dayes it ſhould be ſent to him, to be receiued at the Point, where hee held continuall guard. Concluding, that in theſe ſendings they ſought nothing but delaies, his Lordſhip determined not to ſend them any more, but withall ſpeed to make himſelfe and the fleet readie for a happy, and by many much deſired returne, ſince it was cleere, that it was not Gods pleaſure, that yet this Iland ſhould bee inhabited by the *Engliſh*. All the Hides therefore, and Ginger and Sugar, which either was alreadie readie or in time could be gotten, was forthwith ſhipped, and ſo was all the munition in the Towne, all the Ordnance in any place of that Iland, which amounted in all and of all ſorts very neere the full number of fourſcore caſt peeces, ſome of them the goodlieſt that euer I ſaw. But when they ſaw his Lordſhip reſolute to ſend no more to them for negotiating touching the ranſome of their Citie, they now begin to ſend againe and againe to him. His Lordſhip neuer meant to deface their Citie, or to make it vnfit to be inhabited. But withall he tooke the likelieſt wayes, to conceale this from the knowledge of the enemie, whom hee could not ſo well rule with any other bit, our owne ſtrength being now growne ſo weake. His Lordſhip therefore entertayned their offers, and ſo farre granted their deſires, that ſome in the name of them all, might with his Lordſhips Paſſe come to the Citie to goe through with his Excellencie. There came two, *Immanuel Cordero* and *Don Pedro de Pantoia*, who without the Biſhops conſent, they ſaid, offered fiue hundred kintals of Ginger; at whoſe returne (which ſhould bee within three or foure dayes) they did thinke that thrice ſo much would be giuen. The fleet was not yet altogether readie, and Sir *Iohn Burkley* not yet ſo well recouered of his the common diſeaſe, as that it was deemed fit hee ſhould preſently commit himſelfe to the Sea, being to bee ſo long without a bayeing place; and hee by his Lordſhips directions left him, might diſpatch the matter. Theſe two therefore were licenſed to returne to *Luiſa* to their friends vpon Saturday being the twelfth of Auguſt, with promiſe to be againe with vs on the Tueſday following. But before their appointed day his Lordſhip ſet ſaile: yet it is not vnlikely his returne was ſomething haſtened, by an accident that fell out. The old man *Pedro Suarez* had a countenance that promiſed an honeſt minde, and in regard of his age and weakneſſe, he was not ſo narrowly looked to, as for ſometime hee had beene. This old ſicke man found a meanes to eſcape the Sunday-night after they were gone to *Luiſa*, certainly not without practice with his Countrimen; and it is thought with the priuitie of his Keeper. Now this mans departure onely therefore miſliked, becauſe it was traiterous and without leaue, did more and more confirme his Lordſhip in his opinion that the *Spaniards* dealing with vs was traiterous, and for ſome other end, then was pretended. And therefore ſeeing his owne ſtay ſhould not be needfull (for he knew Sir *Iohn* very ſufficient to diſpatch any thing that was to bee done) he preſently commanded that his owne ſhip ſhould weigh, and with her, of great ſhips onely the

Lopez ſent with Letters.

80. peeces of braſen Ordnance brought from *Puerto Rico*.

the *Samſon*; of the leſſer, the *Royall Defence*, the *Frigat*, the *Scout*, the *Elizabeth*, the *Guiana*, and two little ones that were found in the Harbour, one a *Frenchman*, and the other a *Spaniſh* Frigat, which were rigged during our aboad there. So that his Lordſhip left with Sir *Iohn* the ſtrength of the Naue, the *Aſcention*, the *Gallion*, the *Alcedo*, the *Conſent*, the *Pegaſus*, the *Centurion*, two ſtrong flie-boats, and the *Anthonie*. The true reaſon of his Lordſhips deſire to be gone from *Puerto Rico* quickly, was indeed a longing he had to be quickly at the Ilands. For hee had ſo plotted the voyage, that ſtill hee would haue a ſtring left in ſtore for his Bow. And now hee had intelligence that the fleet of *Mexico*, which hee knew was to goe this yeere, was euen now vpon their diſpatch. For vpon very good aduertiſements he was giuen to vnderſtand, that the fleet meant to diſimbogge the firſt light Moone in their September, which falleth out to bee the ſeuen and twentieth of our Auguſt, and his deſire was to be at the Ilands before them, which he might well hope for being in the height of the *Bermudas* by that time they ſhould put forth of the Bay. Beſides this he had reaſon to looke for the meeting of a Carack, if by the middeſt of September hee were at the Ilands. For though they, which are homewards bound hauing made their voyage in the Eaſt *Indies*, ordinarily haue timelier paſſage, and are at home by Auguſt, yet if any of them, which this yeere were to goe from *Liſbon*, ſhould be put backe againe, September is the moneth, wherein they were to bee expected at the *Azores*. And for their more certaine meeting againe with his Lordſhip, that ſo all the fleet might come home together, his Lordſhip left them this direction, which was giuen to euery ſhip vnder his hand. *You ſhall ſteere in with the Southward part of* Flores: *if you finde me not in that courſe, then ſeeke me betwixt ten and fourteene leagues of* Fayal, *Weſt South-weſt. If there you finde mee not, then come through betwixt* Fayal *and the* Pike; *and ſeeke me in the Road at* Graciola; *if you finde me in none of theſe places, you may be aſſured I am gone from the Ilands for England.* And for the Towne, Sir *Iohn* had order giuen to leaue it vndefaced, ſauing that the Fort *Mora* ſhould bee razed to the landward. Thus wee left *Puerto Rico*, and ſteered as directly to the Ilands as the windes would ſuffer vs, which are there continually Eaſterly, yet ſerued vs ſo fauourably, that blowing much at Eaſt South-eaſt, wee tooke our ſelues to hold a North North-eaſt courſe, allowing our ſhips to driue one point to the leeward; which courſe if we could hold, we hoped to weather the infamous Iland of *Bermuda*, notorious with vnmercifull and incredible ſtormes of fearfull thunder and lightning. It was the ſixt day after our departure from *Puerto Rico*, being Saturday the nineteenth of Auguſt, when I writ out this note, then were wee a great way from the height of the *Bermuda*, which lyeth in thirtie three degrees.

Ships left with Sir *I. Barkley.*

Cauſe of the Earles quick departure.

The Earle departed from *Puerto Rico* the 14. of Auguſt.

Now we are in the way from *Puerto Rico* to the Ilands of *Azores*, which muſt needes be found a long paſſage, and the way being not much beaten with reſort of the Paſſengers, puts me in hope that this may be a leiſurefull place, to pay a piece of a promiſe that I made before, to ſay ſomething more of the nature and qualitie and largeneſſe of the mayne Iland of *Puerto Rico*. The meanes which I did moſt wiſh and hope for, to enable mee the better for the payment of this debt, I could neuer with conueniency come by. For I alwayes waited if his Lordſhip would paſſe ouer into the Mayne. For without him I had no great deſire, and indeed I ſhould haue beene quickly miſſed, ſeeing it pleaſed his Honor to vſe mee in the diſpatch of all things, which were to be done by warrant or direction vnder his hand. So that whatſoeuer I ſhall ſay here, I muſt be content to report vpon the report of others; and I will not tell you any thing, which (mee thought) my ſelfe did not firſt ſee reaſon to beleeue. The plat and figure of the Iland is a ſquare, *altera parte longius*, the length exceeding the breadth neere the proportion of ſeuen to foure; for it is told me, to be ſixe and thirtie leagues long, and twentie leagues broad, bearing it ſelfe out from end to end neere in the ſame diſtance. It lyeth Eaſt and Weſt: at the Weſt end the two corners doe ſo jut out, that they make a goodly Bay betwixt them, but yet not ſo profitable, becauſe a goodly Riuer, which would gladly diſburden it ſelfe into the Bay, is choaked with ſands, which the Sea caſteth vp into the mouth of the Riuer, which being nauigable a good way vp into the Land, is within a ſtones caſt of loſing his old name, and being called the Sea, made ſhallow and vnfit for the receit of Veſſels of burthen. There are indeed in the ſame Bay other leſſer Riuerets, whereat Paſſengers vſe to take in freſh water, as Sir *Francis Drake* did, after hee was beaten from the Citie of *Puerto Rico*, and put forth thence to *Nombre de Dios*. Vpon this part of the Iland, which is commonly called *La Aguada*, in *Engliſh*, *The watering place*, the greateſt Commander, and of largeſt poſſeſſions, is, or of late hath beene, one *Cherено*; whoſe proper land, is thought to containe in compaſſe and circuit neere the quantitie of ten leagues. The other end, the Eaſterly end is knowne by the name of *La cabeça de San Iuan*, in *Engliſh Saint Iohns head.* The Citie of *Puerto Rico* is his right ſide or arme: and the South ſide about the Countrie of *Choama* (whither the Biſhop at our comming had carried himſelfe) will be anſwerable to the left ſide or left arme, as being leſſe fit for action, and his feet is the watering place. The moſt famous Riuers of this Iland are *Toa* and *Baiamond*, the rather becauſe they runne into the Harbour of the Citie of *Puerto Rico*; whereof *Toa* is by much the greater, and falleth more with the Weſt of the Towne: This Riuer riſeth out of a Mountaine, called *Guiamo*, being on the South ſide of the mayne Iland, ſome fifteene or ſixteene leagues from *Puerto Rico* to the Eaſtward;

The Authors employment with the Earle.

Of the nature, qualitie, and largeneſſe of the mayne Land of Saint *Iohn de Puerto Rico.*

Riuer *Toa.*

from

from *Guiamo* it runneth North in one ſtreame, till it come to another Mountaine, called *Cawas*, and though in this way it receiue many Riuerets into it, yet it cannot bee ſaid either to loſe or retaine his name, for thus farre it is not knowne certainly what name it had, as they ſay; but here parteth it ſelfe into two ſtreames, the one whereof runneth Northerly to *Luiſa*, a Towne not great but ſomewhat fortified, ſtanding ſome ſixe leagues to the Eaſtward of *Puerto Rico*. Whether the Towne doe giue or take his name of this arme of the Riuer, it is vnknowne. But well knowne it is, that they haue both one name. The other ſtreame being once diuorced from *Luiſa*, runneth North North-weſt and falleth into the Harbour of *Puerto Rico*, where it is called *Toa*.

Riuer *Baiamond*.

Baiamond riſeth betwixt the parting of *Toa* and *Luiſa*, and runneth a Northerly, but more Eaſterly courſe withall, till it mingleth it ſelfe with ſalt water on the South-weſt ſide of *Puerto Rico*. The Iland is watered with very many other Riuers, and Riuerets and Springs without number, or names, but thoſe that giue or take names of the Villages and Townes which ſtand vpon them, for the moſt part runne Northerly. For beſides *Guiamo*, which riſeth in the Countrie of *Coama*, and runneth into the Southerly Sea, and the Riuer whereon Saint *German* (which alſo is called *Salamanca* and *Guadianilla*) is ſituate towards the Weſt end of the Iland neere to Cape *Roxo*; all the other of name runne to the leeward of the Iland, and fall into the Northerly Sea. As firſt and next to *Puerto Rico* to the Weſtward, the Riuer and Towne of *Sabuco*: next to it *Guiamo*, then the *Recibo*, twixt which and the *Laguada* is another, whoſe name I could not learne. The *Laguada*, whereof I ſpake before; and which giueth name to the Weſterly end of the Iland, where Sir *Francis Drake* (as I ſaid) watered, is next vnto the choaked Bay before mentioned; in which Bay at the North-weſt Point is the *Gawaraba*, which the Seas violence hath made ſomething vnprofitable for nauigation, ſo that the paſſage to Saint *Domingo*, and the other leeward parts of the Weſt *Indies*, are moſt ordinarily from the *Laguada*, if they of the Weſterly part of the Iland haue any buſineſſe that way. For as Saint *Germans* or *Salamanca*, though I haue heard it to be a Harbour and a Sea-faring Towne, yet I am told ſo much to the contrarie, as makes me doubt of the former report, though I dare not abſolutely aſſent to this later, though a *Spaniard* of good vnderſtanding told it me. Now, in euery one of theſe Riuers which I haue named is there gold found ordinarily before it be fought. And (I know it to bee true) when the *Spaniards* perceiued by his Lordſhips manner of leauing the Citie of *Puerto Rico*, that hee went not away without purpoſe to returne, one of them told his Honor in plaine termes, that he could not thruſt his ſpade into any of theſe named Riuers, and many other beſides theſe, but hee ſhould finde gold. This certainly is true, and I haue ſeene the experience, that ſome of the grauell of one of theſe Riuers being brought to his Lordſhip becauſe it looked rich, when triall was made, onely by waſhing away the ſand and grauell, there was cornes of very good gold found in it, and that for the quantitie and proportion in great meaſure. Where, becauſe we are againe fallen into this argument, I will report vnto you a certaine truth, whereby the richneſſe of the mynes in *Puerto Rico* may be eſteemed. One *Ioancho de Luyando*, a Mint-maſter in this Iland, dwelling in the *Guadianilla* neere to Saint *Germans*, or at the leaſt hauing workes there, tooke a bullion or maſſe of gold ſo pure, as it needed no further triall, that being ſent to the King it was found worth three thouſand and fiue hundreth Duckets, and diuers times he found ſuch plates, that onely ſplitting them, he made himſelfe trenchers of gold to eate his meat on. This man may bee judged to haue beene of no great either wit or care; for it is certainly reported, that oftentimes meeting his owne ſlaues comming out of the Countrie to his houſe in *Puerto Rico* with ſtore of gold, hee did not know them to be his owne, till themſelues told him ſo; and yet this man dyed ſo very rich, that he left euery of his three ſonnes a hundreth thouſand Duckets; inſomuch that the youngeſt of them being in *Spaine* vpon the diſpatch of ſome buſineſſe, which his father had left vnſettled, was there thought of ſtate ſo good, that a Marqueſſe thought his daughter well beſtowed vpon him in marriage. But ſee how nothing will laſt where God with his preſeruing bleſſing doth not keepe things together. For at this day, ſcarce is there any remainder left of all his riches, and this now moſt poore though great Lady, not being able to proportion her ſelfe to the lowneſſe of her fortune, and beſides vexed with her husbands ill conditions, hath by authoritie left him, and hauing entered religious profeſſion, is at this preſent in a Nunnerie in Saint *Domingo*.

Gold found ordinarily in the Riuers of Saint *Iohn de Puerto Rico*.

Vanitie of riches.

The ſoile.

I haue beene very inquiſitiue of the beſt obſeruers, and moſt able to judge among ours, that haue vpon occaſion trauailed into the inparts of the Iland. They doe agreeingly tell me, firſt that their wayes are very myrie, or rather dirtie, as proceeding of mold rather then grauell or ſand; now, the prouerbe in *England* is, that *that Countrie is beſt for the Byder, that is moſt cumberſome to the Rider*. Secondly, the graſſe and herbage they meet withall euerywhere is very proud and high, though ſomewhat courſe, which argueth a luſtineſſe, and ſtrength of fatneſſe in the ſoile, and which wanteth onely ſtore of mouthes to ouer-come that luxuriant pride, and to bring it to the fineneſſe which we moſt commend in *England*, which is made moſt probable, by that, which in the third place they report of their experience, that the ſoile is a black mold, vnderlaid within ſome two foot, with a laire of reddiſh clay, which is one of the moſt infallible marks by which our *Engliſh* Graſiers know their battle and feeding grounds. The whole Iland is delightfully and plea-

pleasurably diuersified with Hills and Vallies. Among the Hills there is one eminent aboue the rest, called the *Loquilla*, commended with the greatest plentie and riches of mynes. And yet none of the Riuers that I can heare of, haue their heads from thence, which perhaps may bee the reason, why it aboue the rest is lesse wasted. For they say that in the other Hills also there are veines found, of whose pouertie no man needeth to complaine. This Hill which they call *Loquilla*, is placed Easterly aboue *Luisa*. The Vallies are much wooddy, but in very many places interlaced with goodly large Playnes and spacious Lawnes. The woods are not onely vnderlings (as in the lesser Iland for the most part they are) but timber trees of goodly talnesse and stature, fit for the building of ships, and of euery part of them. For not to speake of a ship which wee our selues found here a building towards the burthen of a hundreth, the great *Bongonia*; a ship of a thousand, hauing lost her Masts at Sea, had them all made here of the timber of this Iland, her mayne Mast being of two trees onely, and being there and all other wayes fitted for *Spaine*, was euen vpon the point of putting forth of this Harbour, when Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *Iohn Hawkins* came hither with an honorable intent to take her and the foure Millions, which shee brought hither from the *Hauana*. For this ship was the Admirall of the fleet, which that yeere went from *Tierra firma*; and being taken with a storme at Sea, and hauing lost her Masts, with much adoe recouered this Harbour, and here was againe fitted. But the Queenes Nauie (vpon aduertisement of this accident) came so just in the nick, that they were forced to sinke her in the Harbour, and that with so great haste, that the passengers had not time to fetch their clothes, but lading and victuals and all was lost. Some of the ribs of this great Beast we found here, but the marrow and sweetnesse of her was gone; for shee brought in her foure millions and a halfe of treasure, for the wasting whereof those Frigats, which Sir *Francis* burned in this Harbour, were purposely sent. For while Sir *Francis* was watering at *Guadalupe*, some of his fleet discouered the passage of these Frigats by *Dominica*; which good newes (as truly they were very good) assured Sir *Francis* (as he openly told the fleet) that the treasure was not yet gone from Saint *Iohn de Puerto Rico*, for as much as he assured himselfe that these ships were going to fetch it home. The Playnes and Lawnes of the mayne Iland are graced with much varietie of many kindes of fruit: for besides the great Countries of ground where their Heards roame with such vncontrolled licence, as that they grow almost wilde, the champaine which they haue chosen to place their *Stancies* and *Ingenios* vpon, are richly laden with Ginger and Sugar-cane. Their *Ingenios* are commonly vpon some Riuer, or neere some moore-marrish and waterish places, for in places of that qualitie doe their Sugar-canes prosper best. And besides, there is much vse of water for their Mills, and other works, though most commonly their Mills goe with the strength of men and horses, as I vnderstand, like our Horse-mills in *England*, which if I had seene my selfe I should haue beene better able, and consequently more willing, to haue reported to you the manner and cunning of the same. They that haue beene eye-witnesses, doe with great wonder and commendation speake of them. Their *Stanfias* are more inwardly placed in the Countrie, and yet a conuenient neerenesse to some Riuer is desired, for more conuenient carriage of their Ginger to *Puerto Rico*, whence they vent their commodities into other Countries; which I take to bee some part of the cause why more follow Ginger then Sugar workes, because their *Stanfias* doe not need such choise of place, and therefore the poorer may more easily come by them, which yet also more easily they set vpon, because much needeth not to set vpon the commoditie of Ginger. I haue heretofore said in generall, that Sugar and Ginger are the greatest knowne commodities of this Iland.

M. Loquilla.

Woods and Timber.

Great ship sunke with foure millions and a halfe of treasure.

The playnes.

Herds almost wilde.

Ginger and Sugar.

Stanfias for Ginger.

Ginger and Sugar their richest commodities.

A third commoditie of the Iland besides Ginger and Sugar, I did before note to bee Hides. Whereof without contradiction there is very great store. I haue beene told by the *Spaniard*, that that same *Cherene*, whose Countrie is neere to the *Laguada* of the quite contrarie side to Cape *Roxo*, is generally reported to feede to the number of twelue thousand head of Cattle. Whereupon we may easily coniecture, how infinite the number of Cattell in this Iland is, seeing in the Westerly end thereof, which is held farre worse for feeding then the Easterly, neere Saint *Iohns head*, there is so incredible abundance. Once, it is generally spoken and beleeued, that by reason of this ouer-flowing of Beeues, it is lawfull for any man to kill what he needeth for his vse, if onely hee bee so honest as to bring the skins to the proper owners. Now, these Hides must rise to a huge summe of riches, considering that their Cattell are farre larger, then any Countrie that I know in *England* doth yeeld. For their Kine that I haue seene here, are for goodlinesse both of heads and bodies comparable with our *English* Oxen. And I wot not how that kinde of beast hath specially a liking to these Southerly parts of the world, aboue their Horses, none of which I haue seene by much so tall and goodly as ordinarily they are in *England*. They are well made, and well metalled, and good store there are of them, but me thinks, there are many things wanting in them, which are ordinarie in our *English* light horses. They are all Trotters, nor doe I remember that I haue seene aboue one Ambler, and that a very little fidling Nagge. But it may be, if there were better Breeders, they would haue better and more goodly increase, yet these are good enough for Hackneys, to which vse onely almost they are imployed. For Sheepe and Goates I cannot say that there are any great flocks, and of the two, fewer Sheepe then Goates. For I haue seene and tasted of many Goates, but to my remembrance, I did not see one Sheepe,

Hides.

One man hauing 12000. head of beeues which vsually are greater then the *English*.

Beeues prosper there better then horses.

Their horses.

yet

Goates.

Why sheepe are scarie.

Woolish Dogs.

The wild dogs liue of Crabs.

Description of these land-crabs, *quere* if they bee not Tortoises.

yet (say they) that the Iland is not without reasonable flocks: and I haue beene told so, by them who haue receiued information from their owne eyes. Neither can this scant of sheepe be laid vpon the nature of the soile, as being vnfit or vnwilling to feed that sober harmlesse creature, but it proceedeth rather of a woolish kinde of wilde Dogs which are bred in the woods, and there goe in great companies together. This commeth to passe, by reason that these Dogs finde in the woods sufficient sustenance, and preferre that wilde libertie before domesticall, and to themselues much more profitable seruice. These Dogs liue of Crabs; I meane not fruits of trees: but an *Animal*, a liuing and sensible creature, in feeding whereupon, euen men finde a delight, not onely a contentednesse. These woods are full of these Crabs, in quantitie bigger then euer I saw any Sea-Crabs in *England*, and in such multitudes that they haue Berries, like Conies in *English* Warrens. They are in shape not different from Sea-Crabs, for ought I could perceiue. For I speake not this out of report, but of my owne sensible experience. I haue seene multitudes of them both here, and at *Dominica*. The whitest whereof (for some are vgly blacke) some of our men did catch and eate with good liking, and without any harme, that euer I heard complaine of. At our first comming to *Puerto Rico*, the Dogs of the Citie, every night kept a fearfull howling, and in the day time, you should see them goe in flocks into the woods along the Sea side. This wee tooke at first a kinde bemoaning of their Masters absence, and leauing of them: but when within awhile they were acquainted with vs, who at first were strangers to them, and so began to leaue the howling by night, yet still continued their daily resort to the woods, and that in companies. We vnderstood by asking, that their resort thither was to hunt, and eate Crabs, whereof in the woods they should finde store. This then is the sustenance which the wilde Dogs of *Puerto Rico* finde in their woods; which either fayling them sometimes, or out of a woolish disposition they get by liuing apart from men, they fall vpon the sheepe, whereof they haue made great waste; but which easily might be repayred, if the *Spaniards* would bee content, to sweat a little, or to be a little wearie in killing of these Dogs. Their Goates liue more securely, because they loue cliffes of Rocks, or the tops of Hils, and therefore they are out of the ordinarie haunt of these murderous Dogs, by reason that their ordinarie foode the Crabs are most vsually in bottoms, and along the Sea side. Besides Sheep and Goats there is reasonable good store of Swine, which in these Westerly and Southerly Ilands yeeld most sweet Porke. I doe not remember that I haue seene here either Hare or Conie, but here is store of excellent Poultrie, as Cocks and Hens and Capons, some Turkies and *Gimy*-hens, Pidgeons in meruailous abundance; not in Doue-houses as with vs, but which breed and build in Trees, they are both of great number and goodnesse. For besides other places, there are two or three little Ilands hard by *Puerto Rico*, neere to the mouth of *Toa*, where a Boat may goe in an euening or morning, and suddenly take nine, ten, or a dozen dozen; the chiefest of these three is called (as I haue heard) the *Gouernours Iland*. I haue not marked any store of Fowle vpon this little Iland, nor haue I heard of more by any that haue beene in the mayne Iland. Parrots and Parrachetoes are here, as Crowes and Dawes in *England*; I haue ordinarily seene them flie in flocks, and except it bee some extraordinarie talkatiue, they are not here much regarded, as it should seeme.

Their experiment.

Goates more safe then Sheepe.

Swine.

Fowles.

Pidgeons in Trees.

Parrots as Crowes.

Now, fruits of the Iland are abundant in number and measure, very excellent; Potatoes are ordinarie. Their Pines are in shape like a Pine-apple, and of this likenesse, I thinke, these had their names, but neither in feeling or taste are they any thing like; for that wherewith this Pine is inclosed is not wood, but soft, that you may squease it in your hand, and so apt to bee mellow, that it will not keepe long, whereas a wooddie Pine-apple is of an exceeding durance and lasting. The taste of this fruit is very delicious, so as it quickly breedeth a fulnesse. For I cannot liken it in the palate to any (me thinks) better then to very ripe Strawberries and Creame, the rather if a man haue alreadie eaten almost his belly full: for then they much resemble a Pine; I haue seene some a quarter of a yard long at least, and in proportionable thicknesse, to bee like a Pine-apple; it groweth vpon an heard like an Artichoke. Their Mammeis are of the colour of a very darke russitting apple, or a leather-coat, of the bignesse of a great Costard, the rinde of it as thicke or thicker then the barke of a Sallow, which being easily pulled off discouereth a yellow, but well tasting meat, something like a Carrot roote, but much better. Within this meat, there are two or three great rugged ill-shaped stones, which (as I remember) haue kirnels in them. Their Guiauas are a lesser fruit, as bigge as a Peach, and without not much vnlike, but within not solid as the Mammeis, or as an Apple is, but full of such little seedes as a Goose-berry hath, not so greenish, but inclining to a sanguine colour; the taste of this is (me thought) like to a very ripe great white Plum: this fruit is (which a man would not thinke) a remedie against the flux, and so are their Papaies, a fruit like an Apple of a waterish welsh taste. They haue Plums blacke and white, their stones much bigger, and their meat much lesse then in *England*, and these also stay the flux. And so doe their wilde Grapes, which are a fruit growing in Clusters, and therein onely (me thinkes) like Grapes, they are round, and as great as a good Musket-bullet, and yet haue they very little meat vpon them, for their stone (if that which is not hard may bee called a stone) is exceeding great for the proportion of the fruit, insomuch that the meat seemeth to bee but the rinde of this stone. A stone I call it though you may put it together with your finger, but

Fruits.

Pines.

Mammeis.

Guiauas.

That and Papaies good against flux.

Plums.

Wilde grapes.

it

It hath a bitterish kirnell in it, and that which is without it is meat, and that of a delightfull saporous taste. Their Plantines are a fruit which grow on a shrub betwixt an hearb and a tree, but it is commonly called, a tree of the height of a man, the stem of it as bigge as a mans thigh, the fruit it selfe, of the bignesse and shape of a Goates horne, it groweth yellowish and mellow being ripe either vpon the tree, or with keeping, and then eaten raw or roasted, it is a good meat, comming neere to the relish of an Apple-Iohn, or a Duson that hath beene kept till it is ouer-ripe, saueng that me thought I still found some taste of a roote in it, the meat of it is lapped vp in a thin skin, which being scored the long way with a knife, easily deliuereth what is within it. Plantines.

Their Coker-trees please the eye, as well as their Nuts doe the taste. The body of them is but slender, no where so bigge as a mans middle, and vpwards growing proportionably lesse, till they are risen some thirtie or fortie foot high without sprig or bough, then breake out their boughs all at once, euery one whereof is iust like a goodly Ostridge feather; their leaues are so cunningly set together, euery one whereof alone is something like a Sedge or the leafe of a wilde Lilly. Vnder this bush which is the head of the tree, doe the Coker-nuts grow, some fortie on a tree round about the Bole, some yard downward from where the branches breake out. These trees are a very great grace to the Citie of *Puerto Rico*, and very many there were found in it: and he that hath seene this may somewhat conceiue of the forme of a Palmeto tree, for in shape they are not vnlike. This Palmeto tree, while it is young (and yet of good yeeres) is much of it selfe meat, and tasted (me thought) like a Wall-nut, but somewhat bitterish; when it is old they say it beareth fruit, the Date, one of the best fruits in my iudgement; I saw not any fruit vpon any of the Palmetoes that I saw, and therefore this shall be said onely vpon the report of others. Besides these fruits the Iland yeeldeth Figs, Pomegranates, Muske-millions, Pome-citrons very faire (as my selfe saw) but it is incredible almost that is reported of them by men of good credit; that their Pome-citrons grow to so huge greatnesse, as that a very little number three or foure of them will lade a horse. Limons I did not see any, yet they say there are some, but of Limes the number is numberlesse; and as for Oranges, truly I thinke they are the best tasted, and most goodly in the world. For both their sweet and sowre Oranges are full of most delicate and taste-pleasing iuyce, and besides they are the goodliest both in colour and greatnesse, that euer I saw. They haue Pepper also growing vpon trees, the Pepper it selfe is a little seede of colour twixt white and yellow, and inclosed in a bagge which sometime is round like a Ball, sometime it runneth out in a picked length like a fruit, which we gather in our Gardens in *England*, and eate as a sallet with Mutton. This pepper is much hotter and stronger then the blacke pepper vsed with vs in our Countrie. These fruits and many more grow vpon trees, and common to them all it is, and I thinke to all the fruits of the Iland, that the same tree at once beareth buds, greene fruit, and ripe fruits, and often withall seedeth. Cocos. Palmetos. Other fruits. Huge Citrons. Oranges. Pepper. Trees diuersified in fruits, greene & ripe, and buds at once.

Now if any man thinke that wee haue found meates in good store, but yet want bread and drinke, it may at one word bee answered, that the industrious and painefull can want no store of either. For first of all their Cassauie specially new, and carefully dressed is good bread, and will keepe so well that ships that goe hence to *Spaine* are victualled with it to the good liking of passengers. This Cassauie is the roote of a small tree, like, me thought, to an ouer-growne Hyssope stalke, or a young Sallow, but that the leaues are not so broad, but by much thicker vpon the branches of Cassauie: this roote is very full of liquor, which must be carefully pressed forth, before the dryer part bee fit to make bread. For the roote eaten with the iuyce, or the iuyce by it selfe, bringeth a painfull swelling in the belly, whereof death doth often follow. Wherefore the *Spaniards* generally hold it for a kinde of poyson. Yet our men (I am told) meeting with the rootes vnpressed, and mistaking them for Potatoes (whereby you may coniecture their shape) haue eaten them without after feeling any mortall distemper. And to a body whose naturall heat is able to ouercome their crudities and rawnesse, there is happily no present danger, for they tell me that of this iuyce sodden, there is made a prettie kinde of drinke somewhat like small Ale. The bread which they make of this roote is very passing white, not kneaded into loaues, but rolled out in Cakes of a reasonable thicknesse, yet may they be better called thin, and of such breadth, that they lap them in foldes one vpon another. Besides their Cassauie, they haue Mais, which maketh a much finer bread, and vsed of the better sort. There are two sorts of Maiz, the lesser they say not vnlike to Rice, in proportion and bignesse and taste; this I neuer saw either growing or raw, but I haue seene it in the dish, and at first did take it for Rice, saueng that mee thought it was something ouer-swollen; they that eate it said, it tasted like Rice. The bigger sort of Maiz I haue seene growing, and it is either the same or exceeding like to the graine which we call *Guinny* wheate; it groweth vp with a knotted stalke like a Reed, with large scattered leaues; it riseth to a fadome and a halfe or least in height, and at the very top shooteth out the graine. Besides Maiz and Cassauie, there is good store of Rice growing in the Iland, and where Rice will grow, who will make a question of Corne? But to put it without contradiction, that Corne will come vp with good increase, experience hath determined the question. For that same *Mulato Christus* (whom I mentioned before) did make experience and did sow Corne, which he reaped with good increase. But because it was painefull to follow husbandrie and tilCassauie described. The iuyce not poyson. Maiz. Rice.

lage, and (forſooth) Caſſauie and Maiz would ſerue, the *Spaniards* would none, nay this *Molato* halfe borne a ſlaue, would not bee at the paines to continue tillage. For drinks, the *Spaniard* doth here, as in *Spaine* hee doth, vſe water for moſt of his drinke, which in ſo hot a climate, would well agree with the *Engliſh* after ſome acquaintance; yet the *Spaniard* hath two other ſorts of drinke, the one called *Guacapo*, made of *Molaſſes* (that is, the courſeſt of their Sugar) and ſome Spices; the other kinde, and vſed by the better ſort of them, is called *Ale*: which is a kinde of Bragget made with many hot ſpices. And if both theſe fayled, yet haue they good ſtore of wines, indeed brought in from other Countries; not that this Iland will not nouriſh Vines: for I haue ſeene ſome grow here in *Puerto Rico* very flouriſhingly. But I haue heard the King will not ſuffer them to plant and dreſſe Vineyards, as a matter of policie.

Drinkes.

I might here, and ſo would I make an end of ſpeaking of the fruits of this Iland (for me thinks what hath beene ſaid, ſheweth it to be ſelfe ſufficient to liue well and happily) but their *Terua viua* will not haue me forget it. This hearbe is a little contemptible weed to looke vpon, with a long woodden ſtalke creeping vpon the ground, and ſeldome lifting it ſelfe aboue a handfull high from ground. But it hath a propertie, which confoundeth my vnderſtanding, and perhaps will ſeeme ſtrange in the way of Philoſophers, who haue denyed euery part of ſenſe to any plant; yet this certainly ſeemeth to haue feeling. For if you lay your finger or a ſticke vpon the leaues of it, not onely that very piece which you touched, but that that is neere to it, will contract it ſelfe, and run together, as if it were preſently dead and withered, nor onely the leaues but the very ſprigs, being touched, will ſo diſdainfully withdraw themſelues, as if they would ſlip themſelues rather then be touched, in which ſtate both leafe and ſprig will continue a good while, before it returne to the former greene and flouriſhing forme. And they ſay, that ſo long as the partie which touched it ſtandeth by it, it will not open, but after his departure it will, this laſt I did not my ſelfe obſerue: and if it be ſo, it muſt be more then ſenſe, whence ſuch a ſullenneſſe can proceed; but for the former, I haue my ſelfe beene often an eye-witneſſe to my great wonder, for it groweth in very many places in the little Iland. His Lordſhip made ſome of it bee put in pots with earth, and yet it liueth, and how farre it will ſo continue is vncertaine. There hath beene Cinamon and ſomething elſe giuen me as fruits of the Ilands, but I doe thinke they are but rarities at the moſt, and therefore they ſhall not come in my bill. But now to returne to the ſlow ſteps we made towards the Ilands of the *Açores*.

Senſitiue plant.

Cinamon.

§. V.

Accidents by Sea in their way to the Azores *and there.*

ON Saint *Bartholomewes* eue wee had ſtore of lightning and thunder, which beſides the obſeruation, put vs more out of doubt of our neerer approach to the *Bermuda*. The next day about noone wee began to ſteere East North-east and better. Vpon Friday the fiue and twentieth, wee were melted with a greater and more ſmothering calme then any time before; and yet (which made it ſtrangeſt) wee had out of the North-weſt higher Seas, then before that time I had euer ſeene, in the greateſt windes that we had had. The hugeneſſe of this Sea was perceiued not onely by the view of our ſight, but rather by the extraordinarie heeling of our ſhip, certainly as much or more impatient of a high Sea in a calme, as of any other weather. This calme was ſo extremely hot, that wee were in hope it would bee like other extreames, of no long continuance; but behold it laſted obſtinately thirteene dayes, ſauing that ſometimes there would be ſome ſhew of a gale, but it would ſo inſtantly and frowardly leaue vs, as if it had beene come onely to let vs ſee wee needed not to deſpaire. There had beene often ſpeech of a Current, that wee were to haue, and ſome thought that they had found it, the moſt durſt not be apprehenſiue. But vpon Wedneſday the thirtieth, it began to be cleere: for though the winde was not worthy to be called ſo, nor ſcarce by the name of a breath, and beſides ſo narrow, that we ſtood vpon abowling, yet we were found in that laſt paſſed artificiall day, to haue run aboue fiftie leagues at the leaſt. For whereas vpon Tueſday wee were by obſeruation found to bee almoſt precilely in thirtie two: vpon Wedneſday at noone, wee had the Sunne in thirtie three, and two terces, and eight minutes. So that in foure and twentie houres we had rayſed one degree and fortie eight minutes, which if we had run due North or South, had riſen to about foure or fiue and thirtie leagues. But ſeeing our courſe was three parts of the time at East North-east, and East and by North, the ſhip could not bee allowed leſſe way, then fiftie leagues at the leaſt; and this being without winde, argueth a violent Current, and the rather becauſe for the time we had a hard Sea. This was made yet more certaine by obſeruation of the Pole-ſtar vpon Thurſday at night. This opinion for a Current, was vpon Saturday Sept. 2. made vndoubted, for the ſubſtance of the thing, I meane that there was a Current, but the circumſtance ſeemed to varie ſomthing. For the Current was then iudged to ſet rather to the East & by South, though this would fill the former obſeruations with greater difficulties. This was perceiued by many drags, which howſoeuer the

High Seas.

Hot calme continuing thirteene dayes.

An apparent Current in 32 degrees.

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the ship scaped, yet they still runne or were carried to the East Southerly. And then many other things purposely cast into the Sea to make further triall, all went the same way and that a good pace though directly ahead the ship. And yet farther if there were any breath at all, it was at South-east, so that they went against the winde that was.

And now I come to that the remembrance whereof rather then present apprehension yet maketh me quake, like the man that dyed vpon the fearfull knowledge of how great danger he had passed at *Rochester* bridge. It was a fearfull storme, which I truly not knowing how dangerfull it was, feared not much while we were in it, but since hearing old Sea-men and of long experience speake of it, I perceiue it is good to be ignorant sometime. Vpon Thursday the seuenth of September, the gale began to be very fresh and to keepe the sailes stiffe from the Masts, and so continued all that day. Vpon Friday it began to speake yet lowder, and to whistle a good in the shrowdes, insomuch that our Master made the Drablers bee taken off, and before night it had blowne the fore-top-saile in pieces by the board; this was taken for the beginning of a storme, and the storme it selfe was looked for: which came indeed about the shutting in of the day, with such furie and rage, as none could say it stole vpon vs vnawares. For I am out of doubt that I had neuer heard any winde so high. One of our Bonnets had beene taken in in the euening, and the other was rent off with the furie of the storme. And thus (for our mayne-top-saile was taken in and the top-mast taken downe) bearing onely a bare corse of each, if the ship had not beene exceeding strongly sided, shee could not haue indured so rough weather. For oftentimes the Sea would ship in waues into her of three or foure Tunne of water, which (the ship being leakie within board) falling often, was as much as both the pumps were able to cast out againe, though they went continually all night, and till noone the next day were neuer throughly sucke, so that if any leake had sprung vpon vs vnder water, it could not haue beene chosen, but shee must haue foundered, seeing the pumpes were hardly able to rid the water that was cast in aboue hatches. The Missen-saile had beene in the euening well furled (for the winde came vpon the starboard quarter) and yet the storme had caught it, and with such violence and furie rent it, that with much adoe the Missen-yard was halled downe, and so the quarter decke and poope saued from danger of renting vp. All this was in the night, which made it much more hidious, specially in the fore-end of the night before the Moone got vp. The winde continued in this excesse of violence till midnight, and then abated hee something, but then began the effect of his blowing to shew it selfe, for then the Sea began to worke, and swell farre higher then before. His Lordships ship is a very goodly one, and yet would shee bee as it were in a pit, and round about vast mountaines of water, so that a man might leaue out the rest of the verse, and say onely *vndiq; pontus*. For I protest, besides that which was ouer our heads, our prospect any other way was quickly determined, with waues, in my conscience, higher then our mayne-top. And that (which is strangest) round about vs: for the Sea came vpon euery point of the Compasse, so that the poore ship, nor they that directed and cunned her, could not tell how to cunne her to bee safe from the breaking of these vast waues vpon her. This continued all night: and though the winde fell by little and little, yet the Sea was so light, that all Saturday it was not quieted, so that though out of a storme, yet were wee still in a stormy Sea, insomuch that our mayne-top-mast was broken. By Sunday we were come to haue reasonable weather, and rather too little then too much wind. And vpon Monday being the eleuenth of September, wee were not much from a new calme, which wee could not with much more patience haue endured then a good storme; for then wee began to looke out for land, and now to come so neere, what so long wee had longed for. After the storme, the Admirall found himselfe all alone, and so were we the most part of the next day, but towards euening, came the new Frigat to vs. And a sterne her there was a ship seene, which within a day or two afterward, the *Samson* came and told vs, was her selfe. With day the fifteenth of September, we had the South-west side of it in sight, and bore in therewith till noone. His Lordship had no meaning to make any forcible attempt against it, nor to stay longer, then to take in some fresh victuals; for which purpose, hee sent the Boat off with an old *Portugall*, and an *African* of *Mozambique*, who bearing a flagge of truce, should giue the Ilanders to vnderstand what his Lordships pleasure was, that if they would let him haue things for his money, he would not vse them worse then in former times, they had had experience of him. Withall he gaue the Boat commandement, that shee should bring him answere to the East North-east side of the Iland, where he meant to come to anchor, and tarry for the newes they could learne either *English* or *Spanish*. This stay in hoysing the Boat out, gaue the *Samson* time to get a head vs, and within awhile shee was at anchor. When, behold, at the opening of the Point, first there came one saile, then two, and then three sailes, and within a little the fourth was seene; it was not at first knowne what these might be, yet because the *Samson* being much neerer, made no haste to weigh, we thought shee made them to be friends. And within awhile we perceiued them to haue pendents in their fore-top-mast heads: this put vs out of doubt, that they were of our owne fleet. For his Lordship at his departure from *Puerto Rico*, had giuen them direction that euery ship should so beare a pendent, for a marke to be knowne of their friends, and which would make strangers neuer a whit the wiser. These foure were the *Merchant*, the *Ascention*, the *Consent*, and

Ignorance beneficiall.

A terrible storme.

High-swolne Sea.

Vndiq; pontus.

Flores described.

and the *Pegasus*, which by and by came to an anchor with vs. Now were wee growne a prettie ſtrong fleet againe, either part receiuing new ſtrength of other, each hauing formerly loſt their owne. For the ſtorme had ſcattered Sir *Iohns* companie as well as ours, though it ſhould ſeeme not to haue beene altogether ſo great with them, as vs. Of Sir *Iohns* we had not yet, the *Gallion*, the *Alcedo*, the *Centurion*, the *Anthonie*, the *Keſar*, and the *Doue*, which were the *Flemmings*. The firſt newes that the Boat brought vs, made theſe though friends yet more welcome if that might be. For the Boat hauing told his Lordſhip that they could not be ſuffered to land, yet had promiſe that his Lordſhip ſhould haue any thing that the Iland would affoord. Mary (ſaid they) we are ill prouided, by reaſon of the Kings men of warre, nine and twentie of them haue within theſe few dayes beene here, and taken almoſt all our prouiſions, for they were great ſhips, and full of gallants, fiue of them being the fiue Caracks, that ſhould this yeere haue gone for the Eaſt *Indies*, but being by the *Condes* lying on the Coaſt kept in till it was too late for them to haue any hopefull paſſage, they were of Merchants made men of Warre, and with the reſt or rather the reſt with them, were ſent to theſe Ilands to waft the Caracks which were looked for at home this yeere. But the Caracks (ſaid they of *Flores*) were gone by, before their comming hither, for the ſafetie whereof, they had commandement to ſtay if need were, till the end of this moneth. Whither this *Armada* was gone they ſaid they knew not, nor whither it would returne, but the very laſt day a great Gallion was within kenning. Theſe newes, as they gaue great cauſe of circumſpection and care, not to meet with them, whom we could not doubt to be too ſtrong for vs, and therefore made vs wiſh they were finally gone from the Ilands; ſo on the other ſide, if knowing that the Caracks were paſſed, if yet they ſtaid, it made the intelligence of the *Mexico* fleet more probable. And therefore if this were the cauſe of their ſtay, our hope to make ſome purchace of it, made vs more willing, to haue their neighbourhood. Mary, it might bee, they were ſent to looke for our comming home, which they might thinke would bee ſtraggling and weake, and yet on the other ſide the vncertaintie of our comming either at this time or certainly this way, made this ſomething vnlikely. His Lordſhip therefore commanded Captaine *Slingſby* (a fine Gentleman) to goe aſhoare and to learne more certaintie what was become of the Kings fleet, and why they came. This relation was from the men of *Santa Cruz*: but the intelligence which Captaine *Slingſby* brought the ſame night late, was from *Villa de la punta Delgada*, another Towne of the Ilands. The ſumme of his report (for I was by when he made it) was, that his Excellencie ſhould haue any thing wherewithall they could doe him ſeruice, and if it would pleaſe him to come aſhoare, they would take it as a great fauour. For the Kings men of Warre, they ſaid, that they iudged them certainly to bee gone home, for they were gone hence vpon a fortnight before. The cauſe of their comming was to waft the Caracks, which all foure were gone by, before the Kings fleet came hither, with purpoſe indeed to ſtay till the end of this moneth for them. But ſince the Caracks were come home, there had beene ſent a Caruell of *Admſo* to recall them. As for the *Mexico* fleet, there was not at the Ilands any newes of their comming this yeere. This report made by Captaine *Slingſby* ouer-night, was confirmed early the next morning by the Gouernour himſelfe of the place (a poore Gouernour ſcarce ſo good as an *Engliſh* Conſtable.) But this Captaine *Iuan de Fraga de Mendoça*, came himſelfe and made the ſame offer to his Lordſhip, and withall brought both Hennes and Muttons with him, which hee knew hee ſhould not giue for nothing, though hee would ſeeme vnwilling to receiue any thing. He hauing beene ſometime with my Lord, and told all the newes hee remembred, was licenſed, hauing firſt asked and obtayned a Paſſe for himſelfe, and a Protection for the Ilanders, to keepe them from ſpoile by ours. His Lordſhip granted his ſuit, and (which hee farther deſired) that they might bee conceiued in the ſame forme as thoſe were which the Earle of *Eſſex* had giuen him, within two dayes of the ſame day twelue moneth; and which himſelfe had carefully kept euer ſince.

Earle of *Eſſex* his Iland voyage. 1597.

When this fellow was gone, the flagge of Counſell was hanged out, &c. *The returne of this fleet vpon conſultation after the newes aforeſaid, I forbeare to mention in regard of the length of this diſcourſe.* They ſet forth from *Flores* Septemb. 16. 1598. On *Michaelmas* day they ſounded, and the ground on the fallow did ſtill more aſſure vs of being in *the ſleeue*: and the Scollop ſhells confirmed their opinion which held vs rather on the Coaſt of *France*, by the Maſter and others iudged otherwiſe: whoſe iudgement if his Lordſhip out of his iudgement and authoritie had not contradicted and cauſed them to take a more Northerly courſe; all had periſhed in all likelihood on the *Vſhent* and Rocks. For the next morning we ſaw the land of *Normandie*.

The reſt (as needleſſe) is omitted.

CHAP.

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CHAP. IIII.

The first Voyages made to diuers parts of America *by* Englishmen, *Sir* SEBASTIAN CABOT, *Sir* THO. PERT: *also of Sir* IOHN HAWKINS, *and Sir* FRANCIS DRAKE, *and many others: collected briefly out of Master* CAMDEN, *Master* HAKLVYT, *and other Writers.*

SIr *Sebastian Cabota* wee haue alreadie mentioned in the former Booke, as a great Discouerer of that, which most iustly should haue beene called *Columbina*, and a great deale better might haue beene stiled *Cabotiana* then *America*, neither *Vespusius* nor *Columbus* hauing discouered halfe so much of the Continent of the new World North and South as he (yea, the Continent was discouered by him, when *Columbus* had yet but viewed the Ilands) this *Herrera* for the South part hath mentioned in his Relation of the Riuer of *Plate* before, naming him an *Englishman*: and for the North is by vs in the fourth Booke deliuered. A second time Sir *Thomas Pert* and the said *Cabota*, were set forth with a fleet to *America*, by King *Henrie* the eighth in the eight yeere of his reigne, the same perhaps which *Herrera* hath also mentioned, of an *English* ship at *Hispaniola*, and other *American* Ilands, in the yeere 1517. Master *Hakluyt* hath published the Voyages of many *English* into those parts: as namely of Master *Robert Tomson* Merchant, and *Iohn Field*; which together with *Ralph Sarre* and *Leonard Chilton* in a ship of *Iohn Sweeting* dwelling at *Cadiz*, all *Englishmen An.* 1555. sayled to *Hispaniola*, and thence to *Mexico* in *New Spaine*, where they found *Thomas Blake* a *Scottishman*, who had dwelt there twentie yeeres. At *Mexico*, *Robert Tomson* and *Augustine Beatio* an *Italian*, were imprisoned many moneths by the Inquisition, and then brought out in a Saint *Benito* (or fooles coat) to doe penance, a thing neuer seene there before; which caused much concourse of people, giuen to vnderstand of I know not what *enemies of God*, and expecting to see some *Monsters of vncouth shape*. They were much pitied by the people seeing such personable men, but sentenced by the Archbishop to be sent back to *Spaine*, where *Tomson* did his three yeeres enioyned penance at *Siuil*. *Beatio* found the meanes to escape and dyed after in *London*. *Tomson* after his libertie married with a rich *Spanish* heire. The historie at large and his description of *Mexico*, with the cause of his imprisonment about speaking freely of Images (his Master had made an Image of our Ladie of abode 7000. pezos price, each pezo being foure shillings and eight pence of our money) the Reader may see in Master *Hakluyt*.

Sir *T. Pert* set forth by King *Henrie* the eighth.

Master *Tomson* &c. See *Hak. tom.* 3. *pag.* 448.

Spanish Inquisition.

Monstrous lies.

A pezo 4*s.* 8*d.*

Master *Bodenham.*

Where also is deliuered the voyage of *Roger Bodenham Englishman* 1564. to *Mexico*: also of *Iohn Chilton* 1568. thither and from thence to *Nueua Biscaia*, and to the Port of *Nauidad* on the South Sea: to *Sansonate* in *Guatimala*, to *Tecoantepec*, to *Soconusco*, to *Nicaragua*, to *Nombre de Dios*; to *Perossi*, *Cusco*, *Paita*; to *Verd Paz*, *Chiapa*, three hundred leagues from *Mexico*. From *Chiapa* he trauelled thorow Hills till he came to *Ecatepec*, that is, *The Hill of winds*, in the end of that Prouince, supposed the highest Hill that euer was discouered, from the top whereof are seene both the North and South Seas; deemed nine leagues high. They which trauell vp it, lye at the foot ouer-night, and about midnight begin their iourney, that they may trauell to the top before the Sunne rise the next day, because the winde bloweth with such force afterwards, that it is impossible for any man to goe vp. From the foot of this Hill to *Tecoantepec* the first Towne of *New Spaine* are fifteene leagues. From *Mexico* he trauelled againe to *Panuco*, and there fell sick, which sicknesse in his returne benefited him: for he fell amongst Canibal *Indians* which afraid to eate him for feare he had the pox, let him goe. Hee went to *R. de las Palmas*, and to the Mynes of *Sacatecas*, the richest in all the *Indies*. After his returne to *Mexico* he trauelled to other parts, spending seuenteene yeeres in his *American* peregrinations. *Henrie Hawkes* liued fiue yeeres in those parts, and his obseruations are recorded by Master *Hakluyt*.

Master *Chilton.*

Chiltons seuenteene yeeres trauels in *New Spaine*, and *Peru*.

Ecatepec a hill supposed nine leagues high. I suppose it should be nine miles.

Good ous of Euill.

Henrie Hawkes.

Sir *Iohn Hawkins* his third voyage to Guinea, and thence to the West *Indies*.

Sir *Francis Drake.*

Slaine *Iohn de Vlloa.*

AN. 1567. Master *Iohn Hawkins* Generall in the *Iesus*, departed from *Plimouth* with fiue other ships, the *Minion*, of which Master *Iohn Hampton* was Captaine; the *William* and *Iohn*, *Thomas Bolton* Captaine; the *Iudith*, of which Master *Francis Drake* was Captaine; the *Angel* also and the *Swallow*. Hauing on the Coast of *Guinea* taken some fiue hundred *Negroes*, they sayled with them to the Ilands of the West *Indies*, to sell them to the *Spaniards*. By tempest they were driuen to the Port of Saint *Iohn de Vlloa*, where the *Spanish* ships with 200000. pounds in treasure were at his mercy, but hee dismissed them; which they repayed him with treacherous dealing, the *Spaniards* perfidiously setting on the *English* contrarie to the Couenants betwixt them concluded. For after that, when as the whole fleet with their new Vice-roy comming thither had perished, if Master *Hawkins* had not permitted them to enter the Hauen, out of which he could easily haue kept them: they practised secretly and against agreement to certaine Articles, assaulted the *English* perfidiously and treacherously, vsing both fraud and scorne, in which fight two ships of the *Spaniards* were sunke, and one burnt; Some of ours were

The opinion of lawfulnesse to doe any inhumanitie to Sauages punished: God vsed Christians vnchristian dealing to punish their inhumanitie to Sauages

slaine, others taken and dispiteously tortured, all distressed; all their ships also sunke and burnt, sauing the *Munion* and *Iudith*, which were by a storme ensuing betrayed to famine at Sea, which forced the Generall to set 114. men on shoare to the cruell mercies of the *Sauages* and *Spaniards*. Yea, one Boat not being able to get to shoare, two were drowned, the rest getting a mile thorow the Sea thither as they could, as *Miles Philips* one of that forlorne companie hath recorded. Some were dead in seeming two houres space with abundant drinking of fresh water, others swolne exceedingly with salt water and fruits they found; a shower also leauing them not one drie thread, as if Heauen had pursued the Seas challenge, without; and partly hunger, and partly the water and fruits of the Earth, within their bowels, had conspired against this poore crue.

Miles Philips.

The *Chichimici Indian* Sauages added their inhumanitie, killing eight of their companie in the first onset, but they yeelding (hauing neither weapons nor hearts to resist) the Sauages perceiuing them not to be their *Spanish* enemies pointed them to *Tampico*, saying, *Tampico Christiano*, which they vnderstood not: but diuided themselues into two companies, one going Westward, of which *Philips* was one, the other Northward, and with them *Dauid Ingram*, which recouered his Countrie. After the stingings of flies, deaths by *Indians*, and manifold miseries, this Westerne companie got to *Panuco* where the Gouernor stripped them of the little which they had, and of their libertie, calling them *English Dogs and Lutheran heretikes*, and when they demanded helpe of their Surgeons for such as the *Indians* by the way had wounded, hee said, *they should haue none other Surgeon but the Hangman*: and after feue dayes sent for them out of the Prison, and with many new Halters (wherewith they expected hanging) bound and sent them to *Mexico* ninetie leagues distant West and by South, with a great guard of *Indians*. At *Mestitlan* they receiued kind vsage. One of their keepers vsed them kindly, the other would strike them to the ground, and bid them, *March, march English Dogges*, Lutherans, *enemies of God*. Thus marching they came within two leagues of *Mexico*, where was our Ladies Church, and therein her Image of Siluer guilt as large as a tall woman, and before it as many Siluer Lampes as are dayes in the yeere, which on high dayes are all lighted. Neither Horseman nor Footman will passe by this Church without entring and praying. After their comming to *Mexico* many dyed, the rest had kind vsage in the Hospitall, Thence they were carried to *Tescuco*, to be vsed as slaues, but by one *Robert Sweeting* (sonne of an *Englishman* by a *Spanish* woman) were holpen much from the *Indians*, or else had all perished.

Tampice the Port of *Panuco.*
Dauid Ingram.
Spanish gouernours cruelty.
Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe.

After this they were put to *Spaniards* as seruants, and had meanes to get somewhat for themselues, till they became a prey to the Inquisition, which seised their goods and persons, shutting them asunder in dungeons a yeere and halfe. By frequent examinations they would haue pumped somewhat out of them in matters of faith, and not being able, they yeelding to their Assertions in that kind, crauing mercie as men which came into that Countrey by distresse of foule weather: they neuertheless racked them to extore confession that way, which made some to say that which cost their liues. After solemne Proclamation that all might come to this sight, they were brought in fooles Coats, with ropes about their neckes and candles in their hands to the Scaffold, *George Rowly*, *Peter Momfrie*, and *Cornelius* an *Irishman* were burnt, others condemned to 200. or 300. blowes on Horseback with long whips, and to serue in the Gallies, fiue, eight, or ten yeeres: others to serue in Monasteries, in the S. *Benito*, fooles-coates, diuers yeeres, of which *Philips* was one. The whipping was cruelly executed on Good Friday, two Cryers going before proclaiming; *behold these English* Lutherans, *Dogs, enemies of God:* the Inquisitors themselues and their *Familiars*, crying, *Strike, lay on those English Heretickes*, *Lutherans, Gods enemies*. All bloudie and swolne they returned to prison to bee sent into *Spaine* to performe the rest of their Martyrdome. *Philips* and the rest hauing serued their times (in which hee learned the *Mexican* tongue) they had their fooles-coats hung vp in the chiefe Church. The rest married there, *Philips* escaped a second imprisonment and after many crauls in the Countrey and dangers in *Spaine*, returned to *England* 1582.

Deuillish inquisition.
68. *Englishmen* sentenced at once. *Anno* 1575. besides. Three Martyrs

Iob Hortop another of this company hath related like aduentures: He saith, that he and some others were sent Prisoners into *Spaine*, by the Vice-roy with *Don Iuan de Velasco de Uarre*, Admirall and Generall of the *Spanish* fleet, who carried with him in his ship to bee presented to the King of *Spaine*, the Anatomie of a Giant, sent from *China* * to *Mexico*, to the Vice-roy *Don Martin Henriques*. The skull of his head was neere as big as halfe a bushell; his neck-bones, shoulder-plates, arme-bones, and all other lineaments huge and monstrous; the shanke of his skull from the ankle to the knee, was as long as from any mans ankle vp to his waste, and of bignesse accordingly. At this time were also sent to the King two chists ful of earth with Ginger growing in them: The Ginger runneth in the ground like to Liccoras; the blades grow out of it in length & proportion like to the blades of wild Garlick, which they cut euery fifteen daies, and water them twice a day. They put the blades in their pottage, and vse them in other meates, of pleasing taste and good for appetite.

Iob Hortop his 23. yeeres misery.
Sceleton of a huge Giant.
* Vnderstand it of the *Philippine* Ships.
Ginger how it groweth.

When they came in the height of *Bermuda*, they discouered a Monster in the Sea, who shewed himselfe three times vnto them from the middle vpwards: in which parts he was proportioned like a man, of the complexion of a *Mullato*, or tawny *Indian*. The Generall commanded one of his

Sea Monster like a man.

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his Clerkes to put it in writing to certifie the King thereof. Preſently after for the ſpace of ſixteene dayes, the weather proued very foule. Offering to make an eſcape they were deſcried and ſeuerely ſhacked, and impriſoned a yeere in the Contractation houſe in *Siuill*, and breaking priſon were taken, and by the Inquiſition were ſentenced: *Robert Barret* and *Iohn Gilbert* to bee burnt, *Iob Hortop*, and *Iohn Bone* to the Gallies for tenne yeeres, and after that to perpetuall priſon. Others were adiudged to the Gallies ſome eight, ſome fiue yeeres. *Hortop* ſerued twelue yeeres in hunger, thirſt, cold and ſtripes, and after foure yeeres impriſonment in his Fooles coat, was redeemed to the ſeruice of *Hernando de Soria*, from whom after three yeeres ſeruice more, he ſtole away and landed at *Portſmouth* in December 1590. after three and twentie yeeres miſerable bondage. Second ſentence of Inquiſition.

As for *Dauid Ingrams* perambulation to the North parts, Maſter *Hakluyt* in his firſt Edition publiſhed the ſame, but it ſeemeth to me incredibilities of his reports cauſed him to leaue him out in the next Impreſſion, the reward of lying being not to be beleeued in truths. *Dauid Ingram.*

And for Sir *Iohn Hawkins* himſelfe, he had made one Voyage with three ſhips and three hundred *Negros* gotten on the Coaſt of *Guinea* to *Hiſpaniola*, 1562. and other Ports; and returned with a rich gaine. This encouraged him to a ſecond Voyage with the *Ieſus*, *Salomon*, *Tigre*, and *Swallow*, 1564. And hauing viſited diuers Ports he returned by *Florida*. *Anno* 1567. their vnfortunate Voyage before mentioned was ſet forth, in which his vniuſtice to Sauages was chaſtiſed by vniuſtice of Chriſtians, in manner as you haue heard. Himſelfe with his remayning company were firſt endangered with an extreame ſtorme, after that with famine his men dying continually, ſo that the reſt being not able to manage the ſhip, and the winds croſſing, ſeeking to releeue themſelues at *Ponta Vedra*, with freſh meate, they grew diſeaſed and many of them died, and thereby were alſo in danger of a ſecond *Spaniſh* betraying, which they hardly eſcaping arriued in *England*, Ianuary the twentieth 1568. Sir *I. Hawkins* his 3. voyages.

The *Spaniſh* indignities and treacheries were deeply lodged in the wronged minds both of Sir *Iohn Hawkins*, and of Captayne *Drake*: meaborne for the honour of the *Engliſh* name and Nation in Marine affaires. *Sir Iohn Hawkins* was ſonne to Maſter *William Hawkins* of *Plimmouth*, a man much eſteemed by King *Henry* the Eighth, as a principall Sea-captaine. Hee had long before armed a ſhip of his owne of two hundred and fifty tunnes, called the *Paul* of *Plimmouth*, wherewith he made two Voyages to *Braſill*, one in the yeere 1530. and the other 1532. in the firſt of which he brought a *Braſilian* King (as they tearmed him) to preſent him in his wilde accoutrements to King *Henry*. It ſeemed, that Sea affaires and arts remayned an Inheritance, from the Father to the Sonne; and from him alſo to the Nephew, as ſhall after be ſeene: neither did the Weſt of *England* yeeld ſuch an *Indian Neptunian* pair as were theſe two Ocean Peeres, *Hawkins* and *Drake*. M. *Wil. Hawkins.* Sir *Richard Hawkins.*

A briefe Hiſtorie of Sir FRANCIS DRAKES *Voyages.*

OF Sir *Francis Drake* Maſter *Camden* reports that he hath heard him ſay of himſelfe, that he was borne in the County of *Deuon*, of meane condition; his Godfather was *Francis Ruſſell* afterwards Earle of *Bedford*, who gaue him his name *Francis*. Whiles he was young, his father being called in queſtion for Religion, by reaſon of the ſixe Articles ſet forth by King *Henry* againſt the Proteſtants) was driuen to ſhift, and withdrew himſelfe into *Kent*. After King *Henries* death, he obtayned a place in the Nauie Royall to reade Seruice, and ſoone after was ordayned Deacon, and made Vicar of the Church of *Vpnor* on the Riuer of *Medway*: where by reaſon of his pouertie he put this his ſonne to ſerue a Neighbour Mariner which traded with a ſmall Barke into *France* and *Zeland*, who brought him vp in the Mariners art, and tooke ſuch liking of him, that at his death he bequeathed (being a Bachelour) vnto him his Barke. This Barke, vpon the report of Sir *Iohn Hawkins* his preparations for that diſaſtrous Voyage 1567. hee ſold and ioyned to him in ſocietie aforeſaid, and at Saint *Iohn de Vlua* loſt all, and hardly brought himſelfe backe. Hereupon ſeeking by his Mariners practice to repaire his loſſes, and thereby, and as a man of warre, hauing gotten ſtore of money together, he made a ſecond Voyage to recouer in the *Spaniſh Indies* what there he had loſt (*quod lucro Theologum claſſiarium facile perſuaſerat*) and with a ſhip of warre called the *Dragon*, and another ſhip and a Pinnaſſe, none knowing it but his owne conſorts, *Anno* 1572. ſayled to *Nombre de Dios*, which Towne he ſuddenly ſurpriſed and loſt. For hauing landed one hundred and fiftie men, and leauing ſeuentie of them in a Fort, with the reſt he went to the Market place, and there diſcharged his Caliuers and ſounded a Trumpet, anſwered in like manner from the Fort. The Townesmen hereby terrified, fled into the Mountaynes. But fourteene or fifteene would backe with their Harquebuſes to ſee what the matter was, and diſcouering the *Engliſhmen*, ſhot and by hap killed the Trumpeter. Hereupon they in the Fort not ſeeing their Trumpet anſwered, after they had heard the Caliuers, ſuppoſed all thoſe which had entred were ſlaine, and fled to their Pinnaſſes. The Captayne comming and ſeeing his men all gone, was ſurprized with a new feare, and leauing their furniture they ſwamme and waded to their Pinnaſſes and departed the Port. In the *Sound of Dariene* hee had in- Sir *Francis Drakes* birth. *Camdeni Eliza-betha, pag.* 301. *&c.* His education. His firſt fortunes. *In operandi arte & piratica.* *Drakes* ſecond *Indian* voyage. This diſcourſe was written by *Lopez Vaz* who was taken by the Earle of *Cumberlands* ſhips 1586. with his diſcourſe about him.

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Negro fugitiues.

intelligence by certayne fugitiue *Negros* of Mules comming loden with treasure from *Panama* to *Nombre de Dios*; and guided by them, intercepted two companies of Mules, and carried away the Gold only; for they were not able to carrie the Siluer thorow the Mountaynes. Two dayes after he came to the house of Crosses, and burnt aboue 200000. Duckets in Merchandize, and so departed. When he trauelled ouer those Mountaynes hee beheld thence the South Sea; and thereby inflamed with desire of glory and wealth, was so rapt with desire of sayling therein, that he fell there on his knees, and begged of God, and besought the fauour of God to assist him in that exploit, and made a solemne vow to that purpose, one day to sayle on that Sea, which euery day and night lay next his heart, pricking him forwards to the performance.

Camden. vbi sup.

Drakes vow for the South Sea.

Iohn Oxenham.

Whiles hee was muling and hatching these haughtie Designes, *Iohn Oxenham*, who in the former Nauigations, had serued vnder Captayne *Drake*, both Souldier, Mariner, and Cooke, became a Captayne also, and with a ship of one hundred and fortie tunnes, and seuentie men came to the said Sound of *Darien*, *Anno* 1575. and had conference with those *Negroes*. But hearing that the Mules were now conducted with Souldiers, hee resolued on a new Enterprize, which neuer any had attempted, and landed in that place where Captayne *Drake* had had conference with the *Negros*: and hauing brought his ship aground, and couered her with boughes, and hid his Ordnance in the ground, he tooke two small Peeces of Ordnance and Calieuers, with store of victuals, and went twelue leagues with sixe *Negros* into the mayne Land, to a Riuer which runneth into the South Sea. There he cut wood and made a Pinnasse fortie fiue foot by the keele, and therewith went into the South Sea, to the *Iland of Pearles*, fiue and twentie leagues distant from *Panama*, to watch for shippes comming from *Peru* thither: he tooke a Barke with 60000. Pezos of Gold, comming from *Quito*: and staying sixe dayes longer, tooke another which came from *Lima* with 100000. Pezos of Siluer in barres, and delaying somewhat long sent away his Prizes, and went with his Pinnasse vp the Riuer. This delay gaue opportunitie of intelligence, and *Iohn de Ortega* was sent to pursue him; at a partition of the Riuer into three, when he was taking vp the greatest, feathers of Hennes which the *English* had plucked, diuerted him vp the lesser streame, whereby hee lighted on the treasure first, *Oxenham* beeing gone to get *Negros* to helpe him carrie his treasure, his owne men quarrelling for larger pay. Some of the *English* were taken, which bewrayed the ship, and the rest were betrayed by the *Negros*, whiles they were making Canoas for the North Sea, there to take some Barke. They confessed that they had no license from the Queene, and were all executed, but two Boyes. Thus perished *Oxenham*, a man, if his Case had beene iust, worthy of lasting memory for an attempt so difficult, *Quem sinon tenuit, magnis tamen excidit ausis*. The King of *Spaine* sent Souldiers to take those fugitiue *Negros*, which had assisted the *English*, and two Gallies to guard the Coast. This and Captayne *Barkers* frustrated attempts giue greater lustre to *Drakes* glory.

His audacious enterprize.

His ptizes.

Discord causeth destruction.

Delay breeds danger.

Captaine *Barker* of *Bristoll*.

Andrew Barker of *Bristoll*, much wronged by the Inquisition, *Anno* 1576. sought to right himselfe in those parts, and came with two ships to *Nombre de Dios*, and the Riuer of *Chagre*, eighteene leagues distant to the North-west, landed ten men to seeke intelligence of *Negros*, which they could not find, and most of the men also died of the *Calentura*. Betwixt that and *Veragua* he tooke a Prize, and another in the Gulfe of *Honduras*. Mutuall quarrels betwixt *Coxe* and the Captayne betrayed them to the *Spaniards*, which assayling them, slue the Captayne and eight men at the Ile *Francisco*. After this *Coxe* went with his Pinnasse, and tooke the Towne of *Truxillo*, but eight men were (by reason of men of warre chasing the ship, thus forced to shift for themselues) left there to their fortunes. Fourteene others and the Frigat with the treasure were cast away. Diuers of the rest after their returne were long imprisoned.

Coxes quarrels.

Drakes happie Circumnauigation, see *sup. Tom.* 1. *l.* 2. *c.* 5.

These indeed are pettie things to Captayne *Drakes* expedition in December 1577. wherein he encompassed first of any Generall, and except *Candish* more fortunately then all of them together, this whole Terrestriall Globe. He set forth with fiue ships, and one hundred sixtie three Mariners. The whole Voyage you haue before at large. The Carkasse of the shippe; or some bones at least of that glorious Carkasse, yet remayne at *Deptford*, consecrated to Fame and Posteritie; in which Queene *Elizabeth* being feasted, Knighted this noble Mariner: at which time a bridge of boords made for her Maiestie to passe, fell with one hundred men thereon, of which none were hurt, as if Good Fortune had both sayled abroad, and feasted at home in that ship. The goods taken were sequestred by her Maiestie, for answere to the *Spaniard* if need should bee. Some principall Courtiers are said to haue refused the offer of some of this, as Piratically gotten. *Bernardine Mendoza* made demand for the King of *Spaine*, (whose Embassadour hee was) and receiued answere from the Queene, that the *Spaniards* had vniustly prohibited commerce to the *English*, that *Drake* should legally answere if any thing were prooued against him, the goods being to that purpose sequestred, howsoeuer the *Spaniard* had put her Maiestie to greater charges against the Rebels, which the *Spaniard* had raised in *England* and *Ireland*: Neither did she know why her subiects and others were prohibited the *Indies*, which she knew no reason to thinke proper to the *Spaniards*, by vertue of the Popes Bull (which could nothing oblige Princes which owed him no obedience) nor by reason that the *Spaniards* had arriued here and there, had directed Cottages, and giuen names to Capes and Riuers. Neither might these things

See *Camdens Elix. pag.* 309.

hinder

hinder other Princes from commerce, or to transport Colonies to places not inhabited by the *Spaniards* (the Law of Nations not infringed hereby, seeing prescription without possession is nothing worth) the vse of the Sea and Aire being exposed to all. Nor might any people or person challenge right ouer the Ocean, whereof neither nature, nor course of publike vse permitted possession. Yet a great part of the money was repaied after to *Peter Sebura* the *Spanish* Agent, which he repaid not to the owners, but made vse thereof against the Queene in the affaires of the *Spanish Netherlands*, as was afterwards found. Thus farre briefly collected out of Master *Camden* and *Lopez Vaz* a *Portugall*. Men noated to haue compassed the world with *Drake*, which haue come to my hands are *Thomas Drake*, brother to Sir *Francis*; *Thomas Hood*, *Thomas Blacco-*
10 *ler*, *Iohn Gripe*, *George* a Musician, *Crane*, *Fletcher*, *Cary*, *T. Moone*, *Iohn Drake*, *Iohn Thomas*, *Robert Winterly*, *Oliuer* the Gunner, &c.

A little before this the Prince of Orange *had beene murdered, and* Parry *had vndertaken the same on her Maiestie, hauing the Cardinall* Comensis *instigation, and the Popes absolution to that purpose. The* Spaniards *had giuen great distaste in* English *and* Irish *rebellions, and had lately arrested the* English *Ships and goods in* Spaine, *with other vnkindenesses in Belgian businesses. The* Belgians *had offered the confederate Prouinces to her Maiesties Protection and dominion. This she refused, but their Protection she accepted, hauing discouered the* Spaniards *hatred to her Religion and Nation, which how easie were it to put in extreamest execution, if the Low-Countries were subdued to his full power (their ancient priuiledges being all swallowed vp) and so* England *should be exposed to* Spanish
20 *machinations with such opportunities of neighbouring Forts, Forces, Harbours, and Shippings. She therefore to remoue present warre and future perils from her owne Countrie, with masculine magnanimitie aduentured, not for vainglory but necessitie, to vndertake a businesse which made the world to wonder; being little lesse then denouncing warre to so mighty a Monarke. She agreed with the States to minister to their aide* 5000. *foote, and* 1000 *horse at her owne charge, to be by them after repayed, the first yeares charges in the first yeare of peace, the rest in the foure following,* Flushing *and the* Ramekins *and* Brill *to remaine hers in caution, &c. Her Maiestie set forth a Booke also for her iustification by the ancient leagues with the* Belgian *Prouinces for mutuall defence, the* Spanish *cruelties on the poore* Belgians, *and their nefarious deuises against her: neither had she any intent in administring these aides, but that the Low-Countries might enioy their ancient liberty, she and her subiects their securitie,*
30 *and both Nations peaceable commerce. And to the end that warre might not first be brought home to her owne doores, she set forth a Fleete to finde the* Spaniard *worke abroad.*

Hereupon *Anno* 1585. Sir *Francis Drake* with a Fleete of fiue and twenty saile, and 2300. Souldiers and Sailers was set forth from *Plimmouth Sep.* 12. *Christopher Carlile* his Lieutenent Generall, *Anthonie Powell* Sergeant Maior, Captaine *Matthew Morgan* and *Iohn Samson* Corporall of the field: Land Captaines *Anthonie Plat*, *Edward Winter*, *Iohn Goring*, *Robert Pen*, *George Barton*, *Iohn Merchant*, *Williams Cenill*, *Walter Bigs*, *Iohn Hannan*, *Richard Stanton*, Captaine *Martin Frobisher* Viceadmirall in the *Primrose*, Captaine *Francis Knolles* Rereadmirall in the *Galleon Leicester*, Captaine *Thomas Venner* in the *Elizabeth Bonaduenture* vnder the Generall Captaine *Edward Winter* in the *Aide*; *Christopher Carlile* in the *Tigre*, *Henry White* Captain of the *Sea Dragon*,
40 *Thomas Drake* Captaine of the *Thomas*, *Thomas Seely* Captaine of the *Minion*. Captaine *Bayly* of the Barke *Talbot*, *Robert Crosse* of the Barke *Bond*, *George Fortescue* of the Barke *Boner*, *Edward Careless* of the *Hope*, *Iames Erizo* of the *White Lyon*, *Thomas Moone* of the *Fancis*, *Iohn Riuers* of the *Vantage*, *Iohn Vaughan* of the *Drake*, *Iohn Varney* of the *George*, *Iohn Martin* of the *Beniamin*, *Richard Gilman* of the *Scout*, *Richard Hawkins* of the *Ducke*, Captaine *Bitfield* of the *Swallow*. They tooke a Shippe of Saint *Sebastians* laden with fish, entred the Iles of *Bayon*, and sent to the Citie to know whether there were warres betwixt *England* and *Spaine*, and why the *English* Merchants and their goods in *Spaine* were embarged or arrested. The Gouernour professed his ignorance in both, and that this later was the Kings pleasure. After some spoiles done about *Vigo*, they fell with *Hierro*, but the Iland being poore, departed without harme. Thence they
50 went to the Iles of Cape *Verde*, and at Saint *Iago* entred betwixt the Towne called *Playa* or *Praya* and Saint *Iago*, landed 1000. men, and (the men being fled) entred the Towne and shot off all their Ordnance, being 50. peeces, answered from the Ships to honour the Queenes day, the 17. of Nouember. No Treasure was found but Wine, Oyle, Meale, &c. They possessed it foureteene dayes. Nouember the foure and twentieth, they marched to Saint *Domingo*, twelue miles within land, and found the people fled.

Sir *Fr. Drakes* to *Domingo*, &c.

Names of the Captaines and Commanders by Sea & Land

English Ships arrested, the cause of the breaking out of Hostility.

S. *Iago* taken.

After foureteene dayes they departed hauing burned the Towne of *Playa*, none of the inhabitants hauing offered to intercede, which seemed to happen from their guiltinesse towards old Master *William Hawkins*, whose men perfidiously they had murthered foure or fiue yeares before, against their promise, putting off to the West *Indies*, they could not put off the effects of the
60 aire of that Iland, which by a Calentura killed two or three hundred of their men. The first Iland which they fell with was *Dominica*, the next Saint *Christophers*, and hauing there spent their Christmas, they resolued for *Hispaniola*: and hauing receiued intelligence by a Frigot which they tooke in the way, they landed nine or ten miles to the Westward of Saint *Domingo* on New yeares day. About noone they approached the Towne vnder the conduct of Master *Carlile*,

Voyage of old Master *William Hawkins*.

Dominica.

S. *Christophers*.

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Saint Domingo assaulted and taken.

Carlile, and 150. horsemen presenting themselues from the Citie being retired, they diuided their forces to assault both the Westerne gates at once. The Ordnance being discharged on them, they ran in to preuent a second charge and entred with them pell mell into the Gates, the enemy altering their sight into flight, which they made by the North gate. Both troopes met in the Market-place and there barricadoed themselues. The Castle was abandoned the next night. They held the Towne a whole moneth. They burned many houses before they could bring the *Spaniards* to a price for the ransome of the rest, for which at last they paid after much spoile 25000. Duckets. The pray was not much. In the Towne-house were the Kings armes, and in the lower part of the scutchion was painted a globe of the Sea and Land, a horse standing thereon with his hinder legges, the forepart without the globe, with this motto ascribed to his mouth, *Non sufficit Orbis*.

Ambitious Armes.

Cartagena assaulted and taken.

From Saint *Domingo* they set saile for *Carthagena* on the Continent, landing some Companies with Captaine *Carlile* fiue miles of, which were led on by night, the Generall with this Fleete presenting themselues before the chained Port: and hauing gotten the Citie, held the same six weekes. They tooke *Alonso Brano* the Gouernour. After many houses burned 11000. Duckets were paid for ransome of the rest from burning. The *Calenture* continued, killing some (being a pestilent spotted Feuer) and spoyling others of their strength and memory for a long time. The Serena or Euening ayre is said to cause it to them which are then abroad, if not of that Countrey: so that by holding their watch, the *English* were thus infected. This forced them to giue ouer their intended voyage to *Nombre de Dios*, and *Panama*, sailing therefore alongst the coast of *Florida*, they tooke and fired two garrison Townes of the *Spaniards*, Saint *Anthonie* * and Saint *Helena*, and the Fort of Saint *Iohn*. Then passing alongst the *Virginian* shore they tooke home the *English* Colonie there remaining with Master *Lane* their Gouernour, sent by Sir *Walter Raleigh*. These are said by Master *Camden* to haue beene the first bringers in of the vse of Tobacco, since so frequently abused by our Nation. They arriued at *Portsmouth* the 28. of Iuly 1586. They got Ordnance of Brasse about 200. peeces, and about 40. of Iron. The prey was valued at 60000. li. *English*. There dyed (most of the *Calentura*) 700. persons. The industry of the Generall in all places is remakeable, whose vigilance and bodily presence, and labour in all businesse was much, that had he beene in the meanest he had merited the highest place. To this is fittest in next place to adde his *Cadiz* exploit *Anno* 1587. and the taking of the rich Caracke, called Saint *Philip*.

Mortality by a *Calentura*. The Cause.

Other Townes taken.

* So *Camden*: others, Saint *Augustin*.

First vse of Tobacco: and (as may be thought) of the foolish locke at the left eare which the *Virginians* lay the Deuill (so appearing to thē) taught them.

HEr Maiestie being informed of that inuincible Armadas preparing in *Spaine* (which did come and was ouercome the yeare after) sent a fleete of 30. saile vnder the command of Sir *Francis Drake*: the *Bonaduenture*, the *Lyon*, the *Dread-naught*, and the *Rainbow* were out of her Nauy Royall chosen to this seruice. The 16. of Aprill two Shippes of *Middleborough* which came from *Cadiz* (with whom we met in 40. degrees) gaue him to vnderstand that there was great prouision in *Cadiz* and thereabout prouided to come to *Lisbone*, whereupon the Generall with all possible speede bending himselfe thither to cut of the forces and prouisions, the 19. of Aprill, one houre before the Sunne setting, entred the harbour of *Calz*, and the *Spanish* Fleete there checked vs, at the entring thereat with the Towne Galleyes, but in short time retired vnder the Fortresse.

* This voyage is printed in Master *Hak. Tom.* 2. part. 2. but finding this written Relation, I thought good to inserr it. It was written by one *Tho. Pinner*

There were in the Roades 60. Ships, and diuers other small shipping vnder the fortresse. There fled 20. *French* Shippes to port *Riall*, and some *Spaniards*, which could not be hindred of the Fleete by reason of the sholdnesse. There were sunke by vs at our comming in with shot, one *Orgasey* of 1000. tun, furnished with thirty peeces of Brasse, and richly laden. There were two Gallies more came presently from port *Riall*, and two other from Saint *Mary* port, but all in vaine the expenses of powder and shot, the greatest gaine to themselues.

There were to the number of 38. Shippes taken before night, and the *English* victours of the Roade: the Galleyes retyring vnder the Fortresses. Twenty Hulcks *Hollanders* confiscated to the King, and their goods sold to the Kings vse: foureteene of them were fired the other six were at port *Riall* laden with Wines and Bread, and to be presently full laden for *Lisbourne* one Carracke of foureteene hundreth tun appertaining to the Marquesse of Saint *Cruce*; fiue great Biskainers fired, foure of them lading and taking in of victuals for the Kings prouision for *Lisbourne*, the *Saint* was a Ship of 1000. tuns, bound for *Lisbourne* hauing in her great store of Pikes, much Iron, Nailes, Spikes, Iron hoopes, and such like, fired. One *Sbataya* laden with Wines of 250. tuns for the Kings prouision, which we brought to Sea with vs, and discharged at Sea a part of their Wines, for the prouision of the Fleete, and there fired her. Three Flye-boates of foure hundreth tunnes laden with Bisket whereof the one being of two hundred tuns and vpwards, we halfe vnladed and then fired her, the other two are yet with vs in company. Some tenne Barkes more laden with Wines, Raisons, Figges, Oyle, Wheate, with such like, fired. By supposition the eight and thirtie Shippes and Barkes fired, sunke, and brought away with vs, amounted in iudgement to thirteene thousand tuns of shipping. There rid in sight of vs at port *Riall*, by estimation, aboue fortie saile, besides those that fled from *Calz* roade.

Caricke of 1400. tuns.

They

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They gaue vs little ease during our aboade there, which they shot from the Galleyes, as also from the Fortresses and from the shore, where continually they planted new Ordnance at places conuenient to offend; notwithstanding their Ships we continually fired as the floud came, thereby to bee cleared of them, which terrible fire was pleasant vnto vs to behold, and mittigated the continuall burthen of trauaile, which lay vpon vs day and night in discharging, firing, and vnlading, such prouisions, with obseruations for good and gardable defence of the enemie. It pleased the Generall, after his great care and paines day and night, to finish this happy Action in her Maiesties seruice, in one day and two nights, and hee came forth againe the Friday in the morning, with very little losse, thankes be to God.

Of twelue Galleyes, and those that came from port *Riall*, and Saint *Mary* port, tenne of them came forth after vs, as it were to make some pastime with their great Ordnance. At length, the winde standing, wee cast about againe and strooke in for the shoare, and came to an anker within a league of *Cales*, where their Galleyes suffered vs to ride quietly. There were also three Flye Boates more at *Mallegas* laden with Bysket, bound for *Calez*, and so for *Lisbborne*. We vnderstood of their great prouisions and forces prouided within the straights. We doubt not, but as God hath begunne this worke in great happinesse, to the daunting of the enemie: so God will blesse this Armie in cutting daily their forces shorter, to the great annoyance of the enemy, and to the honour of our Prince and Countrie.

Gally-fight.

Wee haue had the experience of Galley fights (wherein I can assure you) that these onely foure of her Maiesties Ships wil make none accompt of twenty Galleyes; so as they were alone, and not driuen to guard others.

There were Galleyes had place fitter for their aduantage in fight vpon shot they receiued, they had present succour to ground vnder the towne, which they sundry times did waye, riding in a narrow gutter, the place yeelding no better, in that wee were driuen to maintaine the same vntill wee had discharged, and fired the Shippes, which could not conueniently be done but vpon the floud; that thereby they may driue cleare of vs.

We rest now victualed with Bread and Drinke, for six moneths in our Ships, and Bread besides in two flye Boates to maintaine a good Armie three moneths. We rest all in good loue with our Generall and vnitie in all the whole Fleete.

After this, they came before the hauen of *Lysbon*, where the Marquesse of *Santta Cruz* was with his Gallies, whom the Generall inuited to some exchange of Bullets, but he refused. Thence they sailed to the *Azores*, and met with a *Portugall* Carracke, called Saint *Philip*, which had in her voyage outward carried the three *Iaponian* Princes into the *Indies*. This Carracke he tooke; the first of that kinde taken by the *English*, ominous in the name: and so it proued not onely by the losse of so great wealth to King *Philip*, both in leading the daunce to others after taken, and in opening the eyes of the *English* to visite the *Indian* fountaines, whence such wealth issued; wherein also the *Hollanders* quickly imitated them.

Sir *Francis Drakes* last voyage.

To omit other braue exploits neerer home, as that most glorious of 88. and the rest: our purpose is to giue you the remote Voyages of this worthy Sea-man; and now lastly that last and fatall expedition *Anno* 1595. with sixe of the Queenes Ships and one and twenty other Ships and Barkes, containing 2500. men and boyes, intended for some speciall seruice in the West *Indies*. Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *Iohn Hawkins* were ioyned in Commission. They set saile from *Plimmouth* the eight and twentieth of August. Nouember the twelfth, neere the Eastermost end of Saint *Iuan de Puerto Rico*, Sir *Iohn Hawkins* died. The hauen of Saint *Iohn* they found strongly fortified against them, but yet they fired their fiue Shippes each of 200. tunnes, hauing in euery of them twenty Peeces of Brasse, and richly laden. Much harme was done on both sides. The fiue and twentieth they passed by *Mona*. In the beginning of December, they tooke *Rio de la Hacha*. They tooke also the *Rancheria* or fisher towne for Pearles. The *Spaniards* offered to ransome their Towne at 24000. Ducates which they brought in Pearle so dearely rated, that the General sent them backe, and both were burnt. The seuenteenth they tooke *Tapia*, and after that Saint *Martha*, and the *Spanish* Lieutenant Generall. The seuen and twentieth *Nombre de Dios* was taken, a Towne subiect to raine, and very vnhealthfull: the roade faire, hauing on each side as you come a ledge of rocks. The nine and twentieth, Sir *Thomas Baskeruile* with 750. Land-soldiors went for *Panama*, a sore march thorow the woods, the way cut out of the woods and rocks, very mirie, the *Spaniards* playing on them out of the woods. After ten leagues march, they came to a fort on the top of a hill: two such more were betwixt that and *Panama*, that also strongly fortified, the enemy hauing knowledge before of this designe. Hereby was he forced to returne. Ianuary the eight and twentieth. Sir *Francis Drake* died of a fluxe. He made his brother *Thomas Drakes* sonne his heire. Sir *Thomas Baskeruill* succeeded. The six and twentieth of February the *Spaniards* fleete of twenty sailes, and the *English* met; a fight followed, & continued two houres, and then they parted. A great Ship of the *Spaniards* that night was burned. In Aprill following they arriued at *Plimmouth*.

Death of Sir *Iohn Hawkins*. *S. Io. Port Rico.*

R. de la Hacha taken: and

Tapia.

S. Martha.

Nombre de Dios.

S. Th. Baskeruile.

March for *Panama.*

S. Fr. Drakes death.

Sea-fight.

In

In this Voyage I haue followed the printed Relation: but because another hath come to my hands, written (as it seemes) by one offended therein, I haue to thy other eare permitted him to speake, that freedome of iudgement may remayne to euery Reader.

Quarrell betwixt the Generals.

THe seuen and twentieth of August, hauing our dispatch from her Maiestie, wee brought all our fleet into the Sound of Plimmouth, and the eight and twentieth day wee set sayle for our pretended Voyage. In our course alongst the Coasts of Spaine, was diuers meetings with our Generals, where passed many vnkind speeches, and such as Sir Iohn Hawkins neuer put off till death. In this traict was put on a resolution with Sir Francis Drake, and Sir Thomas Baskeruile to take the Grand Canaria, whereupon a counsell was held, and therein propounded by Sir Francis, how great a benefit, much honour, and good refreshing was offered vs, and therefore would stand on most voyces. Sir Iohn Hawkins to whom hee spake this vtterly refused, with these reasons following. First, there could bee no need considering our small time out. Secondly, not possible to carrie it without hazarding all, and Thirdly, not good to lose time, which would neuer be recouered. To this last reason Sir Thomas Baskeruile answered. First, for time, hee would require but foure dayes in this manner, In foure houres he would take it, and in the rest would hee burne it downe, except they would compound, thus the fourth day would he be shipped readie for our Voyage.

Reason for and against the Canary exploit.

In this controuersie Sir Francis would goe for the Canaria with such as would follow him, and Sir Iohn Hawkins with the rest for the Indies, yet after this hard debating, at the earnest request of some friends, Sir Iohn Hawkins vpon the confessing of need, was content to assist them, yet in his iudgement labour lost with much hazard of all. Thus altogether standing alongst, the fiue and twentieth of September we came to anchor afore the Fort that guards the landing place at Grand Canaria, where were put into our Boates and Pinnasses, all our land men vnder the conduct of Sir Thomas Baskeruile Colonell Generall, who drew head neere the middest of the Beatche. Betwixt the Fort and the Towne, a most safely for our landing. To this place euen then did the Spaniards draw two or three very small Peeces of Ordnance, with which, and with some companies of Souldiers made some shew of resistance, whereupon notwithstanding most of our smaller shipping, who accompanied our Boats with their Artillery, Sir Thomas made his retraite without putting foot on land, and then to know, as it was reported, if our Generals would put their Voyage thereon or no. With this better consideration were all our men shipped againe, and stood alongst to the Westermost end thereof. Here went many ashoare some for water, some for pleasure, amongst whom, the eight and twentieth day was Captayne Grimstone with two more in his company slaine, and by Peasants as was thought: with this euill beginning, this night wee weighed and stood alongst for the Indies.

The Grand Canaria.

Dominica.

The eight and twentieth of October, wee came faire by the Southermost end of Dominica: and the thirtieth day we came also safe anchoring at Guardalupa, onely the Delight and the Francis, two of our smallest Pinnasses, who being to leewards out of sight, was there chased by fiue Spanish ships, in which chase the Francis was taken, the other escaped with this newes. The last of this moneth Sir Iohn Hawkins not able to beare his griefes out longer, sickned. Here we built seuen Pinnasses. The fourth of November were they launched, and we stood of for Porto rico, the eight day in the way we anchored among the Ilands Virgins, where all our Souldiers were appointed to their land Captaines. The twelfth day we came to anchor afore the Harbour at Porto rico, where dyed Sir Nicholas Clifford, by a shot from a platforme, sitting at supper in the Defiance, with this shot was likewise Master Brewt Browne hurt, who lined but few dayes after, and this day also died Sir Iohn Hawkins, whose death of many was much lamented.

Sir I. Hawkins sickneth.

At Porto rico.

He dyeth.

In this Harbour rid those fiue Frigats of the Kings, which came for the treasure. This place beeing well viewed by our Generall, and Colonell Generall, a counsell was held and therein agreed, That first and most necessariest these Frigats should bee burned, and for that seruice was named out the next night thirtie of our Boates and Pinnasses with fire workes, and with warlike weapons, these Frigats were so well defended aboord, and with the Ordnance ashore, that our men returned with consuming onely one of them, out of which were saued some of the Spaniards, who reported certainly, that there the Treasure of two Millions was, and so were our men taken in the Francis.

Treasure lost.

Notwithstanding all these quickning newes after some few dayes, we weighed and stood alongst to the Westermost end of this Iland, where we contented vs with some refreshing of water, Oranges and Plantanes; here were built foure Pinnasses more. At this place sent hee aboord me with his Warrant forth Souldiers out of the Defiance. The foure and twentieth day we weighed and stood alongst for one Plaine, called Knaw-saw, with which wee fell the nine and twentieth day, but stayed not; thus standing alongst. The first of December we arriued at Cape dela Vela, the second in the morning was put into our Boats and Pinnasses, all our Souldiers for Rio dela Hatcha. This was taken, the people being all fled, yet here with search in the Woods, and intelligence of some Negros, was found great store of Pearle, Plate, Iewels, Reals of Plate, Bales of Silke, rich apparell, with much other baggage. The sixt of this moneth, brought in Sir Francis from one other Towne called Rancharia, great quantitie of Pearle and baggage. The ninth day came in some Spaniards, with intent to ransome their housel, Negros, and some Spaniards Prisoners, and concluded for 24000. Pezos, euery Pezo worth fiue shillings sixe pence. The thirteenth day, came in the same all in Pearle, and the fourteenth day came in their Lieutenant for the deli-

Knaw-saw.

Rio dela Hatcha.

delivery. But in the valuing, their quantity and quality would not be taken, wherefore departed they with foure houres respite for further answere from their Gouernour Don Francisco Manso, but answere was himselfe would come to conference, which hee did the sixteenth day. After dinner our Generall and Colonell Generall, with the Spaniards had secret conference about this Ransome, whereupon concluding, they absolutely broke off, and therefore in all haste was fire put in some of the houses, and the Gouernour had two houres time to cleare him of our Army.

Thus hauing burnt Rio dela Hatcha, Rancharia, and Tapia. The eighteenth day wee weighed and stood alongst for Santa Marta, to which we came the twentieth day, here we onely tooke fame fine Prisoners, whereof one was the Lieutenant there. The one and twentieth, it was put to fire, and we set sayle for Nombre de Dios, to which we came the seuen and twentieth day, where in like manner the people had acquited the Towne, yet here was found by intelligence of some Negros, as I heard, two and twenty Sowes of Siluer, Gold in Bullion, some Iewels, great store of Plate, and Riall of Plate, with much other luggage. The nine and twentieth day, Sir Thomas Baskeruile, Colonell Generall with all his able Captaines and Souldiers tooke their iourney for Panama, now the marke of our Voyage: who entering the mid-way being empeached by some Spaniards and Negros, made their retreite to the Ships at Nombre de Dios, at this encounter were few of our men slaine, some hurt, some of the which there left to the mercie of the Spaniards.

Santa Marta.

Sir T. Baskeruils iourney for Panama.

The fifth day of Ianuary, all our men being shipped, the towne and Gallies put to fire, we set sayle there by the aduice of a Spaniard, for the River Nicorago, in which way we fell with one Iland called Escudo, a place which affordeth nothing good, yet here wee stayed from the tenth day vntill the three and twentieth, when we set sayle and plied to the Eastward, which by Gods speciall fauour, the eight and twentieth day we came in with Porta Iabella. This morning died our Generall Sir Francis Drake. This is the place where the people of Nombre de Dios meaneth to dwell at. Here found we a beginning of a strong platforme with three Brasse Peeces vnmounted. In my opinion, this was our best remoue, for if God had not preuented our Generals purpose for the River Nicorago, it would haue hazarded all her Maiesties Ships, farre with the rest. Here tooke we in ballast, water, mended our sayles, and calked our ships, such as had need.

Escudo.

Sir F. Drakes death.

The eight of February, Sir Thomas Baskeruile taking vpon him Generall, we all set saile for Santa Marta homewards, but not able to recouer higher then Carthagena, as wee ghesse in the Bonauenture with the splitting of all our sayles, put ouer for Iamaica. In this course lost we the Fore-sight, the Susan Parnell, the Helpe, and the Gregory. The fine and twentieth day came we faire by Canaria granda, which bore ouer vs in the morning East North-east, and this day was all our flesh and fish spent. The second of March, making this our miserie like to be known to Sir Thomas Baskeruile, who hath giuen mee his promise to relieue mee at my need, his answere was carelesly for vs, and with all said, hee would goe in with the Iland Pinos to water, which I vtterly misliked, the winde then being good to stand alongst, very ill to lose, and more for that no Englishman in our fleete either knew or euer heard of any watering or other good there.

In this reasoning betwixt vs, we descried twentie sayle of ships a-head vs, who were the Kings men of Warre, waiting our home comming, it was my fortune in the Bonauenture to take to taske the Vice-admirall, one of the twelue Apostles of the Kings, for so I thought by a great golden Saint, which manned her Poope. The manner of our fight and my deseruing, I leaue euen to the report of mine enemies, yet thus much vnderstand, their Admirall with the rest, all the next day being in the winde, was content we should passe in peace. Thus being quietly, and we all dismbogued some two hundred leagues, I made a second demand of Sir Thomas, his promise for victuals, which he vtterly refused, wherefore as well in regard of our Generals lacke as mine owne danger, with a shot in our sight, wherein it was indifferent with mee to liue or die, I told him I must make more haste home then I presumed hee would, yet wee stayed with him two dayes longer, when in a storme I left him, and this was the fourteenth day of March.

Now for these two English Sea-worthies, as wee haue begunne their American Aduentures, and ended them together, so I haue thought good to insert this following censure of a Gentleman in a Letter of his, touching them both, as an Epitaph dedicated to their memory.

Sir, I haue according to your request, and my owne plainnesse sent you here the comparison betweene those two Commanders Sir Francis Drake and Sir Iohn Hawkins. They were both much giuen to trauell in their youth and age, attempting many honourable Voyages alike; as that of Sir Iohn Hawkins to Guiny, to the Iles of America, to Saint Iohn de Vlua. So likewise Sir Francis Drake after many Discouuries of the West Indies, and other parts, was the first Englishman that did euer compasse the World; wherein, as also in his deepe iudgement in Sea causes, he did farre exceed not Sir Iohn Hawkins alone, but all others whomsoeuer. In their owne natures and disposition they did as much differ; as in the managing matters of the Warres, Sir Francis being of a liuely spirit, resolute, quicke, and sufficiently valiant: The other slow, iealous, and hardly brought to resolution. In Councell Sir Iohn Hawkins did often differ from the iudgement of others, seeming thereby to know more in doubtfull things, then he would vtter. Sir Francis was a willing hearer of euery mans opinion, but commonly a follower of his owne: he neuer attempted any action, wherein he was an absolute Commander, but hee

performed the same with great reputation, and did easily dispatch great matters; Contrariwise Sir Iohn Hawkins did only giue the bare attempt of things, for the most part without any Fortune or good successe therein. Sir Iohn Hawkins did naturally hate the Land-souldier, and though hee were very popular, yet he affected more the common sort, then his equals; Sir Francis contrarily did much loue the Land-souldier, and greatly aduanced good parts, wheresoeuer he found them. Hee was also affable to all men and of easie accesse. They were both of many vertues, and agreeing in some. As patience in endurring labours and hardnesse, Obseruation and Memory of things past, and great discretion in sudden dangers, in which, neither of them was much distempered, and in some other vertues they differed. Sir Iohn Hawkins had in him mercie and aptnesse to forgiue, and true of word; Sir Francis hard in reconciliation, and constancie in friendship; he was withall seuere and courteous, magnanimous, and liberall. They were both faulty in ambition, but more the one then the other; For in Sir Francis was an insatiable desire of honor, indeed beyond reason. He was infinite in promises, and more temperate in aduersity, then in better Fortune. He had also other imperfections, as aptnesse to anger, and bitternesse in disgracing, and too much pleased with open flattery: Sir Iohn Hawkins had in him malice with dissimulation, rudenesse in behauiour, and passing sparing, indeed miserable. They were both happy alike in being Great Commanders, but not of equall successe, and grew great and famous by one meanes, rising through their owne Vertues, and the Fortune of the Sea. Their was no comparison to bee made betweene their well-deserning and good parts, for therein Sir Francis Drake did farre exceede. This is all I haue obserued in the Voyages, wherein I haue serued with them.

R. M.

A briefe recitall or nomination of Souldiers, other Englishmens Voyages related at large in the printed Works of Master HAKLVYT.

Captaine *Michelson.*

OTher Voyages might here be inserted, made by *Englishmen* into the Bay of *Mexico*, as that by Captayne *W. Michelson*, and *William Mace* of *Ratcliffe*, in the *Dogge* 1589. which there tooke three shippes. They held fight with a *Spanish* man of Warre, who by fraud sought perfidiously to obtayne that which they could not by vnspotted Fortitude. They put out a flagge of Truce, and after kinde entertaynment aboord the *English*, inuited them to their shippe, where they assaulted them, stabbing *Roger Kingsnald* the Pilot to the *Heart*, slaying others, and forcing the rest to trust God and the Sea rather then the Deuill and the *Spaniards*; thus swimming to their ship.

Treachery of *Spaniards.*

Sir *G. Careys.*

The valiant fight of the *Content*, a small ship of Sir *George Careys*, (Lord *Hundsdon*, Lord Chamberlaine) 1591. June 13. with three great *Spanish* ships, each of six or seuen hundred, and one small shippe and two Gallies, farre more being slaine of the enemies then the *English* had to fight: Heare to Master *Haklyts* report: as also Captayne *Christopher Newport* his Voyage

Captaine *Newport.*

with three ships and a Pinnasse the same yeere, which tooke and spoyled *Taguana* and *Ocoa* in *Hispaniola*, and *Truxillo*, besides other Prizes, and in the way homeward, were at the taking of the *Madre de Dios*.

Earle of *Suffolke.*

The nexte yeere Captayne *Lane* Gen. of Master *Watts* his fleete, Captayne *Roberts* in the Exchange of *Bristoll*, and Captayne *Beniamin Wood* with foure shippes set forth by the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Captayne *Kenell* of *Lime-house*, and Captayne King of *Ratcliffe* Road, with

Thirteene sayles *English* before *Hauana.*

thirteene sayles before *Hauana*, waytyng for purchase.

Sir *R. Dudley.*

Anno 1594. the Honourable Sir *Robert Dudley* set forth with two ships and two Pinnasses, and made his Voyage to *Trinidada*, and the Coast of *Paria*, returning by the Iles of *Granata*, *Santa Cruez*, *Santa Iuan de Puerto Rico*, *Mona*, *Zacheo*, and *Bermuda*. In which Voyage he and his company tooke or sunke nine *Spanish* ships; of which one was a man of Warre of sixe hundred tuns. The particulars are related by himselfe in Master *Haklyt*.

Captaine *Amias Preston.*
Captaine *Summers.*
Sir *Antonie Sherley.*
Captaine *Parker.*

In him also the Reader may find the victorious Voyage of Captayne *Amias Preston*, and Captayne *George Summers* (both since Knights) *Anno* 1595. in which the Iles of *Puerto Santo*, and of *Coche* neere *Margarita*, the Fort and Towne of *Core*, the Citie of Saint *Iago de Leon*, were sacked and burnt; the Towne of *Cumana* ransomed, and *Iamaica* entred.

Sir *W. Raleigh.*
M. *W. Hawkins.*
M. *Reniger.*
M. *Pudsey.*
M. *Hare.*
Sir *I. Lancaster.*
Fenton and *Ward.*
Iohn Drake.

Sir *Antonie Sherley*, *Anno* 1596. set forth from *Hampton*, with nine ships and a Galley, to Saint *Iago Dominica*, *Margarita*, *Iamaica*, Bay of *Honduras*, and homewards by *Newfoundland*. This and Captayne *Parkers* Voyage 1596. to the same parts and Ports, with his taking of *Campeche* the chiefe Towne of *Iucatan*, and bringing thence a Frigat, laden with the Kings Tribute: Also the Voyages of Sir *Walter Raleigh* to *Guiana*, and other intelligences of that Nation: likewise Master *William Hawkins* his Voyages to *Brasil*, and those of *Reniger* and *Borey*, *Pudsey*, *Stephen Hare*, Sir *Iames Lancasters* taking of *Fernambuc*: *Fenton* and *Ward*, and *Iohn Drakes* Voyage after his departure from *Fenton* vp the Riuer of *Plate*, and liuing fifteene moneths with the Sauages, *Anno* 1582.

All

All these I referre to the painfull labours of Master *Hakluyt*, who hath well deserued of the *English* Nation, and of these *Neptunian Heroes*; that I mention not the many Voyages of others in those times of difference betwixt *England* and *Spaine*, which here and there you shall finde mention of in these Relations. Also, *Anno* 1589. three ships were set forth by Master *Chudlie* and others for the *Magellan* Straites, one of which arriued there and tooke there a *Spaniard*, one of the foure hundred which had beene sent thither to inhabit, which had long liued there alone, the rest being famished. They spent sixe weekes there with contrary winds, and sixe only of their company returned, they also being racked on the Coast of *Normandie*, as *W. Magoths* one of the sixe hath related.

These I doe but summarily mention, as an Index rather to Master *Hakluyts* labours, then with any intent to giue the discourse thereof. But the strange fortunes of *Peter Carder* (not hitherto published) compell me to take speciall notice thereof, which himselfe hath thus related.

CHAP. V.

The Relation of PETER CARDER *of Saint* Verian *in* Cornwall, *within seuen miles of* Falmouth, *which went with Sir* FRANCIS *in his Voyage about the World, begun* 1577. *who with seuen others in an open Pinnasse or Shallop of fiue tuns, with eight Oares, was separated from his Generall by foule weather in the South Sea, in October*, An. 1578. *who returning by the Straites of* Magellan *toward* Brasill, *were all cast away, saue this one only afore named, who came into* England *nine yeeres after miraculously, hauing escaped many strange dangers, aswell among diuers Sauages as Christians.*

AFter Sir *Francis Drake* had passed the Straites of *Magellan*, the sixt of September 1578. and was driuen downe to the Southwards in the South Sea, vnto the latitude of fiftie fiue degrees, and a terse, with such accidents as are mentioned in his Voyage, and returning backe toward the Straite againe. The eight of October we lost sight of the *Elizabeth*, one of our Consorts, wherein Master *Iohn Winter* was, who returned by the Straites againe, as wee vnderstood afterward at our comming home into *England*; according to his Voyage extant in print. Shortly after this separation from our company, our Generall commanded eight men to furnish our small Pinnasse or Shallop with eight men, whose names were these, my selfe, *Peter Carder* aforesaid, *Richard Burnish* of *London*, *Iohn Cottle* and another, both seruants to Master *Iohn Hawkins*, *Artyur* a *Dutch* Trumpetor, *Richard Ioyner*, seruant to *Vincent Scoble* of *Plimmouth*, *Pasche Gidie* of *Salt Ashe*, and *William Pitcher* of *London*.

This company was commanded to waite vpon the ship for all necessary vses, but hauing not passed one dayes victuals in vs, nor any Card nor Compasse, sauing only the benefit of eight oares, in the night time by foule weather suddenly arising we lost the sight of our ship, and though our ship sought vs and we them, for a fortnight together, yet could we neuer meet together againe. Howbeit within two dayes after we lost them, we recouered the shoare, and releeued our selues with Muscels, Oysters, Crabs, and some sorts of Roots in the Woods, and within a fortnight after the losse of our consorts, wee returned backe into the Straites of *Magellan*, and in two places came on land on the mayne of *America*, to relieue our selues in certaine Bayes, where wee found Oysters, Muscels and Crabs as before, and filled our Barricos with fresh water, and in one of these places we found Sauages, but they fled from vs.

Afterward we came to *Penguin* Iland in the Straites, and there wee salted and dryed many of the *Penguins* for our sustenance. Thence we shaped our course for Port Saint *Iulian*, where Sir *Francis Drake* not many moneths before had beheaded Captayne *Dontie*: In this Port we stayed a day or two, and tooke fish like Breames and Mackerils, with hookes and lines. Then coasting the land for some fortnight, some hundred leagues beyond the Riuer of *Plate*, wee found a small Iland three leagues from the mayne full of Seales, whereof wee killed good store to our sustenance, the young ones we found best and eate them roast. Then passing ouer the Riuer of *Plate* to the North side, we put into a small Riuer, and went vp into the Woods sixe of vs; other two remayning on the shore to looke to the Boat.

While we were thus seeking food in the Woods the people of the Countrey, called *Tapines*, some sixtie or seuentie armed with Bowes and Arrowes shot fiercely at vs, and wounded vs all very grieuously, and foure of vs were taken by them, and neuer recouered: the rest of vs they pursued to our Pinnasse, and wounded vs all: but in the end we put them to flight. Thence we went to an Iland some three leagues off in the Sea, not aboue a league in compasse. Where wee

Captaine *Winters* returne. With this Capt *Winter* I haue had cõference in Sept. 1618. at *Bath*: which told me that solemne possession was actually taken of those parts, to the vse of her Maiesty and her successors: which he desired also should be published to the World.

The names of his companions.

They lose their ship.

Their returne to the Straits: and thorow them to the North Sea.

Penguin Iland.

Port Saint *Iulian*.

Riuer of *Plate*.

Seales.

Foure *English* taken by Sauages, the rest wounded.

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Two dye. Their Pinnaſſe left *Pitcher* & *Carder* remayne.

cured our ſelues as well as we might, yet ſo, that two of vs died of our late wounds, and that, which was worſe for want of helpe. Through foule weather our Pinnaſſe was daſht againſt the Rockie ſhoare and broken, and now there remayned aliue of vs eight, no more but my ſelfe, *Peter Carder* and *William Pitcher*.

Here we remayned the ſpace of two moneths, in all which time for our victuals, wee had a fruit ſomewhat like vnto Oranges, growing vpon a high Tree, the leafe whereof was ſomewhat like the Aſpen leafe, and ſmall; white Crabs creeping vpon the ſand, and little Eeles which we found vnder the ſands, but in all this Iland we could not find any freſh water in the World, inſomuch, that we were driuen to drinke our owne vrine, which we ſaued in ſome ſheards of certaine Iarres, which we had out of our Pinnaſſe, and ſet our vrine all night to coole therein, to drinke it the next morning, which thus being drunke often, and often auoyded, became in a while exceeding red, in all this time wee had no raine, nor any good meanes to ſaue it, if it had fallen, whereupon, ſeeing our ſelues in ſo great extremitie, wee deuiſed how we might get vnto the Mayne, and by good fortune, found a planke of ſome ten foot in length, which of likelihood had driuen from the Riuer of *Plate*, whereunto with withes, wee bound ſome other wood, and furniſhing our ſelues with the foreſaid fruit, Eeles and Crabs, wee committed our ſelues to God; hoping with the ſetting in of the tyde, and with the helpe of two poles, which we vſed in ſtead of Oares to attayne vnto the Mayne, which was ſome three leagues off, but wee made it three dayes and two nights before we could come to the Mayne.

No freſh water. They drinke vrine. Red vrine. Paſſage to the Mayne.

At our comming firſt on land, we found a little Riuer of very ſweet and pleaſant water, where *William Pitcher* my onely comfort and companion (although I diſwaded him to the contrary) ouer dranke himſelfe, being pinched before with extreame thirſt, and to my vnſpeakeable griefe and diſcomfort, within halfe an houre after dyed in my preſence, whom I buried aſwell as I could in the ſand.

Pitcher breakes with drinking freſh water.

The next day following, as I trauelled along the ſhoare towards *Braſill*, hauing mine Arming Sword and Target with me, I met with ſome thirtie of the Sauages of the Countrey, called *Tuppan baſſe*, which being armed with Bowes and Arrowes, and hauing two or three great Rattles with ſtones in them, and a kind of Tabrets that they vſed in ſtead of Drummes, they went dancing before me about a Musket ſhot off, and then they ſtayed and hanged vp a piece of a white Net of Cotton-wooll, vpon a ſticks end of foure foote high, and went from it about a Musket ſhot off: then I comming vnto it, tooke it in my hand, viewed it, and hung it vp againe, then many of them, beckning and weauing with their hands, cryed vnto mee, *Iyorie, Iyorie*, which (as afterward I vnderſtood, by hauing long among them) was as much as *Come hither*. Then I came to them, and they friendly led me a long ſome halfe a mile, all the way dancing, aſwell men as women, whereof there were ſome eight in the company, vntill we came to another Riuer ſide, where they hanged vp their Beds, tying them faſt to a couple of Trees, being a kinde of white Cotton Netting, which hanged two foot from the ground, and kindled fire of two ſticks, which they made on both ſides of their Beds, for warmth, and for driuing away of wilde beaſts, and hauing fed me with ſuch as they had: we tooke our reſt for that night.

Tuppan baſſe Sauages. He goeth with them.

The next day earely in the morning they tooke downe and truſſed vp their beds, crying *tiaſſo, tiaſſo*, which is to ſay, *away, away*, and marched that day towards *Braſill* ſome twentie miles, and came to their Towne where their chiefe Gouernour was. This Towne was built foure ſquare, with foure houſes onely, euery houſe containing aboue two Bowe ſhot in length, and the houſes made with ſmall trees like an Arbour, being thatched ouer downe to the ground with Palme tree leaues: they haue no windowes, but ſome thirtie or fortie doores on euery ſide of this ſquadron, by which each Familie paſſeth in and out; their chiefe Lord, whoſe name was *Caiou*, being a man of ſome forty yeares old, had nine wiues; but the reſt haue onely one wife, except ſuch as are counted more valiant, then the reſt which are permitted two wiues, one to looke to their children at home, and the other to goe to the warres with them. This Towne contained very neere 4000. perſons of all ſorts. The next day the Gouernour ſent diuers of his people abroad to bring in all ſorts of victuall which the Countrie yeelded, and offered them vnto me to ſee which of them I liked beſt, among which there was great ſtore of fiſh, as well Sea-fiſh as freſh water-fiſhes, many ſorts of Fowles, many ſorts of Rootes, and diuers Land-beaſts, as Armadillos, which afterward I found to be very good meate. Of all theſe at the firſt, I onely tooke one Fowle, and a couple of fiſhes, and beſtowed the reſt among their children, which procured me no ſmall good will among them.

Sauage towne deſcribed. *Caiou* their Lord. Hoſpitall entertainment.

Here I ſtaied among them (being well entertained) for certaine moneths, vntill I had learned moſt part of their language, in which meane ſpace I noted their manners, which were as followeth. They went out to the warres armed at my firſt comming, onely with Bowes and Arrowes, ſome three or foure hundred at a time, and when they had the victory of their enemies, they tied one of their Captiues to one of their company with Cotten cords faſt arme to arme, and bringing them home, within two or three daies after they would tie them to a poaſt, and with a maſſie club of red wood one of the ſtrongeſt of the company (after they haue drunke a certaine ſtrong drinke with dancing round about him) at one blow ſlits his head a ſunder: this

He learneth their language. Their warres. Captiues. Man-eating.

drinke

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drinke is made by their women of a certaine roote called *I. P.* which first they seeth, and afterward chew in their mouthes, and then spit it out againe into a long trough and mingle it with water, and there let it worke two or three daies, and gather yeest vpon it, like to our Ale: which done, they take the liquor and put it into broad mouth Iarres of earth, and of this both their men and women doe drinke at their feasts, till they be as drunke as Apes. Their drinke and drunkennesse.

I could obserue no Religion amongst them, but onely that they reuerence and worshippe the Moone, especially the new Moone; whereat they doe reioyce in leaping, dancing, and clapping their hands. The Merchantable commodities of this Countrie, are Brasill-wood, Tobacco, red Pepper, and Cotten Wooll. They haue also great store of Apes, Monkies, Armadillos, Hogges without tailes as bigge as ours; their Birds are Parrats, Parraketos, blacke Fowles as bigge as Doues, and Ostriches as high as a man. After I had liued about halfe a yeare amongst them, and learned their language, the King requested me to goe to the warres with him against his enemies the *Tapuyes*, which I granted, but before we set out, I shewed them a way for making of certaine Targets of the barke of a Tree some three quarters of a yard long for defence against Arrowes, whereof we made some hundred; and withall I wished them to make some two hundred of Clubs. Which being done we marched forward some 700. in number, which by mine aduice were all marked with a red kinde of Balsome from the knee downeward vpon one legge, to be known from our enemies (by the way it is to be noted that there are three sorts of Balsamum in that Countrie, to wit, White, Red and Blacke very odoriferous and excellent good for a greene wound, and the White I esteeme to be best.) In three dayes march we came to another Towne built foure square, as before I haue declared, but much lesser; we set vpon the Towne about foure of the clocke in the morning, the enemy standing vpon defence of their Arrowes, were much deceiued by reason of our Targets, which being seconded by our Clubbes, wee immediately knocked downe to the number of two hundred, the rest, except some twenty prisoners escaped into the woods. Here the King staied one day, and caused many of thir carkales to be broyled vpon the coales and eaten. The chiefest riches which we found here was their drinke which they vsed to make themselues drunke withall; their Cotten Beddes and their Tobacco. As for Gold and Siluer they neither seeke, nor make any accompt thereof. This is to be noted, that how many men these Sauages doe kill, so many holes they will haue in their visage, beginning first in their nether lippe, then in their cheekes, thirdly in both their eye-browes, and lastly in their eares. Those twenty prisoners which we brought home, were afterward killed, rosted and eaten.

He teacheth them to make Targets and Clubs.

Three kindes of Balsome.

Man-eating.

Spoiles.

Notes of gentrie.

While I remayned here amongst these people, certayn *Portugals* accompanied with certayn *Negros* and *Brasilians*, came within some ten leagues of our town, to see whether they could surprise any of our Sauages, and to harken what was become of me, for that they had heard by this time that some of Sir *Francis Drakes* company were east ashoare amongst the Sauage people, but there comming was not so secret, but that two of the *Portugals* and certayne *Negros* were taken, and after their confession, of the intent of their comming thither, they were brained with clubs, broyled and eaten. These things thus passing, I became sutor to the King to giue mee leane to depart his Countrey, and to goe to some Riuer of *Brasil* not planted by the *Portugals*, to see if I could spy out any *English* or *French* ship to passe me into my Countrey, which hee in the end fauourably granted; and sent foure of his people with me to furnish me with victuals, which they did very plentifully of Birds, Fish, and Roots, for the space of nine or ten weeks, all which time they did accompany me, and I desiring to goe toward the Line, they brought me into the towne of *Bahia, Detados los Santtos*.

Portugals eaten.

His departure.

But about foure or fiue miles before we came to the towne, I yeelded my selfe to a *Portugall*, called *Michael Ionas*, declaring vnto him that I was an *Englishman*, and enquired whether there were any *Englishmen* dwelling in the towne, hee told me that there was one *Antonio de Paua* in the towne which could speake good *English*, and was a louer of our Nation, and brought mee directly vnto his house. This *Antonio de Paua*, pittying my case, and aduising mee not to bee knowne, that I vnderstood the *Portugall* Tongue, brought mee to the Gouernour, whose name was *Diego Vas*, this Gouernour told me by *Antonio de Paua*, which became my Interpreter, that seeing I was found in the Inland of their Countrey Westward, being a stranger, contrary to their Lawes, he could doe no lesse then commit me to Prison, and send me into *Portugall* to be committed to the Gallies for tearme of life, to this I answered by the aduice of my good friend *Antonio de Paua*, that I came not willingly into those Dominions, but beeing by casualtie once come there, I was not taken Prisoner, but sought them out and came and yeelded my selfe into their hands, laying downe my weapons at one of his Nations feet.

He yeeldeth himselfe to a *Portugall*.

Neuertheless he sent me to Prison, whereby the meanes of *Antonio de Paua*, and other of his friends, I was sufficiently relieued, and within one fortnight after brought againe publikely to the barre in the Towne-house to mine answere. There I answered the second time by *Antonio de Paua*, my Interpreter, that I thought it sufficient, that when I might haue kept out, yet of mine owne free will I had made a long tourney, with great hazard of my life through the Countries of Sauages, being Man-eaters, which fauoured me to seeke the *Portugall Christians* out, and peace-

His imprisonment.

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Deliuerance.

peaceably to put my selfe into their hands. Hereupon the Gouernor and his assistants consulted and concluded together, that I should be committed to the house of *Antonio de Payne*, & there remaine vntill they might write into *Portugall* to know the Kings pleasure concerning me. Within one yeare they receiued answer from *Lisbon* concerning me, that I should be forth comming, and that hereafter the King would send further order for my transporting into *Portugall*. But aboue two yeares passed before this order came: In which meane space, first I spent part of my time in going into the fields as ouerseer of my friends *Negros* and Sauages in their planting and dressing of their Sugar Canes, and in planting of Gingers, which grow there exceeding well, but is a forbidden trade to be transported out for hindering of other places, and in cutting downe of Brasil-wood, and in bringing it downe by Riuers vpon ratts vnto the Port where the Ships doe lade it, and in seeing them gather their Cotten wooll, and picking the seedes out of it, and packing the same, and in gathering of the long Pepper both white and red.

His employments.

After I had spent, some yeare and an halfe in this businesse, my friend *Antonio de Payne* hauing a small Barke of his owne, which he employed in carrying of wares from Port to Port, and for bringing of Sugars to places where Ships should lade, vsed me, knowing I had bin brought vp to the Sea, in these his businesses. Our first Voyage was to *Ilheos*, where we left some wares, and staied there some moneth: then we went to *Puerto Seguro*, and there tooke in some Sugar for Linnen Cloath, Bayes, Wine and Oyle. Then returning home, shortly after we were set forth againe in the same Barke to *Spirito Sancto*, and Saint *Vincent*, and the Riuer *Ienero*, where discharging our wares to certaine Factors, and receiuing Sugars and Cotten Wooll aboord, we returned safely home. In my first Voyage one Master *Dauid Leake* an *English* Surgeon, lost there out of an *English* Shippe in the Countrie, being much sought for because of his skill, had passage with vs from *Bahia* to *Spirito Sancto*. Vpon my returne of my second voyage, my good friend *Antonio de Payne* aduertised me, that a Shippe was shortly to arriue there to carry me into *Portugall* prisoner, telling me that he should not be able any longer to helpe me, and therefore wished me to looke to my selfe; but kindely offered me his helpe to conuay me away: whereupon I tooke his Boate and foure of his *Negros*, pretending to goe on fishing to the Sea; and so of purpose going much to Leeward of the place, I put in to *Fernambuc*: where the *Negroes* being examined whence we came, and for what cause, being vtterly ignorant of mine intent, answered that they were drawn thither by force of weather, and for their Masters sake were well intreated, and returned home with the next winde, my selfe remaining secretly behinde them.

His coast voyages to *Ilheos*. *Puerto Seguro*. *Spirito Sancto*. S. *Vincent*. *R. Ienero*. *Dauid Leake* an *English* Surgeon. Honest *Portugal*. *Fernambuc*.

Hulke with eight *English*.

Within certaine moneths there came thither a Hulke with eight *English* men and foureteene *Portugals*, who after some three moneths had laden the same with *English* and *Portugall* goods to come for *England*. The *English* goods belonged to M. *Cordal*, M. *Beecher*, and M. *Sadler*, worshipfull Merchants of the Citie of *London*; which had bin left in the Countrie before by the Merchant Royall. Thus passing homeward in our course as far as the Iles of the *Acores*, within sight of the Ile of *Pike*, being fiue *Portugall* Ships in consort, we met with Cap. *Raymond*, and Cap. *George Drake* of *Exeter*, with two *English* Ships of warre, who because the peace betweene *England* and *Spaine* was broken the yeare before, commanded vs to yeelde our selues to them as their lawfull prises, which we did all fiue accordingly without any resistance. But by contrary weather we were driuen into *Baltimore* in *Ireland*, and within a while after we arriued in the narrow Seas in the hauen of *Chichister*, in the end of Nouember 1586. nine yeares and foureteene dayes after my departure out of *England* with Sir *Francis Drake* in his Voyage about the World.

Marchant Royall. Cap. *Raymond*. Captain *George Drake*. His arriuall in *England*.

My strange aduentures, and long liuing among cruell Sauages being known to the right honorable the Lord *Charles Howard*, Lord high Admirall of *England*, he certified the Queenes Maiesty thereof with speede, and brought me to her presence at *White-hall*, where it pleased her to talke with me a long houres space of my trauailes and wonderfull escape, and among other things of the manner of M. *Dowties* execution; and afterward bestowed 22. angels on me, willing my Lord to haue consideration of me; with many gracious words I was dismissed; humbly thanking the Almighty for my miraculous preseruation, and safe returne into my native Countrie.

The Q. rewardeth him.

To the Reader.

See *Tom.* 1. *l.* 2. *c.* 4.

HEre maist thou read that dismall and fatall voyage of Master Thomas Candish, *in which he consummated his earthly peregrination. In the former voyage of his (which amongst our Circumnauigations of the Globe, we haue presented thee) thou findest a perpetuall Sunshine, no man euer hauing in neere so little time compassed that huge circumference, or taken his choise of so much more wealth then he could bring home, or reuisited his native soile with greater pompe and triumph. The clearest day hath a night, nor doth Summer last alway; the Sea hath his ebbing as well as flowing: the Aire hath calmes and stormes: the Moone hideth sometimes the Suns lustre from vs by her interposition; sometimes is her selfe meerely darkened by the Earths shadow. And if the Elements, Seasons, and Heauens two Eyes be subiect to such vicissitudes; what is this little molehill of earth, this moueable circum-*

I haue heard that all his sailes at his returne in the riuer, were silke-

ference of conſtant inconſtancie, immutable mutability; this vaniſhing centre of diuerſified vanitie, which we call Man; *that herein alſo he ſhould not reſemble this ſampler of the vniuerſe, as becommeth a little man to be like that larger Prototype. This we ſee all, and feele daily in our ſelues: this in Maſter* Candiſh *here, in Sir* Francis Drakes *before, the Seas two darlings, there and thence both liuing and dying; if diſſolution of the body may be called a death, where the ſoule arriueth in heauen, the name fils the earth, the deedes are preſidents to poſteritie, and* England *their Countrie hath the glory alone that ſhe hath brought forth two illuſtrious Captaines and Generals, which haue fortunately embraced the round waſte of their vaſte mother, without waſte of life, reputation, and ſubſtance; yea victorious ouer elements and enemies, illuſtrious in wealth and honour, they haue comne home like the Sunne in a Summers day, ſeeming greateſt neereſt his euening home, the whole skie entertaining and welcoming him in feſtiuall ſcarlets and diſplayed colours of triumph. No Nation elſe hath yeelded one, which in all theſe reſpects may be matchable.* Magalianes *hath left himſelfe odious to his* Portugals *for offered ſeruice to the* Spaniard, *and like* Phaeton *thinking with* Phebus *his Chariot to compaſſe the World, periſhed midway. Midway was* Schoutens *Ship and men attached, and he and his had a ſeruile returne.* Cano *came or rather fled home like* Magalianes *ghoſt, hardly and with a few eſcaping.* Noort *ſcarſly eſcaped taking, drowning, firing, trechery, and hoſtilitie.* Spilbergen *got blowes in the South Sea where* Drake *and* Candiſh *were made rich, and returned an* Indian *Merchant. Three* Dutch *worthies: but all lighted their candles at theſe two* Engliſh *Torches. Thus may we magnifie* Drakes *ſwimming, and candle the memorie of our* Candiſh. *But where it is ſaid* ye are Gods, *it is added,* ye ſhall dye like men. *The Sea is a waxing wauering foundation, the windes theatre hath for Comedies and Tragedies. You haue ſeene* Drake *acting both: and in both you here finde* Candiſh. *Chriſt is* yeſterday, to day, the ſame for euer; *God is* without ſhadow, *(without poſſibilitie or poſsibilitie) of* change, a light in whom is no darkeneſſe: *but ſublunarie things are like the Moone their neereſt Planet, which neuer viewes the earth two dayes together with one face. God hath made our way to him ſo full of chances and changes, that our vnſtedie, ſlippery way on this earth, and calme-ſtorme-voyage in theſe Seas, may make us more to meditate and thirſt after that hauen of inſtabilitie, and heauen of eternity. Some paſſionate ſpeeches of Maſter* Candiſh *againſt ſome priuate perſons not employed in this action, I haue ſuppreſſed, ſome other I haue let paſſe; not that I charge Captaine* Dauis *or others, but that it may appeare what the Generall thought of them. Maſter* Hakluyt *hath publiſhed Maſter* Ianes *report of this Voyage, which makes more fauourable on Captaine* Dauis *his ſide. If hee did deale treacherouſly, treacherie found him out, as in his laſt Voyage before is declared. If any thinke the Captaine here to conceiue amiſſe, I ſhall be willing to haue the moſt charitable conceit, and therefore remit the Reader to Maſter* Hakluyts *Relation aforeſaid, for his apologie: the ſame whereof; and of that Voyage is this.*

See *Oſorius de reb. Eman.*

Sup. Tom. 1. l. 3.

Maſter *Lane* there relateth, that Aug. 26. 1591. Captaine *Candiſh* ſet forth from *Plimmouth* with three tall Shippes, the blacke Pinnace, and a Barke. Nouemb. 29. they fell with the coaſt of *Braſile.* They tooke the Towne of *Santos*, and burnt Saint *Vincent.* After a cruell ſtorme they arriued at *Port Deſire*, and after fell with the *Magellan* ſtraites. Occaſionally (ſaith *Lane*) they loſt Captaine *Candiſh*, and were backe to *Port Deſire* to ſeeke him: and whiles Captaine *Danis* further intended to ſeeke out the Generall, a dangerous conſpiracie was plotted to murther him by *Parker* and *Smith*. There is alſo a teſtimoniall ſubſcribed by fortie men. Thence they returned to the Straits, and had ſight of the people, which were very ſtrong, nimble, and naked. Sep. 13. they came in ſight of the South Sea, and being forced backe, the next day put forth againe, and being eight or ten leagues free from land, were repelled into the Straits. Octob. 2. they put into the South Sea againe, and were free of all land, and there in a ſtorme loſt the blacke Pinnace. The Shippes company were in deſpaire of life, but by Gods grace recouered the Straits, and a third time came to *Port Deſire*; and there loſt nine of their men (of which *Parker* and *Smith* were two) being on Land for Wood and Water: they knew not what became of them, but gueſſed that the Sauages had deuoured them. For the eleuenth of Nouember, while moſt of the men were at the Ile of *Pengwins*, onely the Captaine and Maſter with ſixe others left in the Shippe, there came a great multitude of Sauages to the Shippe (there on ground on the ooze) throwing duſt in the ayre, leaping and running like bruite Beaſts, hauing vizors on their faces like Dogges faces, or elſe their faces are Dogges faces indeede. We feared they would ſet our Shippes on fire, for they would ſuddenly make fire, whereat wee maruelled, ſeeing the buſhes on fire, but ſcared with Peeces they fled. Here they found much Seruie-graſſe which recouered them; and dried 20000. *Pengwins*, making ſome ſalt by laying the ſalt water on rockes in holes. The ſixt of February, many reported to each other their dreames of killing, and the like, and that day they loſt 13. men at *Placentia*. Their dried *Pengwins*, when they came neerer the Sun, began to corrupt, and there bred in them a moſt loathſome and vgly worme which deuoured their victuals, cloathes, timbers, and all but Iron, not ſparing their fleſh when they were aſleepe, ſo that they could ſcarcely ſleepe. Their multitude was ſuch that they could not deſtroy them. Another diſeaſe tooke them with ſwelling in their anckles, two daies after which, ſhortneſſe of breath, then falling into their gods and yards, ſo tormenting them that diuers fell mad and died: on fiue onely did the labour of the Ship relye; and Iune 11. 1593. without victuals, lanes, or men God guided them to *Beare-hauen* in *Ireland*.

Cap. *Danis* his voyage into the South Sea, reported by M. *Iane*, *Hak. To. 3.*

Strange Canibals with dogs faces, or vizards.

Dreames ominous.

Men loſt or taken as *Knight* ſaith.

Loathſome Worme.

But

But let vs heare Master Candish *himselfe more then acting his owne part.* Discite justitiam moniti. *Let not prosperitie poyson the soule, with the sting of the old Serpent, swelling in pride, ingratitude,*
The morall of this and other historicall Tragedies. *or contempt of God, or Man: let not any magnifie himselfe in whatsoeuer exploits, or trust in vncertaine riches, or promise to himselfe the perpetuall smiles of the world; and then it shall seeme no new thing, nor cause of despaire, if shee bites in stead of kissing. Shee is a Witch which transformeth men into Swine with her* Cyrcæan *cups, if the minde learne not by Religion to fasten it selfe to God, to account him her treasure, and make her selfe the treasurie, as a Pilgrime pressing toward the prize of our high calling, that inheritance of the Saints in light; for which Robes, to bee stripped of these Rags is a blessed purchase; meanwhile knowing that nothing doth, shall, can happen but by his prouidence, which is a Father, most wise, louing, bountifull, and mercifull, which alreadie hath giuen vs his Sonne, doth now giue his Spirit, and will giue vs himselfe. No Rocks can wrack that Soule, no stormes oppresse, no Seas can sinke, no fortunes can either puffe vp with successe, or sinke and make to shrinke in it selfe by any pressures to despaire, which hath thus made God her portion: yea the worst of aduersities by a holy* Antiperistasis *doe contract and more vnite the soules forces to greater acts of fortitude in doing and suffering his Will, to whose ours ought alway to be subordinated. It is the voice of a Pagan, but the vertue of a Christian,* Omnia mea mecum porto, *and with* Iob *to say.* The Lord hath giuen, the Lord hath taken, blessed bee the Name of the Lord. *I haue giuen Master* Kniuets *Relation after this of Master* Candish, *as before* Peter Carder *after Sir* Francis Drake; *that as both serued vnder them in their Discoueries, so they may in this our Discouerie of those Discoueries, as Pages to those Worthies; the one a Mariner waiting on a Mariner; the other a Gentleman following a Gentleman; both vnmatchable by any* English *for the rare aduentures, disaduentures, and manifold successions of miseries in those wilde Countries, and with those wilder Countrimen of* Brasilia; *especially Master* Kniuet, *who betwixt the* Brasilian *and* Portugall, *as betwixt two Mill-stones, was almost ground to poulder: whom Colds, Sickes, Famine, Wandrings, Calumnies, Desertions, Solitarines, Deserts, Woods, Mountaines, Fennes, Riuers, Seas, Flights, Fights; wilde Beasts, wilder Serpents, wildest Men, and straight passages beyond all names of wildnesse (those* Magellan Straits *succeeded by drowning, fainting, freesing, betraying, beating, staruing, hanging* Straits) *haue in various successions made the subiect of their working: whom God yet deliuered, that out of his manifold paines, thou maist gather this posie of pleasures, and learne to bee thankefull for thy natiue sweets at home, euen* delights in the multitude of peace.

CHAP. VI.

Master THOMAS CANDISH *his discourse of his fatall and disastrous voyage towards the South Sea, with his many disaduentures in the* Magellan Straits *and other places; written with his owne hand to Sir* TRISTRAM GORGES *his Executor.*

MOst louing friend, there is nothing in this world that makes a truer triall of friendship, then at death to shew mindfulnesse of loue and friendship, which now you shall make a perfect experience of: desiring you to hold my loue as deare dying poore, as if I had beene most infinitely rich. The successe of this most vnfortunate action, the bitter torments thereof lye so heauie vpon mee, as with much paine am I able to write these few lines, much lesse to make discouerie vnto you of all the aduerse haps, that haue befallen me in this voyage, the least whereof is my death: but because you shall not be ignorant of them, I haue appointed some of the most sensibleſt men that I left behinde me, to make discourse vnto you of all these accidents. I haue made a simple will, wherein I haue made you sole, and onely disposer of all such little, as is left.

The *Roe-bucke.* The *Roe-bucke* left me in the most desolate case that euer man was left in, what is become of her I cannot imagine: if shee bee returned into *England*, it is a most admirable matter; but if shee bee at home, or any other of my goods whatsoeuer returne into *England*, I haue made you onely Possessor of them. And now to come to that villaine that hath beene the death of me, and
Captaine *Dauis* blamed. the decay of this whole action, I meane *Danis*, whose onely treacherie in running from me, hath beene an vtter ruine of all: if any good returne by him, as euer you loue mee, make such friends as he of all others, may reape least gaine. I assure my selfe you will bee carefull in all friendship, of my last requests. My debts which be owing be not much, &c. But I (most vnfortunate villaine) was matched with the most abiect minded and mutinous companie, that euer was carried
Mutinous companie. out of *England* by any man liuing. For I protest vnto you, that in going to the Streits of *Magellan*, after I was passed to the Southward of the Riuer of *Plate*, and had bidden the furie of stormes, which indeed I thinke to bee such as worser might not bee indured: I neuer made my course to the Straits-ward, but I was in continuall danger by my companie, which neuer ceased to practise and mutinie against me. And hauing gotten the appointed place called *Port Desire*,
Port Desire. I met with all my companie, which had beene there twentie dayes before me: and had not my

my most true friends beene there (whom to name my heart bleedes) I meane my cousin *Locke*, I had been constrayned either to haue suffered violence, or some other most disordered misse-hap. I came into this Harbour with my Boat, my ships riding without at Sea: where I found the *Roebucke*, the *Desire*, and the *Pinnace*, all which complayned vnto mee, that the Tyde ranne so violencly, as they were not able to ride, but were driuen aground, and wished me in any wise not to come in with my ship, for that if shee should come on ground, shee would be vtterly cast away: which I knew to be most true.

And finding it to bee no place for so great a ship without her vtter ruine: I forthwith commanded them, to make themselues readie to depart: they being fresh, and infinitely well releeued with Seales and Birds, which in that place did abound, and my companie being growne weake and feeble, with continuall watching, pumping, and bayling. For I must say truly vnto you, there were neuer men that endured more extremities of the Seas, then my poore companie had done. Such was the furie of the West South-west, and South-west windes, as wee were driuen from the shoare foure hundred leagues, and constrayned to beate from fiftie degrees to the Southward into fortie to the Northward againe, before wee could recouer neere the shoare. In which time, we had a new shift of sailes cleane blowne away, and our ship in danger to sinke in the Sea three times: which with extremitie of mens labour wee recouered. In this weakenesse, wee departed for the Straits, being from that Harbour eight leagues, and in eighteene dayes, wee got the Straits: in which time, the men in my ship were growne extreamly weake. The other ships companie were in good case, by reason of their late reliefe.

Tempests.

The Streits.

And now we had beene almost foure moneths betweene the coast of *Brasile*, and the *Straights*, being in distance not aboue sixe hundred leagues, which is commonly run in twentie or thirtie dayes: but such was the aduersenesse of our fortunes, that in comming thither wee spent the Summer, and found in the Straits, the beginning of a most extreame Winter, not durable for Christians. In despight of all stormes and tempests, so long as wee had ground to anchor in, and Tydes to helpe vs, we beate into the Straits some fiftie leagues, hauing (for the most part) the windes contrarie. At length being forced by the extremitie of stormes, and the narrownesse of the Straits (being not able to turne wind ward no longer) we got into an Harbour, where wee rid from the eighteenth day of Aprill, till the tenth of May: in all which time, wee neuer had other then most furious contrarie windes. And after that the moneth of May was come in, nothing but such flights of Snow, and extremities of Frosts, as in all the time of my life, I neuer saw any to be compared with them.

Extreme winter.

They enter fiftie leagues.

This extremitie caused the weake men (in my ship onely) to decay; for in seuen or eight dayes, in this extremitie there dyed fortie men, and sickened seuentie, so that there were not fiftie men that were able to stand vpon the hatches. I finding this miserable calamitie to fall vpon me, and found that besides the decay of my men, and expence of my victuall, the snow and frost decayed our sailes, and tackle, and the contagiousnesse of the place to bee such, for extremitie of frost and snow, as there was no long staying, without the vtter ruine of vs all. What by these extremities, and the daily decay of my men, I was constrayned forthwith to determine some course, and not (for all this extremitie of weather) to tarrie there any longer.

Death of men.

Miserable distresse.

Vpon this, I assembled my companie together, and shewed them that my intention was to goe for *China*, and that there were two wayes thither, the one through the Straits, the other by the way of *Caput bone spei*; which course shewed them, as was well knowne to mee, as the way I had vndertaken. And although that fortune had denyed vs this passage, yet I doubted not, but soone to recouer to this Cape, where I shewed them, I made no doubt, but we should releeue our selues, and performe to their contents our intended voyage. These perswasions with many others, which I vsed, seemed to content them for the present: but they were no sooner gone from me, but forthwith all manner of discontents were vnripped amongst themselues, so that to goe that way, they plainly and resolutely determined neuer to giue their willing consents. Some of the best and honestest sort hearing this their resolution, wished them rather to put vp a supplication to me, then thus priuately among themselues to mutinie and murmur, which course might cause an vtter ruine to fall vpon them all: affirming, that they knew me to be so reasonable, as I would not refuse to heare their petition. Vpon this, they framed an humble supplication vnto me (as they termed it) the effect whereof was: That *first they protested, to spend their liues most willingly for my sake, and that their loue was such to me, as their chiefest care was for mee, and they grieued very much to see mee put on a resolution, which (as they supposed) would be the end of my life, which was their greatest griefe. And next their owne liues would immediately follow, both by reason of the length of the course, all which they must performe without reliefe. And further, we had not left foure moneths victuall, which might very well be spent in running a course not halfe so long. But if it would please me to returne againe for the Coast of* Brasile *(where they knew, my force being together, was able to take any place) there we might both prouide victuall to returne againe, and furnish our selues of all other such wants, as these extremities had brought vpon vs, and in a seasonable time returne againe, and so performe our first intention.*

Consultation.

Now, I knowing their resolution, and finding, that in some things their reasons were not vaine,

vaine, began more seriously to looke into all my wants. First, I found my greatest decay to bee in ropes, and sailes, wherein (by meanes of such mightie extremities) I was vtterly vnfurnished, for I lost a new shift of sailes comming thither; and further the *Desire* had bidden the like extremitie, which I furnished: so as I had left no store at all: for no ships carry three new shifts of sailes, all which, had beene little enough for me: and last of all, our victuals to be most short, I was to fall into consideration what to doe. I knew well that the windes were such, and so continually against vs, as by no meanes it was possible to passe through: for the violent showes were such, as in two dayes together we should not be able to see fiue houres, the place not a league ouer in breadth, our ships not to be handled in such extremitie of winde: no, nor Canuas to hold the furie of the winde, our men so weake, as of one hundred and fiftie men, I had not in my ship fiftie in health. And this ship comming with all her companie, was like three times to haue been vpon the shoare, by reason of her vnyarie workings. These causes made mee vtterly despaire of any passage at this season: so I resolued the companie I would put out of the Harbour, and beat to get through, so long as the furious and westerly windes would suffer vs: but if they came vpon vs, so as we could not hold it vp wee would then beare vp againe, and so (according to their request) goe for the Coast of *Brasile*, which they so much seemed to desire, and I so much hated.

Windes and showes violent.

But in truth I was forced to take that way, for that there was no place, where this ship could come into, to tarry out a winter. For Port Saint *Iulian* is a barred Harbour, ouer which two of my ships would not goe; and Port *Desire* hath neither wood, nor water: and besides that, the Tyde runneth so extremely, as it is not possible for anchors to hold, the ground being so bad. But the last cause of all to be considered, was the sicknesse of my men, hauing no clothes to defend them from the extreme cold. These causes, and their ardent desires of being out of the cold, mooued me to goe backe againe, for that most wicked Coast of *Brasile*, where I incountred all manner of misfortunes, which as I haue vnripped these former, so I will briefly declare the latter.

Port S. Iulian. Port Desire.

His returne from the Strait.

We were beaten out of the Strait with a most monstrous storme at West South-west, from which place we continued together, till we came in the latitude of fortie seuen, in which place *Dauis* in the *Desire*, and my Pinnasse lost me in the night, after which time I neuer heard of them, but (as I since vnderstood) *Dauis* his intention was euer to run away. This is Gods will, that I should put him in trust, that should be the end of my life, and the decay of the whole action. For had not these two small ships parted from vs, we would not haue miscarried on the coast of *Brasile*: for the onely decay of vs was, that we could not get into their barred Harbours. What became of these small ships, I am not able to iudge, but sure, it is most like, they went backe againe for Port *Desire*, a place of reliefe, for two so small ships. For they might lye on ground there without danger, and being so few men, they might releeue themselues with Seales, and Birds, and so take a good time of the yeere, and passe the Streits. The men in these small ships were all lustie, and in health: wherefore the likelier to hold out. The short of all is this: *Dauis* his onely intent was vtterly to ouerthrow me, which he hath well performed.

These ships being parted from vs, wee little suspecting any treacherie, the *Roe-bucke* and my selfe, held our course for *Brasile*, and kept together, till wee came in the latitude of thirtie sixe, where we incountred the most grieuous storme, that euer any Christians indured vpon the Seas to liue, in which storme we lost companie. Wee with most extreme labour, and great danger, got the Coast of *Brasile*, where we were fifteene dayes, and neuer heard of the *Roe-bucke*. Wee came to an anchor in the Bay of Saint *Vincent*, and being at an anchor there, the Gentlemen desired mee to giue them leaue to goe ashoare, to some of the *Portugals* Farme-houses, to get some fresh victuals, which I granted; willing them to make present returne, knowing very well, the whole Country was not able to prejudice them, if they willingly would not indanger themselues. They went to a Sugar mill hard by mee where I rode, (for that was my speciall charge, that they should neuer goe a mile from the ship) where they got some victuall, and came aboard againe very well.

Grieuous storme.

Saint *Vincent*.

The next day in the morning betimes, an *Indian* came vnto me with Captaine *Barker*; which *Indian* ran away from his Master, at my last being there: this Sauage knew all the Countrie. He came vnto me, and said, that beyond a Point, not a Culuering shot off, there was a very rich farme-house, and desired ten or twelue men to goe thither. Captaine *Barker* being one whom I most trusted in the conduction of men, and (who euer was the most carefull in such matters of seruice) I appointed to goe, and to take some twentie or thirtie men with him: and willed him (as he had any respect or regard of my commandement) not to stay, but to come presently away, finding any thing or nothing. He forthwith tooke fiue and twentie men of the most principall men in the ship, and then your cousin *Stafford* would by no meanes bee left behinde. They departed by foure of the clocke in the morning, so as I did not see their companie. But what should I write more then this vnto you? they were all such, as neither respected me, nor any thing that I commanded. Away they went, and by one of the clocke, they sent my Boat againe with *Gunny* wheat, and sixe Hennes, and a small Hogge. I seeing no returne againe of the companie (for they had sent away the Boat onely with men to row her aboard) was very much grieued, and presently

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preſently returned the Boat againe with meſſage: That I much marualled they would tarry at a place ſo long, with ſo few men; and further, that it was not a Hogge, and ſixe Hennes could releeue vs: and ſeeing there was no other reliefe to bee had, I charged them ſtraightly to come aboard preſently. Thus hauing diſpatched away my Boat for them, I ſtill expected their preſent comming aboard: all that night, I heard nothing of them, the next morning I ſhot Ordinance, yet I ſaw no Boat come. Then I waighed anchor, and made aboard into the Bay, yet for all this, I heard nothing of them: then I doubted with my ſelfe very greatly, knowing there were no meanes left to make any manifeſter ſignes to them to haſten away. All that day I heard nothing of them, in the euening I ſet ſailes againe, and ran into the ſhoare: all that night I heard no newes of them.

The next morning, I ſaw an *Indian* come downe to the Sea-ſide, and weaued vnto the ſhip: we being deſirous to heare ſome newes, cauſed a raft to be made, for Boat wee had none, and ſent it aſhoare, and ſet the *Indian* aboard. When we ſaw him, we found him to bee our owne *Indian*, which had eſcaped away, being ſoare hurt in three places; who told vs, that all the reſt of our men were ſlaine with three hundred *Indians*, and eightie *Portugals*, which (in the euening) ſet vpon them ſuddenly. Then I demanded, why they came not aboard? the *Indian* anſwered mee, that ſome were vnwilling to come, and the reſt, did nothing but eate Hennes and Hogs, which they had there in abundance, and that they minded nothing to come aboard. I leaue you to iudge, in what griefe I was, to ſee fiue and twentie of my principall men thus baſely and wilfully caſt away: but I leaue you to inquire of others, the practiſes of theſe men, leſt in writing vnto you it ſhould be thought I did it of malice, which (I proteſt) is farre from me, they being now dead, and my ſelfe looking imminently to follow them.

Captaine Barker and foure and twentie others ſlaine.

Thus I was left deſtitute of my principall men, and a Boat, and had I not (by great hap the day before) taken an old Boat from the *Portugals*, I had beene vtterly vndone. This Boat I ſent to an Iland fifteene leagues off, to ſee if they could heare any newes of the reſt of my ſhips: ſhee returned within eight dayes, all which time I remayned without a Boat. Thus I was ſixe dayes before I heard newes of any of my conſorts. The ſeuenteenth day came in the *Roe-bucke*, hauing ſpent all her Maſts, but their Miſon, their Sailes blowne cleane away, and in the moſt miſerable caſe that euer ſhip was in: all which miſſe-haps falling vpon me, and then miſſing my ſmall ſhips wherein (vpon that Coaſt) conſiſted all my ſtrength, hauing no Pinnaces nor great Boats left to land my men in, for they were all caſt away going to the Strait. I (notwithſtanding the want of Boats and Pinnaces) determined rather then not to bee reuenged of ſo baſe Dogs, to venture the ſhips to goe downe the Riuer afore their Towne, and to haue beaten it to the ground, which forthwith I put in execution. And hauing gotten downe halfe the way, wee found the Riuer ſo narrow by reaſon of a ſhoald, as all the companie affirmed plainly, it was both deſperate and moſt dangerous. For the Riuer is all Oſe, and if a ſhip come aground, it is vnpoſſible euer to get off, for there riſeth not aboue a foot water, and no anchors will hold to hale off any my ſhips, in ſo narrow a place, as we were almoſt aground in wending.

The *Roe-bucke* commeth in.

Braſilian Coaſt full of ſhoalds and barres. Maſter *Candiſhes* high ſpirit.

Seeing this apparant danger, I forthwith bare vp out of the Riuer, where we eſcaped no ſmall danger to get well out, for we had not little more water then we drew: and if ſhee had come aground, it had beene vnpoſſible euer to haue gotten her off. By theſe meanes of not paſſing the Riuer, we were conſtrayned to let our reuenge paſſe: for our Boats were ſo bad and ſmall, as wee durſt put no men in them. Notwithſtanding wee landed, and did them much ſpoile vpon their Farme-houſes, and got ſome quantitie of freſh victuals. This place being not for vs, conſidering our ſhips were not able to paſſe to their Towne; and further our great wants did conſtraine vs to ſeeke ſome courſe of reliefe, which being not to bee had there, both for that wee had ſpoyled it a little before, and alſo for that we could not conueniently come to doe them any preiudice, without moſt loſſe to our ſelues: I determined to part from thence, and to goe to a ſmall Iland ſome twentie leagues off, and there to haue fitted all my neceſſaries, and to haue caſt off the *Roe-bucke*, for that by no meanes her wants could by mee bee furniſhed, and ſo at a ſeaſonable time, to haue gone for the Straits of *Magellan* againe.

His intention.

Which intention (I muſt confeſſe) I kept moſt ſecret, for feare of ſome mutinie, but ſhewed the whole Companie, that I would goe for Saint *Helens*, where wee ſhould meet with the Carracks: which courſe I well knew did not much pleaſe them; for they deſired nothing more then returning home into *England*, and if I had but named the Straits, they would forthwith haue fallen into a moſt extreme mutinie: for ſuch were the miſeries and torments they had indured, as all the beſt ſort had taken an oath vpon a Bible, to die rather then euer to yeeld their conſents to goe backe that way againe. I knowing this, ſeemed to ſpeake nothing of that courſe, but comforting their deſpairing mindes as well as I might, ſeeing their greateſt griefe was for the wants of the ſmall ſhips, without which, they all affirmed (and that truly) wee were able to doe nothing. For the Ports where their Townes ſtand, were all barred Harbours, and that it was not poſſible to get any of theſe ſhips ouer them, whereby we could releeue our ſelues of ſuch wants, as we were in. Theſe things being alleaged, I ſeemed to paſſe ouer as ſlightly as might be, but yet comforted them, that we would preſently ſeeke ſome place of reliefe with all ſpeede.

His preſence.

Neceſſitie of ſmall ſhips on the *Braſilian* coaſt.

There

Portugal Pilots vndertaking for *Spirito Sancto.*

There was a *Portugall* aboord me, who tooke vpon him to be a Pilot, who came vnto me, and told me vpon his life, that he would take vpon him to carry both my Shippes ouer the barre at *Spiritus Sanctus*, a place indeede of great reliefe, and the onely place in *Braſile* for victuall, and all other wants, that we were in. I knowing very well, that if I could bring my Shippes within ſhot of the Towne, I ſhould land my men, and further, it could not be in them to make reſiſtance. The whole company deſired this courſe, affirming that there was no way left to relieue all our wants but this: and that there they were in hope to finde ſome Shippes, to repaire the *Roe-bucks* againe. I finding their willingneſſe, and charging the *Portugall* vpon his life, to tell me truely, whither the Ships might paſſe ouer the barre without danger; he willed me to take his life, if euer the Shippes came in leſſe water then fiue fathome, with ſuch conſtant affirmations as he deſired not to liue, if he ſhould not performe this. I conſidering the greatneſſe of our wants, and knowing right well, the place to be the onely wiſhed Towne on all the coaſt to relieue vs, forthwith gaue my conſent, and thither we went, leauing all other intentions. We anchored before the barre, and ſent my Boate to ſound the barre, and found the deepeſt water to be but fifteene and ſeuenteene foote (the *Portugall* himſelfe going with them, all ouer the bar) the moſt water to be but three fathome. They comming aboord, brought me word of the truth, I called for the *Portugall*, and demanded of him why he had ſo lied vnto me? who affirmed that he neuer ſounded the barre before, and that he had brought in Ships of 100. tuns, and that he made accompt, there had not bin leſſe water then fiue fathome.

His ignorance.

This miſ-hap was no ſmall amazement to me, and all the company, conſidering our diſtreſſe for water and other neceſſaries, and that the roade was ſo ill, as we were ſcant able to ride there, ſo as we could neither take in water, nor doe any other buſineſſe. In this meane time while wee were ſcanning of theſe matters, the *Roe-bucks* Boate rowing further into the *Baye*, ſaw where three Shippes were at an anker, not farre from the Towne, and came aboord, and brought mee word thereof: at which newes the Companie ſeemed much to reioyce, and all affirmed that they would goe with our Boates, and bring them out of the harbour. I ſhewed them how much the taking of them imported vs, and told them, that although the day was ſpent, yet I thought the night not to be altogether inconuenient, if they would put on mindes to performe it. Reſolutely my reaſons were theſe: firſt they were not ſo ſufficiently prouided to defend themſelues at that inſtant, as they would be in the morning; and further I told them, that if they were not able to defend them, they would take the principall and beſt things out of them, being ſo neere the ſhoare, and that if they had wherewith to defend themſelues, it would be leſſe offenſiue to vs in the night, then in the day, and we in greateſt ſecuritie, and more offenſiue to the enemy, eſpecially this exploit being to be done on the water, not landing.

Three Ships.

His counſell not followed.

Theſe perſwaſions ſeemed a little to moue them, for they all deſired to ſtay till morning: yet ſome of them prepared themſelues. Comming amongſt them, I found them, all, or for the moſt part vtterly vnwilling to goe that night: vpon which occaſion (I confeſſe) I was much moued, and gaue them ſome bitter words, and ſhewed them our caſe was not to make detractions, but to take that opportunitie which was offered vs, and not to feare a night more then a day, and told them plainely, that in refuſing of this, I could ſtay there no longer, for ouer the barre we could not goe, and the roade ſo dangerous, as neuer Shippes rid in a worſe. And further, we ſaw all the Countrey to be fired round about, and that to land we could not without vtter ſpoile to vs all, for our Boates were naught; and further, we could by no meanes be ſuccoured by our Shippes, ſo as I intended to depart. The next morning, there was almoſt an vproare amongſt them, the moſt of them ſwearing that if I would not giue them leaue, they would take the Boats and bring away thoſe Shippes of themſelues. I comming among them, beganne to reprehend them for their raſhneſſe, and told them that now all opportunity was paſt, and that they muſt be contented, for goe they ſhould not. They much importuned me, and ſome of the chiefeſt of them deſired me with teares in their eyes, that they might goe, affirming, that there was no danger to be feared at all; for if they were not able to take them, they would returne againe, and that to depart without attempting to doe this, was a thing that moſt greatly grieued them.

Their vnſeaſonable eagernes

I knowing right well, that if they landed not they could receiue no preiudice: for if their Ships had beene able to withſtood them, it was in their power to goe from them, being ſtarke calme. And further I knew that no Shippes vſe *Braſile* that be able to defend themſelues from a Cock-boate: much leſſe that they ſhould be of force to offend thoſe Boates, wherein there were ſo many Muſketteeres as could ſit one by another. I ſeeing their great importunitie, was contented to giue them leaue to goe: and this was my charge to Captaine *Morgaine* (to whom at that preſent I left my directions) that firſt, vpon paine of his life, he ſhould not land at all what opportunitie ſoeuer was offered; and that if he ſaw any danger in comming to theſe Shippes, he ſhould attempt no further, but returne aboord againe; but contrariwiſe, if he ſaw that the place was ſuch, as we might land without too much diſaduantage, and if we might land on plain ground, free from woods or buſhes, hard before the Towne, that then he would preſently repaire vnto me againe, and I, and ſo many as theſe bad Boates would carrie, would preſently land vpon them.

His inſtructions to Captain *Morgan.*

Thus

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Thus my Boates departed from me, hauing ſome eightie men, as well furniſhed with weapons, as it is poſſible to ſort ſuch a number withall. Now you ſhall vnderſtand, that in the night the *Portugals* had hailed the Shippes hard afore the Towne: the Riuer where the Towne ſtood was not aboue a Bird-bolt-ſhot ouer, and halfe a mile from the Towne where the Shippes rode: The place deſcribed.
the night wee came in, they had new caſt vp two ſmall trenches, on each ſide the Riuer one, where they had planted ſome two ſmall baſes a peece vpon an hill. Right ouer them were thicke woods, and great rockes, ſo that if any were poſſeſſed of them, they might but tumble ſtones downe, and beate away 1000. men. The trench on the Weſter-ſide of the Riuer ſhot at our Boats, once or twice; vpon that they began to thinke with themſelues what to doe, Captaine *Morgan* affirming the place to be verie narrow, and that they could not well paſſe it without danger; conſidering the many men in their Boats, and alſo the charge which I had giuen, was ſuch, if they ſaw any danger, they ſhould prefently repaire aboord, and certifie me, and not to paſſe any further, till they had vnderſtood my further determination: This Maſter *Morgan* made knowne amongſt them, whereupon ſome of the harebraine Sailers began to ſweare, that they neuer thought other, but that he was a coward, and now he will ſhew it, that durſt not land vpon a bable ditch, as they tearmed it. Vpon this, the gentleman was very much moued, and anſwered them, that they ſhould finde him to be none ſuch as they accounted him, and that, come what could happen him, he would land. Mad Mutiners.

Vpon this, in they put the Boats betweene the two ſconſes (that on the Eaſter-ſide they had not ſeene) and the Boats being hard vpon it, were ſhot at, and in the biggeſt Boat they hurt two, and killed one with that ſhot. Vpon this, they determined, that the ſmalleſt Boate with their company ſhould land on the Weſter-ſide, and the other to land on the Eaſter-ſide. The ſmall Boate landed firſt, and that place hauing but few in it, they being not able to defend themſelues, ranne away, ſo that our men entred peaceably without hurt of any. The other Boate drawing much water, was agrounde before they came neere the ſhoare, ſo as they that landed, were faine to wade aboue knee high in water. Now the place, or Sconſe, was in height ſome ten foote, made of ſtone (Captaine *Morgan* more reſolutely then diſcreetely) ſcaled the wall, and ten more with him, which went out of the Boate together. Then the *Indians* and *Portugals* ſhewed themſelues, and with great ſtones from ouer the trench, killed *Morgan* and fiue more, and the reſt of them being ſore hurt, retired to the Boate, which by this time was ſo filled with *Indian* arrowes, as of 45. men being in the Boate, there eſcaped not eight of them vnhurt, ſome hauing three arrowes ſticking in them, ſome two, and there was none which eſcaped without wound. The furie of thoſe arrowes comming ſo thicke, and ſo many of them being ſpoiled, they put the Boat from the ſhoare, leauing the reſt on land, a ſpoile for the *Indians*. They land. Captaine *Morgan* ſlaine. Many others ſlaine or hurt.

By this time, there came two Boates full of luſtie *Portugals*, and ſome *Spaniards*, who knowing the ſconſe on the Weſter-ſide to be weakely manned, came with their Boates to the forts ſide: one of them ran aſhoare which was fulleſt of men, then our men let flye their Muskets at them, and ſpoiled and killed all that were in that Boate. The others, ſeeing their fellowes ſpeede ſo ill, rowed backe againe, with all their force, and got the Town againe. In this meane time the great Boat being gotten of, they called to them in the Sconſe, and willed them to forſake the Fort, and to come and helpe them; for they told them that all their men were ſpoiled & ſlaine. Vpon this they ſtrait came out of the Sconſe againe, and retired to their Boat; who ruſhing in all together into the Boat, ſhe came on ground, ſo that off they could not get her, but ſome muſt goe out of her againe: tenne of the luſtieſt men went out, and by that time the *Indians* were come downe into the Fort againe, and ſhot at our men. They which were a land (perceiuing the arrowes flye among them) ranne againe to the Forts ſide, and ſhot in at the lower hold with their Muskets. By this, the Boat was got of, and one that was the Maſter of the *Roe-bucke* (a moſt cowardly villaine that euer was borne of a woman) cauſed them in the Boat to rowe away, and ſo left thoſe braue men a ſpoile for the *Portugals*, yet they waded vp to the necks in the water to them, but thoſe mercileſſe villaines in the Boate, would haue no pitty on them. Their excuſe was, that the Boat was ſo full of water, that had they come in, ſhe would haue ſunke with all them in her; thus vilely were thoſe poore men loſt. Ten braue men loſt. Cowardly baſeneſſe.

By this time, they which were landed on the other ſide (the great Boate not being able to rowe neere the ſhoare to relieue them) were killed with ſtones by the *Indians*, being thus wilfully and vndiſcreetely ſpoiled, which you may well perceiue, if you looke into their landing, eſpecially in ſuch a place, as they could not eſcape killing with ſtones. They returned aboord againe, hauing loſt fiue and twenty men, whereof tenne of them were left aſhoare, in ſuch ſort as I haue ſhewed you. When the Boates came to the Shippes ſide, there were not eight men in the biggeſt Boate, which were not moſt grieuouſly wounded. I demanded of them the cauſe of their miſhappes, and how they durſt land, conſidering my ſtrait commandement to the contrarie; they anſwered mee, that there was no fault in Captaine *Morgan*, but the greateſt occaſion of all this ſpoile to them, happened vpon a controuerſie betweene the Captaine and thoſe Souldiers that landed with him, and were killed at the Fort, for their ill ſpeeches and vrging of Captaine *Morgan*, was the cauſe that hee landed contrary to my commandement, 25. men ſlaine, others wounded.

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mandement, and vpon ſuch a place, as they all confeſſed fortie men were ſufficient to ſpoile fiuehundred.

I leaue it to your ſelfe to iudge, what a ſight it was to mee, to ſee ſo many of my beſt men, thus wilfully ſpoiled, hauing not left in my Shippe fiftie ſound men: ſo as wee were no more then able to waye our Ankers, which (the next morning) wee did, and findiug it calme wee were conſtrained to come to an Anker againe; for my onely intention was, to get out of that bad roade, and to put of into the Sea, and there to determine what to doe, for that place was not for vs to tarrie in, for the roade was ſo bad, as wee were not able to helpe our ſelues with a Boates loading of freſh water, whereof wee ſtood in no ſmall want. In this dayes ſtay in the Roade, I comforted theſe diſtreſſed poore men, what I might, and found moſt of their deſires, to returne againe into *England*. I let them vnderſtand, how wee would goe backe againe to the Iland of Saint *Sebaſtian*, and there wee would water, and doe our other neceſſary buſineſſes, and there make a reſolute determination of the reſt of our proceedings. This courſe ſeemed to like them all very well, but the companie in the *Roe-bucke*, inſtantly deſired nothing more, then to returne home, all affirming, that it was pittie ſuch a Shippe ſhould be caſt of. But in truth, it was not of any care of the Shippe, but onely of a moſt cowardly minde of the Maſter, and the chiefeſt of the company to returne home.

Purpoſe for S. Sebaſtian.

Now you ſhall vnderſtand that the Captaine was verie ſicke, and ſince the time that the Ship loſt her Maſts, ſhe became the moſt labourſome Ship that euer did ſwimme on the Sea, ſo as he was not able to indure in her, and at that preſent he lay aboord my Shippe, ſo as there was none of any truſt, or accompt left in her. But ſuch was the caſe of that Shippe (being without ſailes, maſts, or any manner of tackle) as in the ſenſe & iudgement of any man liuing, there did not liue that deſperate minded man in the world, which (in that caſe ſhe was then in) would haue ventured to haue ſailed in her halfe ſo farre as *England*: and if ſhe doe returne, it is (in my opinion) the moſt admirable returne that euer Ship made, being ſo farre of, and in her caſe. Theſe villaines hauing left in my Ship, all their hurt men, and hauing aboord of them both my Surgeans, I, hauing not one in mine owne Shippe, which knew how to lay a plaſter to a wound, much leſſe to cure any by ſalues: and further, hauing in their Shippe three times the proportion of my victuall (wherein conſiſted the onely reliefe and comfort of all my company) theſe moſt hard harted villaines, determined that night amongſt themſelues, to looſe mee at their next conuenient time they could eſpie, and in this caſe to goe for *England*, leauing vs in the greateſt diſtreſſe that euer one Chriſtian left another in: for wee had all her hurt men in vs, and we had taken out of her the beſt part of her men not long before: ſo as in running from vs, they not onely carried away our Surgeans, and all their prouiſion, but alſo our victuall, wherein conſiſted all our reliefe and comfort: hauing in them at their departure but ſix and fortie men, carrying away with them the proportion for ſix moneths victuall of one hundred and twenty men at large.

Damnable deſigne.

I leaue you to conſider of this part of theirs, and the miſerable caſe I was left in, with ſo many hurt men, ſo little victuall, and my Boate being ſo bad, as ſixe or ſeuen men continually bailing water, were ſcant able to keepe her from ſinking; and mend her we could not by any meanes, before we recouered ſome ſhoare: for had not theſe villaines in the *Roe-bucke* (that night wee rode in this Baye) ſuffered their Boate to run aſhoare with *Iriſh* men (which went to betray vs) I had taken her Boate, and ſunke this great naughtie Boate. Such was the greatneſſe of our miſhaps, as we were not left with the comfort and hope of a Boate to relieue our ſelues withall; we not hauing left in the Ship ſcarſe three tuns of water for 140. men, the moſt part whereof being hurt and ſicke. We putting out of the road the next day, they, the ſame night in this caſe left vs, and (as I ſuppoſe) they could not accompt otherwiſe, then that wee ſhould neuer againe be heard of.

The Roe-bucke forſaketh him.

The next morning looking for the *Roe-bucke*, we could no where be ſeene. I leaue to you to iudge in what plight my companie was, being now deſtitute of Surgeans, victuals, and all other reliefe; which in truth was ſo great a diſcomfort vnto them, as they held themſelues dead men, as well whole as hurt. The ſcantneſſe of water made vs that we could not ſeeke after them, but were inforced to ſeeke to this Iland, with all poſſible ſpeede, hauing to beate backe againe thither two hundred leagues: which place, God ſuffered vs to get with our laſt caske water, the poore men being moſt extreamly pinched for want thereof. Where (after we had a little refreſhed our ſelues) we preſently mended our Boat in ſuch ſort, as with great labour and danger, we brought fortie tunnes of water aboord. And in the meane time ſearching our ſtore of ropes, tackle, and ſailes, we found our ſelues vtterly vnfurniſhed both of ropes and ſailes: which accident pleaſed the company not a little, for by theſe wants, they aſſuredly accounted to goe home. Then making a ſuruay of the victuall, we found to be remaining in the Shippe (according to the rate we then liued at) foureteene weekes victuals large.

He commeth to S. Sebaſtians.

Their manifold wants.

Hauing rigged our Shippes in ſuch ſort, as our ſmall ſtore would furniſh vs, which was moſt meanely, for we had but foure ſailes (our ſprite-ſaile, and foretoppe-ſaile being wanting) which

which two, the Ship (moſt principally loueth) and thoſe which we had (except her maine ſaile) were more then halfe worne. In this poore caſe being furniſhed, and our water taken in, my company knowing my determination (which was to haile my Boate a ground, and build her a new) they forthwith openly began to murmure, and mutinie: affirming plainely, that I neede not mend the Boate, for they would goe home, and then, there ſhould be no vſe of her. I, hearing theſe ſpeeches, thought it was now time to looke amongſt them, calling them together, and told them, that *although we had many miſhaps fallen vpon vs, yet (I hoped) that their mindes would not in ſuch ſort be ouercome with any of theſe misfortunes, that they would goe about to vndertake any baſe, or diſordered courſe; but that they would cheerefully goe forward, to attempt either to make themſelues famous, in reſolutely dying, or in liuing, to performe that, which would be to their perpetuall reputation: And the more we attempted, being in ſo weake a caſe, the more (if we performed) would be to our honours. But contrariwiſe, if we dyed in attempting, we did but that which we came for, which was either to performe or dye.*

Mutinous murmuring.

His perſwaſions.

And then I ſhewed them my determination, to goe againe for the Straits of *Magellanus*: which words were no ſooner vttered, but forthwith they all with one conſent affirmed plainly, they would neuer goe that way againe; and that they would rather ſtay aſhoare in that deſart Iland, then in ſuch caſe to goe for the Straits. I ſought by peaceable meanes to perſwade them, ſhewing them that *in going that way, we ſhould relieue our victuals, by ſalting of Seales, and Birds: which (they did well know) we might doe in greater quantitie, then our Ship could carry. And further, if we got through the Strait (which we might now eaſily performe, conſidering we had the chiefeſt part of Summer before vs) we could not but make a moſt rich Voyage, and alſo meete againe with the two ſmall Ships which were gone from vs: and that it was but ſix hundred leagues thither; and to goe into* England *they had two thouſand. And further that they ſhould be moſt infamous to the world, that being within ſix hundred leagues of the place, which we ſo much deſired, to returne home againe ſo farre, being moſt infamous and beggerly.* Theſe perſwaſions tooke no place with them, but moſt boldly, they all affirmed, that they had ſworne, they would neuer goe againe to the Straits; neither by no meanes would they.

And one of the chiefeſt of their faction, moſt proudly and ſtubbornely vttered theſe words to my face, in preſence of all the reſt: which I ſeeing, and finding mine owne faction to be ſo weake (for there were not any that fauoured my part, but my poore couſen *Locke*, and the Maſter of the Ship) I tooke this bold companion by the boſome, and with mine owne hands put a rope about his necke, meaning reſolutely to ſtrangle him, for weapon about me I had none. His companions ſeeing one of their chiefe champions in this caſe, & perceiuing me to goe roundly to worke with him, they all came to the Maſter, and deſired him to ſpeake; affirming they would be ready to take any courſe that I ſhould thinke good of. I, hearing this, ſtayed my ſelfe, and let the fellow goe: after which time, I found them ſomething conformable, at leaſt in ſpeeches, though among themſelues they ſtill murmured at my intencions. Thus hauing ſomthing pacified them, and perſwaded them, that by no meanes I would take no other courſe, then to go for the Straits, I tooke aſhoare with me thirtie Soldiers, and my Carpenters, carrying foureteene dayes victuall with me for them. Thus going aſhoare, I hailed vp my Boate, to new build her in ſuch ſort, as ſhe might bee able to abide the Seas, leauing aboord all my ſailers, and the reſt, to rigge the Ship, and mend ſailes, and to doe other buſineſſe.

Mutiner puniſhed.

And now to let you know, in what caſe I lay aſhoare among theſe baſe men, you ſhall vnderſtand, that of theſe thirtie there were verie few of them, which had not rather haue gone to the *Portugals*, then to haue remained with me; for there were ſome, which at my being aſhoare, were making rafts to goe ouer to the maine, which was not a mile ouer, whare the *Portugals* had continuall watch of vs, looking but for a fit opportunity to ſet vpon vs: being in this caſe, alwaies expecting the comming of the *Portugals*, againſt whom I could haue made no reſiſtance, and further the trecherie of ſome of my companie, which deſired nothing more, then to ſteale ouer, ſo to betray me, I proteſt, I liued hourly, as he that ſtill expecteth death. In this caſe I made all the ſpeed I could to make an end of my Boate, that we might be able to rowe her aboord, which in twelue daies we mainely finiſhed, which being done, I came aboord, and found all my buſineſſe in good forwardneſſe: ſo I determined withall poſſible ſpeede to diſpatch, and be gone for the Straits of *Magellane*.

But ere euer we could get in all our water and timber-wood, and other neceſſaries, an *Iriſh* man (a noble villaine) hauing made a raft, got ouer to the maine, and told the *Portugals* which were there (watching nothing but an opportunitie) that if they would goe ouer in the night, they ſhould finde moſt of our men aſhoare, without weapon, and that they might doe with them what they would: vpon this, the next night, they came ouer, and hauing taken ſome of our men, they brought them where the reſt lay, which they moſt cruelly killed, being ſicke men, not able to ſtirre to helpe themſelues. Thoſe which were aſhoare, more then the ſicke men, had ſtolne out of the Shippe, for it was all my care to keepe them aboord, knowing well, that the *Portugals* ſought to ſpoile vs, the place being ſo fit for them, all ouergrowne with woods and buſhes, as their *Indians* might goe and ſpoile vs with their arrowes at their pleaſures,

An *Iriſh* raſcall and traitor to his fellowes.

and we not be able to hurt one of them. In the morning perceiuing their comming; I sent my Boate ashoare, and rescued all my healthfull men, but fiue, which they found out in the night, without weapons to defend them: whereof (besides the losse of our men) we hauing but foure sailes, left one ashoare, which was no small mishap among the rest.

The *Portugals* went presently againe ouer to the maine, but left their *Indians* to keepe in the bushes. About the watering-place, our men going ashoare, were shot at, and hurt, and could by no meanes come to hurt them againe, by reason of the wood, and bushes. Wherefore finding my men hurt, and that by no meanes I could doe any thing there, without more losse of men (whereof I had no neede) for I had not aboue ninetie men left, or little ouer, notwithstanding my wants of wood and water, and my Boate (not being sufficiently mended) was in no possibilitie to doe me pleasure, in this case was I forced to depart; fortune neuer ceasing to lay her greatest aduersities vpon me.

Cap. *Candishes* weakenesse.

But now I am growne so weake and faint, as I am scarce able to hold the penne in my hand: wherefore I must leaue you to inquire of the rest of our most vnhappy proceedings, but know this, that (for the Straits) I could by no meanes, get my company to giue their consents to goe. For after this misfortune, and the want of our sailes (which was a chiefe matter they alleadged) and to tell you truth, all the men left in the Shippe, were no more then able to weigh our ankers. But in truth I desired nothing more, then to attempt that course, rather desiring to dye in going forward, then basely in returning backe againe; but God would not suffer me to dye so happy a man, although I sought all the wayes I could, still to attempt to performe somewhat. For, after that by no meanes I saw they could be brought to goe for the Straits, hauing so many reasonable reasons to alleadge against me, as they had: first, hauing but three sailes, and the place subiect to such furious stormes, and the losse of one of these was death: and further, our Boate was not sufficiently repaired, to abide the Seas: and last of all, the fewnesse, and feebleneese of our company (wherein we had not left thirty sailers) these causes being alleadged against me, I could not well answere: but resolued them plainely, that to *England* I would neuer giue my consent to goe, and that (if they would not take such courses as I intended) I was then determined, that Shippe and all should sinke in the Seas together. Vpon this, they began to be more tractable, and then I shewed them, that I would beate for Saint *Hellens*, and there, either to make our selues happy, by mending, or ending. This course (in truth) pleased none of them, and yet seeing my determination, and supposing it would be more danger to resist me, then in seeming to be willing, they were at quiet, vntill I had beaten from 29. degrees, to the Southward of the *Æquator* to 26. At which time, finding that I was too far Northerly, to haue good winde, I called them to tacke about the Shippe to the Southward againe. They all plainely made answere, they would not, and that they had rather dye there, then be starued in seeking an Iland, which (they thought) that way we should neuer get.

His purpose for S. *Helens*.

What meanes I vsed to stand againe to the Southward, I leaue you to inquire of themselues: but from the latitude of 20. I beate backe againe into 28. with such contrary windes, as (I suppose) neuer man was troubled with the like, so long a time together. Being in this latitude, I found the winde fauourable, and then I stood againe to the Northward, willing the Master & his company to saile East North-east, and they in the night (I being a sleepe) steered North-east, and meere Northerly. Notwithstanding all this most vile vsage, we got within two leagues of the Iland, and had the winde fauoured vs so, as that we might haue stemmed from 18. degrees to 16. East North-east, we had found the Iland: but it was not Gods will so great a blessing should befall me. Being now in the latitude of the Iland, almost eighteene leagues to the Westward of it, the winde being continually at East South-east, the most contrary winde that could blow: I presently made a suruay of my victuall, and found, that according to that proportion (which we then liued at) there was not left in the Ship eight weekes victuall; which being so farre from reliefe, was (as I suppose) as small a portion, as euer men were at in the Seas.

Sailors disobedience.

Scarsity of victuall.

Being so vncertaine of reliefe, I demanded of them, whether they would venture (like good minded men) to beate to the Southward againe, to get this Iland, where we should not onely relieue our selues, but also to be in full assurance, either to sinke, or take a Carracke: and that by this meanes, we would haue a sufficient reuenge of the *Portugals*, for all their villanies done vnto vs: or that they would pinch, and bate halfe the allowance they had before, and so to goe for *England*. They all answered me, they would pinch to death, rather then goe to the Southward againe. I knowing their dispositions, and hauing liued among them in such continuall torment, and disquietnesse; and now to tell you of my greatest griefe, which was the sickneese of my deare kinsman *Iohn Locke*, who by this time was growne in great weakeneese, by reason whereof, hee desired rather quietnesse, and contentednesse in our course, then such continuall disquietnesse, which neuer ceased mee. And now by this, what with griefe for him, and the continuall trouble I indured among such hel-hounds, my Spirits were cleane spent; wishing my selfe vpon any desart place in the world, there to dye, rather then thus basely to returne home againe: which course, I had put in execution, had I found an Iland, which the Cardes make to be in 8. degrees to the Southward of the line. I sweare to you, I sought

Desperate thoughts.

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it with all diligence, meaning (if I had found it) to haue there ended my vnfortunate life. But God suffered not such happinesse to light vpon me, for I could by no meanes finde it, so as I was forced to goe towards *England:* and hauing gotten eight degrees by North the Line, I lost my most deerest cousin.

Master *Locke's* death.

And now consider, whether a heart made of flesh, be able to indure so many misfortunes, all falling vpon me without intermission. I thanke my God, that in ending of me, he hath pleased to rid me of all further trouble and mis-haps. And now to returne to our priuate matters, I haue made my Will, wherein I haue giuen speciall charge, that all goods (whatsoeuer belong vnto me) be deliuered into your hands. For Gods sake, refuse not to doe this last request for mee, I owe little, that I know of, and therefore it will be the lesse trouble: but if there be any debt, that (of truth) is owing by mee, for Gods sake, see it paid. I haue left a space in the Will for another name, and (if you thinke it good) I pray take in my Cousin *Henrie Sackeford*; hee will ease you much in many businesses. There is a Bill of Aduenture to my Cousin *Richard Locke* (if it happen the other ship returne home with any thing, as it is not impossible) I pray remember him, for he hath nothing to shew for it. And likewise Master *Heton* the Customer of *Hampton*, which is 50. pounds, and one *Eliot* of *Ratcliffe* by *London*; which is 50. pounds more, the rest haue all Bills of aduenture, but the ruine in the victuall, onely two excepted, which I haue written vnto you. I haue giuen Sir *George Cary* the *Desire*, if euer shee returne, for I alwayes promised him her, if shee returned, and a little part of her getting, if any such thing happen, I pray you see it performed.

Cap. *Candishes* Will.

To vse complements of loue (now at my last breath) were friuolous, but know: that I left none in *England*, whom I loued halfe so well as your selfe: which you, in such sort deserued at my hands, as I can by no meanes requite. I haue left all (that little remayning) vnto you, not to be accomptable for any thing. That which you will (if you finde any ouerplus of remayned, your selfe specially being satisfied to your owne desire) giue vnto my sister *Anne Candish*. I haue written to no man liuing but your selfe, leauing all friends and kinsmen, onely reputing you as deerest. Commend me to both your brethren, being glad, that your brother *Edward* escaped so vnfortunate a voyage. I pray giue this Copie of my vnhappy proceedings in this Action, to none, but onely to Sir *George Cary*, and tell him, that if I had thought, the letter of a dead man would haue beene acceptable, I would haue written vnto him. I haue taken order with the Master of my ship, to see his peeces of Ordnance deliuered vnto him, for hee knoweth them. And if the *Roe-bucke* bee not returned, then, I haue appointed him to deliuer him two brasse peeces, out of this ship, which I pray see performed. I haue now no more to say but take this last farewell. That you haue lost the loungest friend, that was lost by any. Commend mee to your wife, no more, but as you loue God, doe not refuse to vndertake this last request of mine. I pray forget not Master *Carey* of *Cockington*, gratifie him with some thing: for hee vsed mee kindly at my departure. Beare with this scribling: for I protest, I am scant able to hold a pen in my hand.

Mistris *Anne Candish.*

CHAP. VII.

The admirable aduentures and strange fortunes of Master ANTONIE KNIVET, *which went with Master* THOMAS CANDISH *in his second voyage to the South Sea.* 1591.

§. I.

What befell in their voyage to the Straits, and after, till he was taken by the Portugals.

WE departed from *Plimmouth* with fiue saile of ships, determining to goe for the South Sea (the names of our Ships were these) the *Gallion Leicester*, which was our Admirall; the *Roe-bucke*, Vice-admirall; the *Desire*, the *Daintie*, and the *Blacke Pinnasse*. Sixe or seuen dayes after that wee were departed from the Coast of *England*, we met with nineteene saile of *Flemmings* in the night. Not regarding what they were, our Vice-admirall tooke one of them, and all the rest escaped. In the morning the Master of our *Flemmish* prize was brought before the Generall, and of him wee had newes of a fleet of ships, that was departed out of *Lisbone* for *Brasile*, the which newes we

Flemmish prize satisfied with *English* prize.

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were very glad of. The *Flemmish* ship was laden with Salt, whereof the Generall tooke three Tunne for his prouision. This *Flemming* also shewed vs a licence that hee had to passe the Seas, vnder her Majesties hand and seale, the which as our Generall had seene he presently commanded, that euery man should returne all such things as they had taken from the *Flemming*, and hee himselfe payed for the Salt that he had taken, and so we departed from them with a faire winde, holding our course from the Coast of *Portugall* to the Ilands of *Canaria*. Thus in twentie dayes we had sight of the said Ilands, which when our Generall knew of troth to be the same, he commanded his two smallest ships, the *Daintie* and the *Blacke Pinnesse*, to be sent along the shoare, to see if they could espie any Caruels fishing, or any ships betweene the Ilands, and not discrying any thing, the next morning they returned backe vnto vs.

Scorbute. Vnder the Equinoctiall line, we lay seuen and twentie dayes driuing too and fro without puffe of winde: In which time most of our men fell sicke of the Scurvie by reason of the extreme heat of the Sunne, and the vapours of the night; notwithstanding our great danger of sickenesse did not appause the hardnesse of our hearts, being in as great extremitie as euer men were, it happened that two men of *Iapon* which the Generall had taken in his first voyage (bearing enuie to a poore *Portugall* that went with vs from *Plimmouth*, accused him to the Generall) hauing before conspired his death in this sort: The Generall being at dinner, these two *Iaponers* came to his Cabbin, telling their tale so loud that euery one might heare the report (which was thus) that the *Portugall* of the ship was a Traytor, and that he had often giuen them counsell to run away with him at *Brasil*: moreouer (quoth he) if it so had pleased God wee had taken the Towne of *Santos*, as our Generall had pretended, from thence that hee would guide them to the South Sea, where they should be well rewarded for their intelligence; vpon the which accusations, the poore *Portugall* was hanged. And as for his going from *Santos* by land through *America*, to the South Sea, had beene a thing impossible, for the Countrie is all Wildernesse, and full of Sauages.

Iapanders.

Portugall hanged.

After we had beene so long becalmed vnder the Line, we had a faire North-west winde, and in twentie dayes saile we had sight of Land on the coast of *Brasile*, but no man knew certainly what part it should be. At length comming neere the shoare, we espied two small ships, the one of them we tooke, the other escaped; that wee tooke was laden with *Blackamores*, and some merchandise; they came from *Fernambaque*, and were determined to haue gone to the Riuer of *Plate*. By the Pilot of this ship we knew we were at Cape *Frio*, that is, *Cold Cape*. This Cape lyeth twelue leagues from the Riuer of *Ienero*, and thirtie leagues from *Santos*, which was the Towne we meant to take. In this ship we tooke a Friar that hid himselfe in a Chist of meale; the night following by the directions of our new taken Pilot, wee came to a place called *Ilha Grande*, twelue leagues from *Santos*, at this place we tooke fiue or sixe houses with *Portugals* and *Sauages* of the Countrie. Here wee had good store of Potatoes, and Plantons, diuers kindes of good rootes, with some Hogs and Hennes, which was very good and comfortable for the refreshing of our men. Here we had such disorder amongst our selues, that if the *Portugals* had beene of any courage, they might haue killed many of vs, for our men would fight for their victuals as if they had beene no Christians but Iewes, and they that got the best, would get them into some hole, or into the Wildernesse vnder some Tree, and there they would remaine as long as they had meat. For mine owne part (there was such sharking) I could in that place get neither meat nor mony, and pure hunger compelled me to goe into the Woods, to see if wee could kill any thing with our peeces, or if we could finde some Potatoes. And as wee went, wee encountred with seuen or eight of our companie that were together by the eares about a Hogge they had killed, and the strife was, who should haue the best share; we comming in at that time, when euery one vsed their fists, stole away a quarter, and went a good way into the Wildernesse, where we were merry for that night; the next day wee came backe againe with good store of Potato rootes; and going into the house where the Generals musicians were, wee found them dressing of eight yong Whelpes for their dinner; wee giuing them of our rootes they were contented that wee should dine with them.

Cape *Frio.*

Ilha Grande.

Portentuous presages of ill end from so ill beginning.

In the afternoone we set fire on a new ship, and burned all the houses, leauing the Merchant and all his *Moores* ashoare, we departed from thence, and hauing a faire winde about sixe of the clocke we came to the Hand of *San Sebastian*, where wee anchored, being fiue leagues from *Santos*. As soone as the ships were in the Harbour, euery Master and Captaine came aboard of the Generall, to know how hee pretended to take the Towne of *Santos*, and they all resolued that our long Boat and our Shallop onely with one hundred men was enough for the taking of it. For the *Portugall* Pilot told vs, that it was of no strength. On Christmas-eue about ten a clocke in the night, when the Boats were to goe ashoare there were so many that would haue gone, that wee began to fight and cast one another ouer-board into the Sea; but as soone as our Generall heard the noise, he commanded euery man to come aboard the ship againe. I fearing the Generall, and being desirous to goe ashoare with the first (for I had seene before that they which came last got nothing) crept vnder the seate of our Shallop, where I was for the space of two houres, and the Boat being full of men, I could not get out, but there had beene smothered, if it had not beene

Saint *Sebastian.*

Vnruly demeanour.

beene for *William Waldren* that was our Boatsman, and steered the Boat, who hearing me crie vnder him, tore vp the boords, and saued my life. About three a clocke in the morning, wee met with a Canoa (which is a Boat that they make of a whole Tree) in which wee tooke foure *Portugals* and two Women; the one of them was going to be married that morning. After we had taken this Boat we went close to the shoare; and hauing tarried for our Boat an houre, we heard the *Portugals* ring a Bell, presently *Iasper Iorge* the *Portugall* Pilot told vs, that now was the time to land, for he knew by that Bell that they were in the middle of their Masse, and at that instant the Friar was holding vp the Bread of Sacrament before the people to worship it.

He had no sooner spoke, but we were all on shoare, and so marching to the Church, we tooke euery mans sword without resistance, and there we remayned till it was seuen of the clocke, for the comming of our long Boat, and the rest of our companie (for we were but twentie three in all) and we durst not take sack of the Towne with so few. By that meanes some of the *Portugals* that were in their houses escaped with their persons and mony. Here was good store of victuall and great store of Succats, Sugars, and Cassauie meale, of the which wee made very good bread. In the Church there were three hundred men beside women and children. Assoone as wee had taken the sack of the Towne, and placed all our men in order, word was sent to our Generall of all that had beene done. After the Generall had sent answere againe to the Towne, all the *Portugals* were set at libertie, and we fortified our selues in the Towne, keeping onely seuen or eight of the chiefest and principall prisoners, Master *Cooke* Captaine of the Vice-admirall, went Captaine of all the companie that went ashoare; he fauoured me very much, and commanded mee to take a Friar's Cell to lodge in, in the Colledge of *Iesus*, where hee himselfe lodged with many Captaines and young Gentlemen. It was my chance going vp and downe from Cell to Cell, that I looked vnder a bed standing in a darke hole, where I found a little chist fast nayled, and the seames thereof were white with wheat flower. I drew it forth, and finding it of great waight, broke it in pieces, wherein I found 1700. Rials of eight, each whereof containeth foure shillings *English*. This hole I tooke for my lodging, and no man knew of my good purchase; cloth, shirts, blankets, and beds, and such stuffe no man regarded.

Santos taken.

How Anthonie Kniuet found a chist of siluer.

The next day following, being S. *Stephens* day, the *Portugals* gaue vs a false alarum; the Generall came also with all the ships into the Road, and presently landed with two hundred men, and commanded all the outward part of the Towne to bee burned. Then hee gaue order for the building of a Pinnasse to row with twentie Oares, and commanded all the ships that were in the Harbour to be set on fire. At this Towne we tooke an *English* man, called *Iohn King*, which had beene there fifteene yeeres. Our Generall lay in the Colledge of *Iesus* all the time that we were at *Santos*. This Colledge had many back-wayes to the Sea-side, and it happened one night, that two Sauages being abused by the *Portugals* ran away, and knowing the passages of the Colledge, came in the night to the Generals bed-side, and brought with them Turkies and Hennes: The Generall being awaked by them cryed out for helpe. One of them that could speake *Portugall*, fell downe on his knees, and said, that hee came to craue his fauour, and not to offend him. The morning following the Generall had discourse with these two Sauages, and by them he knew of what strength the *Portugals* campe was, and how that at his going out of the Towne they were determined to giue battaile: likewise they told him of three great bags of mony, and a jarre, that was hid vnder the roote of a Fig tree, and guided vs where we had three hundred head of Cattel, which serued vs all the time we were there.

Iohn King English man.

Iesuites Colledge.

The Generall by two sauages first scarred, and after instructed.

The *Daintie* being a small ship made a good voyage to *Santos*, for shee came in before any of our fleet, by the which meanes they laded her with Sugar, and good commodities of the *Portugals* ships that were in the Harbour; this ship went voluntarily with vs, and hauing made a good voyage, the Captaine told the Generall that he would returne for *England*, the Generall answered, that he was determined to send him into the Riuer of *Plate*, and then with all his heart hee should returne. We continued two moneths at *Santos*, which was the ouerthrow of our voyage. In the time that we were there many Canibals came vnto vs, desiring the General that he would destroy the *Portugals*, and keepe the Countrie to himselfe, protesting to bee all on his side; the Generall thanked them for their kindnesse, and told them that at that time he had a farther pretence. We found store of gold in this Towne, that the *Indians* had brought from a place, called by the *Indians*, *Mutinga*, and now the *Portugals* haue mynes there. Many of our companie counselled the Generall to winter at this Towne, but he would not by any meanes.

The Daintie would haue returned from Santos to England.

Mutinga mynes.

From our first setting forth from *England*, till we came to *Santos*, I had great loue to *Christopher* the *Iapon*, because I found his experience to bee good in many things. This *Indian* and I grew into such friendship one with another, that wee had nothing betwixt vs vnknowne together. I a long time hauing found him true, I told him of the money I had found vnder the Friers bed; with that hee told mee of some money that hee had got, and wee swore to part halfe from thenceforth whatsoeuer God should permit vs to obtaine: some foure dayes after that, when we were ready to depart, he told me that that time of the yeare was past, wherefore it was best to hide our money in the ground, and remaine in the Countrey. I beleeuing his perswasions, agreed to doe what he thought best; thus we determined both, that the same

Iapanders perfidie.

day

day we were to goe a ſhipboord, that then he ſhould take all the money in a Canoa, and hide it by a Riuer ſide; in the morning I deliuered all the money into his hands, and he ſwore that in leſſe then two houres he would returne, but I ſtaied aboue fiue houres, and might haue tarried all my life, for he was gone aboord the Ship, afterward by good meanes I got mine owne againe, and ſo our former friendſhip was parted. Our men marched by Land from *Santos*, to another
S. Vincent. Towne called *San Vincent*, and in the way our men burned fiue *Engenios*, or Sugar-mils, the diſorder of our men was ſuch at their imbarking, that if the *Portugals* had beene of any courage, they might eaſily haue cut our throates, the two *Indians* which came at night to the Generals chamber went with vs to the Straits.

We departed from *Santos*, with a faire winde for the Straites of *Magellan*, fourteene dayes we had faire weather, the fifteenth day all the Maſters and Captaines of the fleete comming aboord, the Admirall wonne a great ſumme of money. Two dayes after wee were becalmed, and the Pilotes taking their height, found it to be in the altitude with the Riuer of *Plate*. And we being farre from the ſhoare did beare roome for Land, determining to ſend the *Daintie*, the *Blacke Pinnaſſe*, and the into the aforeſaid Riuer of *Plate*, but it was not the will of God that we ſhould execute our pretence. For the ſame day wee thought to haue deſcried Land, the winde
At the riuer of Plate we had a great ſtorme. beganne to blow South-weſt, and the Seas were very darke, ſwelling in waues ſo high, that we could not perceiue any of our accompanied ſhips, although we were very neere one to another, the Seas brake ouer the Poope of our ſhippe, and waſhed our men aſtoniſht with feare into the Skippers, the *Roe-bucke* in this ſtorme ranne her againſt our Poope, and brake downe all our Gallerie: all things were caſt into the Sea that ſtood aboue Hatches, heere miſerable Fortune began to frowne on vs all, eſpecially on mee, for all that I had, both in clothes and money, were caſt into the Sea, all our ſhip with the Seas that brake ouer her ſides. Here our Generall ſhewed himſelfe to bee of a noble courage, for hee did nothing but runne vp and downe encouraging his men which were all amazed, thinking that to bee their laſt houre, this ſtorme continued three dayes, in which time wee loſt moſt of our ſayles blowne away from the yards.

In this ſtorme the Crow a ſmal Boat of 20 tun ſunke before our eyes, with twelue men & a boy. The Roe-bucke loſt her boat with two men, and wee loſt ours with three men.

It was the will of God, that after we had been three dayes in the ſtorme, the wind ceaſed, but the Seas continued ſo great, that wee were not able to beare any ſayle. We lying thus toſt with Seas, without ſight of any of our fleet, the company murmured, and wiſhed themſelues againe at *Santos*, and indeed we al thought that the reſt of our company were driuen back with the ſtorme to the Coaſt, thinking it beſt for vs to returne againe. The Generall hearing what ſpeeches paſſed in the ſhippe, came forth vpon the halfe decke, and commanded all the company to come before him, and after he had heard them ſpeake, he anſwered that he had giuen directions to all the Maſters and Captaines of the fleete, that what weather ſoeuer ſhould part them, that they ſhould vſe their indeuour to take Port *Deſire*, and that they ſhould tarry a fortnight, ſo if none of the company came, they ſhould leaue ſome marke on the ſhoare, and goe on their Voyage, with that euery man was ſatisfied, the Generall promiſing twentie pounds to whomſoeuer could firſt ſpie a ſayle, we made our courſe to Port *Deſire*, and in ten dayes we ſafely arriued at our deſired Port, where we found all our fleet but the *Daintie*, which was no little comfort to vs all, becauſe the time of our yeere was almoſt paſt, we ſtayed here but two dayes taking a few *Penguins*, from an Iland right before Port *Deſire*.

And at the Straits we took the Deſires long Boat for the Admirall. Murmuring.

Port Deſire.

When we came to the mouth of the Straits wee found the winde contrary, and were forced to lye beating before the Harbour of Port *Famine*, three dayes ere wee could double that Cape, for many times we did caſt anchor without the Cape in twentie fathomes water, but on a ſudden, the current would carrie away the ſhips with Cables and Anchors afloat in the night, in this current the *Roe-bucke* driuen with the current, fell croſſe ouer the haze, there wee had no other remedy, but were forced to cut our cables, and ſo loſe our Anchors. In the end with much adoe we doubled the Cape, and got into Port *Famine*, where wee lay a ſeuennight for want of winde and weather to goe forward. It the time that wee were at Port *Famine*, euery day our men went on ſhoare, to get Muſcles and Fruits of the Countrey to eate, and the barke of a tree that was like Sinamon. One day the Boate being aſhoare, there came to vs aboue a thouſand *Canibals* naked, with feathers in their hands, but they would not come ſo neere vs, as we could touch them. If we offered them any thing, they would reach to vs with a long Pole, and whatſoeuer we gaue them, they would returne vs feathers for it, wee made our ſignes to them for victuals, and they would ſhew vs by ſignes, that they had none, but what they could kill with their Darts. I haue told you how my chiſt, and all my clothes were caſt ouer-boord, now comming to this cold Climates, and wanting clothes my hope of life was little, for here men were well at morning, and by night frozen to death. It was my fortune to goe aſhoare to get ſome food, for the allowance of our ſhip was little, and comming aboord againe with my feete wette, and wanting ſhift of clothes, the next morning I was nummed, that I could not ſtirre my legs, and pulling off my ſtockings, my toes came with them, and all my feete were as blacke as ſoote, and I had no feeling of them. Then was I not able to ſtirre.

Magellan Straits.
Port Famine.
Current.
Barke like Sinamon.
Naked Sauages.
Miſerable cold
Anthonie Kniuet loſt his toes in the Straits.

Thus

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Thus I continued for the space of a fortnight, till wee came into a faire Bay, where there were many faire Ilands, and on the rockes of some of these Ilands, wee found Scouts made of the barkes of trees, and afterwards wee found many *Indians*, but none of them would come to vs. On the South-west side of the Mayne we found a Riuer, which wee thought had gone to the South Sea: Our long Boate was sent vp this Riuer, and found it to be very straite and deepe. On the sides thereof they found great Muscles, and in them good store of Pearles, and we named it the *Riuer of Pearles*; the Bay had the name of the Master of our Pinnasse, because he first found it and did discouer it, called it *Tobias* Bay. From this place wee went further into the Straites hauing the winde against vs, and with the cold there died euery day out of our ship eight or nine men. Here one *Harris* a Gold-smith lost his Nose: for going to blow it with his fingers, cast it into the fire. This *Iohn Chambers*, *Cæsar Ricasen*, and many that are now in *England* can testifie. The Generall hauing experience, that the wind would tarry at the least two moneths, his men died so fast, that hee thought best to returne for the Coast of *Brasil*, and there to separate our fleete to the Hauens, of *Santos* that lye on the Coast, Riuer of *Ianuary*, *Spirito Santo*; determining by this meanes, to furnish himselfe with Ropes, Sayles, and Victuals of such prices as hee did not doubt but to take, and likewise determining to take *Santos* againe.

Strait and deepe Riuer. Muscles with Pearles.

Harris his hard hap.

How we returned from the straits of *Magellan*.

The Generall came backe with this pretence for *Brasil*, came to Port *Famine*, where wee anchored two dayes, and there tooke a note of all his men, that were liuing, and finding some of them very sicke, commanded them to be set on shoare, I was so ill in the Straites that no man thought I would haue liued, and twice I was brought vpon the Hatches to bee cast into the Sea; but it was the will of God, that when they had said Prayers, as they accustomed when any man died, and that they laid hands on me to cast me ouer-boord, I spake, desiring them not to cast me ouer-boord, till I was dead. At this Port *Famine* comming backe, the Generall would haue set me on shoare, but Captaine *Cocke* entreated for me; so I remayned in the ship. I had very sorie clothes, the toes of my feet full of Lice, that (God is my record) they lay in clusters within my flesh, and of many more besides my selfe; I had no Cabbin, but lay vpon a chist. Now we come out of the Straits with all our fleet, but the *Dainty* that lost vs in the Riuer of *Plate*, in the storme that we had, and the *Crow* that was sunke. After that we came out of the Straits, wee came before Port *Desire* againe, and there our Boats went to *Penguin* Iland for *Penguins*; at this place the Generall tooke a Chirurgion who cured with words; This man comming aboord our ship, said some words ouer my feet, and I had feeling in my legges and feete which I had lost before, for the space of a fortnight, many times before this man came; I had hot Irons laid to my feet, but I had no feeling were they neuer so hot.

Generall *Candish* comm th againe to Port *Famine*, where hee setteth eight men on shoare and would haue set mee on shoare with them, had it not beene for Captain *Cocke*.

How I got feeling againe of my limmes after we came out of the straits.

That day that we departed from Port *Desire*, the Generall sent for all the Masters of the ships, and commanded them that till midnight they should keepe there course with him, and that when he should shew them two lights, then they should cast about and beare in with the shoare, but *Dauis* which was Captaine of the *Desire*, and *Tobie* Master of the Pinnasse did deceiue vs, and went for the Straits, as I was enformed afterwards by some of there men that were taken at *Brasil*, after that I was taken. Three or foure dayes after this wee had a great storme, in the which the *Roe-bucke* lost her mayne Mast, and we lost her. Now were wee all alone in a great ship, and we knew not what wee were best to doe, but in the end wee determined to come for *Santos*, hoping there to find the rest of our company. In this storme I sate on a chist, and was not able to stirre, for still as the ship seeled on one side, the chist went from starboord to larboord, and it was the will of God, that it fell betweene a piece of Ordnance, and the Carpenters Cabbin on the one side, and on the other side betweene another Peece, and the Chirurgions Cabbin. Thus all the night I lay very cold, and it was the will of God that the chist neuer turned ouer, for if it had, I could not haue escaped death, the next day the storme ceased, and most of our young Saylers, which we call men of top a yard, being wearied with their nights worke that was past, were vnder Hatches asleepe, and would not come vp to doe some businesse that was to bee done. With that the Generall came downe, with the end of a Rope as bigge as mine arme, and one of the Saylers hid himselfe behind me; the Generall spying him, strooke at him, and hit me on the side of the head, and halfe an houre after, finding me in the same case that the Generall had left mee in, they tooke me, and would haue cast mee out of one of the ports of the ship, but it was the will of God that I spake and was heard. Here one of the *Indians*, that came to the Generall in the night at *Santos*, fell ouer-boord by a mischance and was drowned.

How the *Desire* and the *Black Pinnasse* goeth away from vs.

Of a great storme we had comming backe.

How the Generall tooke mee dead against his will.

Wee with much adoe in the end got to the Harbour of *Santos*, where wee found none of our company, we anchored right before a Sugar-mill, that stood hard by the Sea side, the Generall asked if there were any that would goe ashoare, then Captaine *Stafford*, Captaine *Southwell*, and Captaine *Barker* offered themselues to goe on shoare, and twentie more with them, the Boate that they went in was made of Sugar chists and barrell boords, they landed and tooke the Sugar-mill, in the which they tooke a great Barke, and sent it laden with victuals, aboord our shippe, which was more welcome vnto vs then if it had beene gold. Here wee continued all that day, and the next day they sent the great Boate againe laden with Sugars and *Guinee* Wheate, then the Generall sent them word that they should come away, but they sent him word againe, that they

They come to *Santos* againe.

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The *Portugals* kill our men. See Cap. *Candish* before.

they had more prouision on shoare, and before all was aboord they would not come. The third day, that our men were on shoare, the *Portugall* set on them. They had the little Boate ashoare, but the wind being from shoare, the great Boat went not from the ship side that day, the next day that our men were slaine, our long Boate went ashoare, and brought vs newes how the little Boat was broke and how all our men were gone. One of the *Indians* that I haue told you of landed here with our men, and hauing experience of the Countrey, when our men were in the hottest of their fight ranne away, hauing one Arrow shot thorow his necke, and another in his mouth and out at his poale, this *Indian* swamme aboord vnto vs vpon a logge, and told vs that all our men were slaine.

S. Sebastian.

The Generall thought good to goe from hence to the Iland of *San Sebastian*, and there if he did not meete with some of the ships, that then he would returne for *England*, the same day that we were to depart from *Santos*, the *Roe-bucke* past by the mouth of the Riuer of *Bertia*: where we were, and shot a Peece, and we answered with another, then the *Roe-bucke* came into vs with her Masts broken. After the *Roe-bucke* came to vs, we went neerer the Towne, determining to haue beaten downe the Towne with our Ordnance, but wanting water, the *Galleon Leicester* toucht ground, and we had much adoe to get her cleere againe. Then wee landed eightie of our men, at a small Riuer neere the Towne, where we had great store of *Mandioca* Roots, Potatoes, Plantons, and Pine Apples. The *Portugals* seeing our men going into the Riuer, sent six Canoas to meete them, we seeing them, made a shot at them with the chaine of our Pumpe, with that they returned, and our Boats came safely aboord with good store of the aforenamed Roots. In our ship there was a *Portugall* whom we tooke in the ship taken at Cape *Frio*, this *Portugall* went with vs to the Straits of *Magellanus*, and seeing of our ouerthrow, told vs of a Towne called *Spirito Sancto*, this *Portugall* laid that we might goe before the Towne with our ships, and that without danger, we might take many Sugar-mils, and good store of cattle.

The *Roe-bucke* come to vs at *Santos*.

Portugals aduice.

Spirito Santo.

The words of this *Portugall* made vs breake off our pretence that wee had for *San Sebastian*, and we went to *Spirito Sancto*, in eight dayes we got before the mouth of the Harbour; at length we came to an Anchor in the Roade, and presently we sent our Boats to sound the Channell, and we found not halfe the depth that the *Portugall* laid we should finde, the Generall thinking that the *Portugall* would haue betrayed vs, without any triall caused him to bee hanged, the which was done in a trise. Here all the Gentlemen that were liuing, desired that they might go ashoare to take the Towne. The General was very vnwilling, & told them of diuers inconueniences, but all would not suffice them, they were so importunate, that the Generall chose out one hundred and twentie men, of the best that were in both the ships, and sent Captaine *Morgan* a singular good Land-souldier, and Lieutenant *Royden*, for chiefe Commanders in this action. They landed before a small Fort with one of the Boats, and draue the *Portugals* out of it, the other Boate went higher, when they had a very hot skirmish, and their liues were quickly shortned, for they landed on a Rocke, that stood before the Fort, as they leaped out of the Boate, they slid all armed into the Sea, and so most of them were drowned. To be short wee lost eightie men, at this place, and of the fortie that returned, there came not one without an Arrow or two in his body, and some had fiue or sixe.

Portugall hanged.

80. men slaine: 40. wounded.

When we saw we could doe no good at this place, wee determined to come againe for the Iland of *San Sebastian*, and there we meant to burne one of our ships, and from thence we determined to goe for the Straits againe, the company that was in the *Roe-bucke*, hearing of it, in the night runne away from vs, and we were left alone againe, well we came to *San Sebastian* Iland, all this while I lay vnder Hatches lame, sicke, and almost starued: I was not able to stirre, I was so weake. After we came to this Iland, the first thing that was done, the sicke men were set on shoare to shift for themselues, twentie of vs were set on shoare, all were able to go vp and downe although very weakly, but (Alas!) my toes were raw, my body was blacke, I could not speake nor stirre. In this case I was layed by the shoare side, and thus I remayned from fiue of the clocke in the morning, till it was betweene eleuen and twelue of the clocke, that the Sunne came to his highest, and the extreme heate of the Sunne pierced through my bodie, whereby I came to my selfe, as a man awaked from sleepe, and I saw them that were set on shore with me, lye dead and a dying round about me: these men had eaten a kind of Pease, that did grow by the Sea side which did poyson them. When I saw all these men dead, I prayed God that had eld them out of their miserable estate, and cursed my hard fortune, that Death in spite did refuse to end my tormented and most miserable life. I looked towardes the shoare, and saw nothing but these Pease, and if I did eate them, I was sure of death, if I did not eate them, I saw no remedie but to starue.

Ro-bucke fled.

S. Sebastian.

Anthony Kniuet left for dead.

Venemous Pease.

Seeing in this manner, I looked towards the ship, to see if the Boate came ashoare, but (alas) all my hopes were with speed to end my life, but that it was the will of God, I saw things stirre by the Sea side, and it was a great ebbe: then I went creeping on my hands and my feete like a childe, and when I had gotten to the Sea side, I saw many Crabs lye in the holes of the mudde; I pulled off one of my stockins, and filled it with Crabs, and as well as I could, I carried them to a hollow figge tree, where I found a great fire made, so hauing them on the coles, I did eat them; and

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and so I lay downe to sleepe till the next day; and then I watched for the ebbe to get some more meate. Thus I liued eight or nine dayes without sight of any man, the stinke of some of the dead men that the Sea came not to, was so noysome that I was faine to remoove from that place, and as I went along the shoare to seeke some place to abide in, I passed by a faire Riuer that went into the Sea; where I thought it good to make my abode because of the fresh water; I had not beene there scarce the space of halfe a quarter of an houre, but I saw a great thing come out of the water, with great scales on the backe, with great vgly clawes and a long tayle, this beast came towards me, and I had not the power to shun it, but as it came towards me, I went and met it, when I came neere it, I stood still amazed to see so monstrous a thing before me. Hereupon this beast stood still and opened his mouth, and thrust out a long tongue like a Harping-Iron. I commended my selfe to God, and thought there to haue bin torne in pieces; but this beast turned againe, and went into the Riuer, and I followed to the Riuers side.

Anthony Kniuet terrified with a terrible beast that came out of the water.

The next day I went farther into the Iland, fearing to tarrie in this place, and I found a great Whale lying on the shoare like a ship with the keele vpwards, all couered with a kinde of short mosse with the long lying there. At this place I made a little house, and fed on the Whale for the space of a fortnight. In this time the Generall set forty men more ashoare, at the place where I was set first on land, likewise the Generall trimmed his Boate at this place, and had a Net continually a fishing, of which *Iohn Chambers* his Cooke had charge, who is this day liuing in *London*. After that these men came ashoare, I left the place where I was with the Whale, and came to our men and liued with them, beeing at this time reasonable well, and able to goe very well, for the vse of going into the Sea did heale my toes. After these men had beene on shoare seuen or eight dayes, we had taken wood and water for the ship, the *Portugals* of the Riuer of *Ianuary*, landed on the North point of the Iland hard by the Whale, they took two of our men and one escaped, who came to vs in the night, and told vs that the *Portugals* and the *Sauages* were landed. That day wee had taken a great Tortois ashaore, and wee did bid the Sayler to bee of good cheere, for if it were true, it was the better for vs, for wee were sure, that the Generall would not take vs againe into the ship, with that we all commended our selues to God, and dranke to our friends in faire water, and so we determined to march along the shoare with a white shirt instead of a flagge of truce, but the Sea was so high that we could not, then we determined to watch quarterly, till such time as we could espie them, I had the first watch, and watched till I was wearie, so called one of my fellowes, to watch, and he answered angerly, *Tut, tis a lye*: with that I lay downe by the fire as well as the rest. Before I was asleepe, the *Portugals* were at our doore, then I started vp, and one of them tooke me by the legge, presently wee were all led to the shoare side, there all that were taken with me, were knocked on the heads with fire-brands, the *Indian* that had hold of me, strooke twice or thrice at me with a short Bill, but I striuing, cryed out in *Portugall*, That if they would saue mee I would tell them newes, with that a *Portugall* passed by, and I caught hold of him, so well as I could I told him a Tale which saued my life at that time, this *Portugall* gaue me againe to a *Sauage*, & I cryed to him that I would go whersoeuer he went, then he bid me not fear, for that *Sauage* was his slaue, and that he would carrie me to the Captayn, so I was content perforce to goe I knew not whether, this *Canibal* carried me along the ashore, and when wee came where any Rockes reached into the Sea; hee would take mee on his backe, and swimme with mee round about the Rockes, till wee were free from the Rockes, thus we went almost all night, til at length we came by a great Cliffe that stood by the shore. Then the *Sauage* whistled, and another *Sauage* answered him from the Cliffe, whereupon fiue or six *Portugals* came forth, and amongst them came the Captaine with a piece of bread and Marmallet in his hand, and assoone as he saw me, he asked me what newes, I answered that I was very hungry, and desired him that hee would giue mee some meate, and then I would tell him all the newes that I could, with that all the *Portugals* brake out in a laughter, and gaue me bread and fish to eate, after I had eaten that which they had giuen me, I told them the truth of all that they asked me, heere they killed eight and twentie of our men, and saued only my selfe, and *Henrie Barrawell*, who was saued by my meanes.

Whale.

They are taken and slaine.

He escapeth.

§. II.

ANTHONY KNIVET *his comming to the* Riof Ianero, *and vsage amongst the* Portugals, *and* Indians: *his diuers trauels thorow diuers Regions of those parts.*

THe next day our ship weighed Anchor, and whether shee went I knew not, wee were carried by the *Portugals* to the Riuer of *Ianero*, I went with a *Mestizo*, which is halfe a *Portugall*, and halfe a *Sauage* that saued my life in the night when I was taken. When we came to the Citie of *San Sebastian* in the Riuer of *Ianero*, the *Portugals* in the Canoas, made such a noyse, with Pipes and Drummes, that all the people of the Citie came to shoare

to

to see vs, with that the Canoas going round, as if they were in fight, two *Portugals* tooke mee, and cast me towards the shoare, saying, here is our prize; the tyde being strong carried mee to the mayne, where I had beene drowned had it not beene for a woman, who seeing the tyde carry me away, sent two or three slaues, and they saued mee. When I came ashoare, all the *Portugals* were at the Church of our Lady, and I would haue gone into the Church, but the *Portugals* would not let me, saying, that I was not a Christian. Then I was brought before the Gouernour, and he gaue me to the man that had saued mee, and I was very well contented, for hee vsed mee very kindly as I came with him from the Iland of *San Sebastian*. For the space of three moneths that I was with this man, I kept a house, and went to the Sea-side with his Hogs, and there I euery day brought him home a basket of great Crabs that lie in the holes of the mud, as deepe as youcan thrust in your arme. This w s a good life, my Master called me sonne, and I dined and supped with him: also I had a hanging Net to lie in, and lay in the same roome which hee lay in.

It happened one day being by the Sea-side washing of little Dogs, there came a Canoa full of *Portugals*, and they tooke me to the Towne with them, but as soone as I landed I remembred my Masters house and ran to it. As I went I met with *Henrie Barway*: the next day the Gouernour sent for mee and examined me what I was, I told him that I was a poore ship boy; with that *Henrie Barway* reproued me, asking what I meant to say so to the Gouernour; I replyed, that I was no other but what I had told him, then the Gouernour commanded mee to bee carried to the Sugar mill, where I was three moneths, till all the clothes that I had were torne in peeces, with working in a Barke going day and night vp and downe for Sugar canes and wood for the Mill; the miserable life that I was in made me careless what I did. I had neither meat nor clothes, but blowes as many as Gally slaues. Then I determined to run away into the Wildernesse, for I was ashamed to be seene naked of the *Portugals*. I made me a Cottage in a great Caue in the Wildernesse, where I was seuen moneths. In the day I fished for to liue, and in the night I came to some *Indians* houses, and for fish they gaue me Cassauie meale, and many kindes of Roots, that serued me for bread. In the end the Gouernour caused me to be sought out, and gaue mee a suite of blue clothes, and commanded me to worke in a Garden, where I carried earth, and digged the ground to plant Cabidges and Turneps.

Henrie Barway.

He is sent to a Sugar-mill.

He fleeth.

After that I was commanded againe to take charge of the Sugar boat, where I was worse vsed then euer I was before, for the Factor was a man that hated *English* men, and would vse me more like a Dogge then a Man. When I had continued foure moneths in the Barke, it happened that one of the Gouernours sonnes, called *Martin de Saa*, came from *Spiritu Santo*. This man pitying my poore and miserable life, desired his father that he would giue mee vnto him, which his father granted, and I was very well vsed of my new Master, two yeares after I had serued him. It happened that hee and his Mother in law fell out, whereupon the Gouernour his father sent him to a Towne, called *Wyanasses*, which were in peace with the *Portugals*, and for Kniues and Hatchets, they sell their Wiues and Children. This iourney I went with him, and we came to a Towne called *Iawarapipo* (that is to say), *Is this the Dogge?* He seeing me forward to doe him seruice, sent me from this Towne with eight of his slaues laden with Hatchets and Knines, to another kinde of *Canibals*, called *Paries*, which had beene likewise friends with the *Portugals*, but it was long before any *Portugall* had beene there, I came to the Townes of *Paries*, where I was saluted in this sort.

His new Master.

Wyanasses.

Iawarapipo.

Paries.

As soone as I came into a great house, which I thought was their Kings, which they call *Morouichaua*; presently, they had hanged vp a faire Net betweene two postes, in the which I was commanded to sit downe, and as soone as I was set, there came at the least twentie women, and some laying their heads on my shoulders, and others on my knees, they began to crie out making such a pitious noise, that I was amazed: yet I determined to sit still till they had done. As soone as the women were gone, an old man came in, all painted with red and blacke, and hee had three great holes in his face, one in the vnder lip, and one on either side of his mouth, and in euery hole stood a faire greene stone. This *Canibal* came through the house where I was, with a woodden sword in his hand, and as hee came hee spake very loud, and looked as though hee had beene mad, ~~striking his hand on his breast, and on his thighes, still crying out~~, he walked vp and downe. After this Sauage had ended his speech, he stroke me on the head, and bad mee welcome; and commanded such things as were in his house to be set before me to eate. After I had beene there two or three houres, neuer went through all the Towne of my being there, and from this Towne to others that were hard by.

Strange entertainment of strangers.

Whilest I continued in this Towne a Sauage called *Wannombuck*, who bare a great grudge to the *Portugals*, came where I was, with two women, and when hee came into the house where I was, he laid his hands on their necks, and so came dancing before mee, thus after hee had danced some quarter of an houre, he spake to me, saying, *Doest thou see these women, by my valour I got their loues, and now their desire I am sworne to fulfill, which is to kill thee, as I haue done many more.* I answered him that I came not as an enemie against him, or any of his, but as a friend that brought him many things that I was assured hee wanted, and that if nothing would satisfie him but my life,

His danger by a Sauage.

life, I assured him, that hee and all his Countrie would pay for it. To this hee made no answere, but went to separate my things that lay by mee to his Concubines, withall I started out of my bed, and tooke my sword in my hand, and thrust the *Caniball* from my things, that I had almost ouerturned him, and he durst not touch them nor me any more, but stood raying, and threatning to kill mee, and with the noise that hee made, the old man came into the house, and seeing mee stand with my sword in my hand, asked mee what was the matter; and I told him all that had passed betwixt mee and the foresaid *Caniball*. After hee had heard mee, hee turned to the *Caniball* that had offered me abuse, and asked him what reason he had to doe him so great a discredit, and to meddle with any friend of his in his Towne, and angerly commanded him to auoid his Town, if not he would make him repent that euer he came thither; with that, for feare of afterclaps, he went away with his Concubines: the next morning newes came to the Towne, that *Wanambuth* was comming with three hundred *Canibals*, and that perforce he would haue me to his Towne, and that there I should be killed according to the order of the Countrie; and how hee left order with his wiues to prepare wine through all the Townes in readinesse.

When the old man heard of this, hee presently commanded all his people to take their weapons, and desired them to goe with him into the field to meet them that were comming to wrong him; whereat they all gaue a great hoope, saying, that they would all die rather then they would bee disgraced. The old man embraced mee many times, and desired mee that I would tarry in his house. I thanked him for his loue, and told him that in any wise I would not tarry behinde him; so I went with him to meet the *Caniball* in the field; we being a great many more then they, they sent three or foure vnto vs as messengers, that they came to be merry, and to buy and sell such things as they had, then the old man gaue leaue for them all to come into his Town, except the *Caniball* that had mis-vsed him the day before; that night I gaue all my merchandise to the old man, and desired him for it, that hee would cause mee to bee conducted out of his Countrie; the next day following the old man gaue me seuentie slaues, and caused three hundred Bow men to goe with me till I was past the Riuer of *Paraeyua*; from whence they returned to their Towne, and in forrie-dayes iourny with ease I came againe to *Ilha Grande*, where I found my Master, *Martin de Saa*, who was very glad of my returne, and for recompence of my paines, he promised me one of them to bee my slaue, but when hee came to the Riuer of *Ianero*, hee sold them, and gaue me nothing.

Hospitall fidelitie in Sauages.

Riuer *Paraeyua*.

After wee had beene at home two moneths, hee would haue sent mee againe into the sauage countrie for more slaues, but I knew that thereby I should get nothing and refused to goe. Whereupon hee returned me againe to his father, thinking I would rather choose to goe then serue his father in the Sugar boat. But I was contented to goe againe to his father, hoping to be better vsed then I was before: then his father commanded me to goe a fishing in a small boat, for to make oile for the Sugar mill. One night being vpon a Rocke fishing for Dog-fish, which the *Portugals* call *Tubaraones*; I tooke my *line*, laid it vnder me, and fell asleepe: about mid-night with the beginning of the floud a Dog-fish tooke my hooke, and the line being vnder mee, I awaked, tooke the line in my hand, and running about the Rocke (I know not how) the line tangled about my legge, and the fish drew me into the Sea; and assoone as I fell into the water the Sharke swam at me as if he would haue deuoured me, but assoone as I saw him come neere mee, I caught hold on the hooke that was in his mouth, and striking downwarke with my hand the Sharke swam away againe. I now remembred a knife, that I had about my necke tyed with a string, as the *Canibals* vse, and therewith cut the cord, or else there had I ended all my miseries; all my body was torne with the Crags of the Rocke, so that for the space of a fortnight I was not able to stirre.

He returneth to his old Master.

Endangered by a Sharke.

After I was healed the Gouernour commanded mee againe to goe a fishing: wee had newes in the Riuer of *Ianero* that Master *Hawkins* was at Cape *Frio*, which made me the more desirous to be on the Coast in hope to get to him. It happened that one day being a fishing by an Iland that lay two leagues from the shoare, Master *Hawkins* passed by the Sea as farre as well hee could bee descryed, but it was a very faire day: assoone as I saw the ships I set the *Indians* that were with me on shoare on the Iland, commanding them to seeke prouision for vs, for that night I did assure my selfe that Master *Hawkins* would refresh his men at the Iland of *San Sebastian*, and seeing the winde faire, and all the *Indians* ashoare, I hoysted saile, and tooke my course towards the Iland of *San Sebastian*, but fortune was so crosse to me, that being in sight of the ships, a contrarie winde blue with such a storme, that perforce I was driuen vpon an Iland so full of Rocks, that my Boat was broken all in peeces, and my selfe all cut and bruised with the Rocks. Getting to the shoare vpon this Iland I remayned three dayes without meat, or meanes to get away from the Iland, the *Indians* that landed vpon the Iland where we were a fishing, got to the Towne and told the Gouernour how I had beguiled them. Presently vpon that newes the Gouernour sent two Canoas to descrie the ships, these Canoas came on shoare at the Iland where I was, and there they found me almost starued, and all my face hurt beaten vpon the Rocks.

Master *Hawkins* at Cape *Frio*.

Another double disaster of sense and losse.

From this place they went to the Iland of *San Sebastian*, and Master *Hawkins* was gone; then they returned againe to the Riuer of *Ianero*, and I was brought bound with my hands behinde me,

His imprisonment.

Condemnation to be hanged.

Iesuites saue him!

Imprisoned againe.

all the Towne rayled at me, calling me *Run-away*, then I was brought before the Gouernour, and he looking very angerly vpon me sent me to prison, where I was vsed like a Dogge for the space of a fortnight: for I lay on the ground, and had no meat giuen me, but Cassaui meale and water. After I had endured this miserie, I was condemned to be hanged for a Run-away and a *Lutheran*, and as I was going by the Colledge of *Iesus*, all the Friars of the Colledge came forth with a great Crucifix, and falling on their knees before the Gouernour they craued pardon for me, and I was carried againe to prison, where I remayned three dayes longer, then I was brought forth on a Market day, with my hands and feet bound, and there in publike beaten with cordes, that I had not a whole spot of skin on all my body. After they had punished mee, as you haue heard, I was commanded to be put againe in prison, where I was for the space of a fortnight, with no meate but Cassaui meale and water, my lodging was the earth, my body was all bruised and full of wormes with lying on the ground.

Dissolute resolution.

After this the Gouernour commanded great hoopes of Iron to bee clinched to my legge, of thirtie pound weight, the which I carried nine moneths, continually working in the Sugar mill like a bond-slaue. The Factor vsed me more like a Dogge then a Man, for his hatred was so much to me, and to all strangers, that I neuer came by him but I was sure of blowes. Now was my life so intolerable, that I grew desperate and careless what I did to end my life. Many times I would tell the Gouernour how like a Tyrant the Factor vsed me, but for all that he saw my body black, and bruised with blowes, he had no compassion on me. I had no meanes nor hope of any release of my miserable life, but to kill the Factor. Now occasion came fitly to execute my pretence, and it happened thus; I comming in the night with a Barke laden with Sugar canes, after the Barke was vnladen, the night being cold, I lay vpon the boards before the Furnaces, and had not rested halfe an houre, when the Factor came into the Sugar house, so finding me asleepe (as you haue heard) hee strooke mee with a withe on the naked ribs, with such force, that I thought hee had broken all the bones of my body. I started vp, and seeing him before mee readie to second his malice with another blowe, I embraced him in mine armes, and with a great knife that I had, I hurt him in the side, the backe, and the arme; hee cryed out I had slaine him.

He fleeth againe.

I thinking no lesse ran away into the chiefest of the wood, and the fauourable night being darke, no man knew which way to follow mee. When day came I went wandring vp and downe, praying to God to send some Leopard, or Lion, to deuoure mee, rather then to bee taken againe by the *Portugals*, for I knew if the Gouernour once got mee againe, I should endure the most extreame torture that euer was inuented for man. Wandring in the Wildernesse, I did heare a great noise of people, then I was amazed, knowing not what to doe to saue my life, sometimes I run like a mad man, then would I sit downe and listen if I could heare any noise, and which way soeuer I went I heard still the noise of people neerer me. Thus seeing my selfe at the last cast, I espyed a great Tree, in which grew a thing of thick long leaues, called by the *Indians*, *Caruala*; as bigge as the nest of an Eagle, I got me into that, hauing not beene there a quarter of an houre, many *Indians* came to seeke mee, and shot many times with their arrowes at the thing where I was, when they saw that I did not stirre, they went their waies, and I remayned all that day in the Tree, the night following, and the next day and night, I came downe very weake, for in two dayes I had eaten nothing, then the night being darke, I came to the Sea side, so going along by the shoare side, I espyed a Canoa drawne to shoare, and hard by it on the ground lay three Sauages asleepe, by them lay bowes, arrowes, and rootes, with hookes to fish with, of those things I tooke what I thought best, and went along the Sea side till I came to a Point of the Iland, where I found a Sauage asleepe vpon the sands, when I had viewed him well I knew him to be one of my Masters slaues, who killed one of his fellowes, wherefore hee durst not goe home, I tooke his bow and arrowes lying by him and awaked him, when he saw me he began to lament, and desired that I would not carry him home to my Master, I answered him that my cause was ten times worse then his, and desired him to tell mee if he knew any place whither wee might goe to saue both our liues, and with that told him what had befallen me.

Danger of taking in a *Caruala*.

Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris.

His wandrings.

This Sauage was a great man in his Countrie, his name was *Quoraspiuca*, that is, the *yellow Sunne*. Neuer man found truer friendship of any then I did of him. This *Canibal* and I after many discourses determined to swim from the Iland to the mayne. When we had escaped the danger of passing the arme of the Sea, at least two miles in breadth, we both landed very feeble, with the long being of our naked carkasses in the water. Now wee are at the foot of the Mountaine called *Paranapiacaba*, a desart, where many haue beene deuoured with Leopards, Lions, Crocodiles, and Surococous, and diuers other Serpents. Notwithstanding all these fearfull inconueniences, we chose rather to fall into the pawes of a Lion, and the clawes of the Serpent, then into the bloudie hands of the *Portugall*. Seuen and thirtie dayes we two trauelled through this desart, euery day we were in danger of our liues, for we met many Leopards, Lions, and huge Serpents, but God deliuered vs from them. In this iourney we eate wilde Honie and Palmetos, and a kinde of Snakes, called by the *Canibals*, *Boacyna*. After we had passed this desart, we came into a cham-

I suppose by Leopards he meaneth that spotted beast, which others call a Tigre.

a champaine Countrie, where we had great store of Pine nuts. Wandring vp and downe in this Countrie, one morning we espyed smoke in a wood not farre from vs. Then wee trauelled that wayes, and comming neere, I knew where we were, and presently I told *Quariſiſacupa*, that the Towne was called *Pianita*, and that this was the place where *Iawaripipo* had vsed mee so well, when *Wanambuth* would haue killed me. Now come we to the Towne, where we are very kindly receiued, especially of mine old friend *Iawaripipo*. *Pianita.*

Hee commeth to his old host.

After we had rested a little while among these *Canibals*, I desired them that they would ioyne themselues together; for in publike I would rehearse somwhat vnto them of my comming into their Countrie. Now when they were all together, I began to rehearse vnto them, how cruelly the *Portugals* did vse their Nation, in making them bond-slaues, marking them like Dogs, whipping and tormenting them, as if they were not of flesh and bloud. I rehearsed vnto them the course of mine owne life, and desired them to remember how my Countrimen had vsed them in former times, encouraging them to bee valiant, and to pull vp their spirits, and perswading to defend themselues against such Tyrants, who vnder the colour of friendship vsed them most villainously. Then I told them that I had killed a *Portugall*, and that I was determined to end my life with them, if they would promise to defend mee and themselues from the *Portugals*. With that many of them embraced me, all together giuing a great hoope, saying, as long as their liues lasted, and their Bowes brake not, that they would defend themselues and me. Here I continued nine moneths, till it happened that *Martin de Saa* came againe to buy more slaues. He came to a Towne hard by the Iland of *San Sebastian*, called *Iaquerequere*, where vsing the *Canibals* kindly, and giuing them Knues and Hatchets and Beades, hee won their hearts so much vnto him that they gaue him their Sonnes and Daughters to bee his slaues; and moreouer told him, that I and *Quariſiſacupa* was at a Towne hard by. Then *Martin de Saa* sent foure *Portugals* and twentie Sauages for me to the Towne. When the Sauages of *Iaquerequere* came to *Pianita*, they gaue such report in all the Towne of the liberalitie of *Martin de Saa*, that without any deliberation they bound my hands, and brought me backe againe to my Masters sonne. Senate of Sauages. *Iaquerequere.* Sauage faith. *Antonie Kniuet* is bound by the *Canibals* and brought to his Master.

When the *Canibals* brought mee before *Martin de Saa*, all those that protested before most friendship vnto mee, are now become my greatest and most mortall enemies, and with hooping and hollowing deride mee, striking mee on the head, and declaring to the *Portugals*, how I vsed great perswasions to haue them become their enemies. *Martin de Saa* made no answere to all their exclamations, but commanded certaine *Portugals* and *Indians* to see that I runne not away. Being brought the next morning before him, hee told mee that hee did pittie my hard fortune to come to so bad an end as I was like to come to, making mee beleeue that the Factor was dead, and therefore hee thought that the Law would condemne mee. When hee had spoken, I desired him to bee fauourable vnto mee, and that hee would consider what seruice I had done him and his father, and to thinke how vnreasonably the Factor had vsed mee a long time. Then hee promised mee, that wherein hee might hee would stand my friend; then I entreated him to giue mee leaue in that desart to end my life amongst the *Canibals*, where hee might well bee assured I could neuer hurt him nor any of his Nation: hee would not condescend thereunto, but promised hee would saue my life, if I would but goe to a place in that Countrie, called *Paraeyua Wereob*, and there to trafficke with the *Canibals* for Women, Boyes, and Girles. *Paraeyua Wereob.*

Although the danger of going into the Countrie of wild Man-eaters where I neuer had beene, was no lesse then the value of my life, yet considering with my selfe that my offence deserued death among the *Portugals*, I chose once againe rather to stand to the *Heathen* mercy of sauage Man-eaters, then at the bloudie cruelty of *Christian Portugals*. And seeing my selfe in such extremitie, I shewed my selfe very willing and diligent to doe the Captaine seruice; but God knowes, my hope was neuer to haue seene him againe. Now goe I alongst in the Wildernesse, with twelue Sauages, I know not whither, but as they guide mee ouer huge Mountaines, and many great Riuers, passing many dangers of our liues by land of Lions, Leopards, diuers great Snakes: in the Riuers, Crocodiles, *Iararaquas*, and *Capiuaras*, with many other Serpents that vse the water. After wee had trauelled fiue and twentie dayes in the Wildernesse, wee came to a faire Riuer as broad as the *Thames*, and the *Canibals* that went with mee said that the Towne stood by that Riuer side, where wee were to trafficke, but certaintie they knew not where about. Then wee made vs a Boat of the barke of a Cedar Tree, going downe the streame in it. Wee had not beene there long a going with the swiftnesse of the Current, before wee espyed a Boate of the same fashion that ours was, with two *Canibals* in it, who as soone as they had espyed vs would haue runne away, but wee beeing better manned then they ouertooke them before they got to the shoare. With mee there went one of their owne Nation, by name *Morosoeij*, who had beene taken by the *Wayanasses*, and they sold him to the *Portugals*. This *Morosoeij* spake the language of the *Tamayas*, which I vnderstood very well. The two *Canibals* that wee tooke in the Boate, were amazed to see men apparelled, insomuch that they knew not their owne Countriman that was with mee, when they saw him apparelled like a *Portugall*; if they were amazed at vs, I was no lesse at them, for in all my trauell I neuer saw the like fashion of *Canibals*. For when I saw them first I thought His next aduenture thorow the desarts. A faire Riuer. Two Sauages. Apparell strange. Their strange habite.

Strange nakednesse.

they had beene borne with feathers on their heads and bodies, like fowles of the aire, they had anointed their bodies with gumme of the oiletusees of Balsome, and couered themselues so artificially with feathers of diuers colours, in such order, that you could not haue seene a spot of their skins but their legs: after wee had beholden them well and they vs, I commanded *Morosoeij*, their Countriman to disclose himselfe to his Countrimen, and to tell them the cause of our comming, desiring them to goe to their Towne, and tell of our being there, lest our sudden comming should raise an vprore among them, the which they were very willing to doe; so giuing either of them a knife, and a few beades, they departed very ioyfully.

His entertainment.

Two houres after that they were departed from vs, there came at the least fiue hundred of them singing and rejoycing, shewing themselues very glad of our comming to traffick with them, entreating vs to goe to their Towne, the which we did, where wee were receiued with dancing and singing of great and small, and in euery house I was receiued with great ceremonies, and long speeches of the chiefest that were in the Towne. The next day I began to traffick with them for slaues, and I bought ninetie; all which I brought to *Martin de Saa*, who remayned at *Ilha Grande* till I returned againe. Assoone as I came vnto him, I deliuered all vnto him, desiring him to stand my friend, and to giue mee leaue to tarrie among the *Canibals*, till such time as hee had spoken with his father in my behalfe. Laughing, hee answered that I neede to feare to goe home, for the man was recouered, and gone to the Riuer of *Plate*, and that his father was very sorry, thinking I had beene eaten by some Serpent, Leopard, or Lion. When I came before the Gouernour; he blessed himselfe to see mee, meruailing where I had beene so long, and sent me againe to his Sugar mill, where I continued a twelue-moneth, and I had the charge to chist all the Sugar, in which time I got two hundred crownes. I determined to goe to *Angola* in *Aethiopia*; and the Gouernour gaue me his word that I should, and that what fauour he could shew me, I should bee sure to haue, but when the ship was readie to depart, the Gouernour sent mee out of Towne on a sleeueless errand, and I remayned ashoare, and lost all that I had scraped together for my voyage.

His returne.

Ambitious malice in sauages.

A moneth or two after this, it happened that the *Wayanasses* were set on by a kind of *Canibals*, called *Taymayas*, the *Wayanasses* haue traffick and friendship with the *Portugals*, and the most mortall enemies that the *Portugals* haue in all *America*, are the *Taymayas*. The *Wayanasses* hauing lost a great many men in a battell, not being able to make any head againe of themselues, craued succour againe of the *Portugals*. My Master being Gouernour of the Towne, sent his sonne *Martin de Saa* with seuen hundred *Portugals*, and two thousand *Indians*. The *Wayanasses* certified vnto vs that the most that wee should bee, before wee come to the *Taymayas*, would bee a moneth.

Expedition against the *Taymayas*.

Thus the fourteenth day of October 1597. we departed on our way with sixe Canoas by Sea, some thirtie miles from the Riuer of *Ianuario*, for a Port called *Parates*. The first day that we departed, we had a great storme, where we thought we should all haue beene drowned, but it was the will of God to saue our liues, with the generall losse of all we had, the Canoas turned vpside downe with the storme, wee holding fast on the bottom of them, were driuen on shoare with great hazard of our liues. From the place where we drove on shoare to the Riuer of *Waretesma* it was three miles, which we went by land, and sent the Canoas to the Riuer of *Ianuario* for victuals. We tarried two dayes at *Waretesma* till the aforesaid Canoas returned, the third day wee went to a place of *Great Iland*, called *Ippoa*, where there dwels two or three *Portugals*. Here we had great store of Potatoes & Plantons to eat. At this place we remayned fiue dayes for fiue hundred *Canibals*, that were to come from an Iland called *Ianamipa*. When these *Indians* were come we departed in our Canoas for our desired Port called *Parates*. As we went in the night: wee cut a great Bay of the Sea, where a Whale did ouerturne one of our Canoas, notwithstanding wee tooke the men that were in the Sea, and went on for the Harbour aforesaid. The next day the Captaine commanded all the Canoas to be pulled out of the water, and to couer them well with boughes, determining immediately to depart by land.

Danger of drowning.

Ilha Grande.

Whale ouerturneth a Canoa.

A *Caniball* captaine with eightie followers.

That night that we came to *Parates*, there came a *Caniball* to vs, called *Aleeio*, from a Towne called *Iequerequere*, this Town lyeth by the Sea-side right ouer against the Iland of *San Sebastian*. This *Indian* brought eightie Bow-men with him, offering himselfe with all his companie to goe with our Captaine. The next day we departed on our voyage, through the Mountaines, at night the Captaine seeing *Aleeio* the *Caniball* lying on the ground, tooke away the Net that I had to sleepe in, and gaue it to the *Caniball*, I being faine to lie vpon the earth. I complayned to some of the *Portugals* of the wrong that the Captaine did vse vnto mee: they answered, that his father sent me in that voyage onely to be made away; I replyed, Gods will be done. After wee had gone on our iourney three dayes, we came to the bottom of a great Mountaine, called by the *Indians*, *Paranapacanna*, that is in our language, *The fight of the Sea*; this Mountaine is so high, that wee were three dayes going vp, and three dayes also going downe. Two dayes after wee were descended we came into a faire champaine Countrie like meadow ground with long grasse, and great store of Pine trees, where we lodged that night in a bottom, in which we killed aboue sixe hundred Snakes; it was the will of God that one *Indian*, called *Ieronimo*, was bit by them, and

Three dayes ascending a Mountaine.

Snakes very venemous.

not

not any more. This *Indian* presently swelled, and his bloud sprung out of his eyes and his nailes, and so he died.

After that we came to trauell againe through the Mountaynes some forty dayes, then wee came to a great Riuer called *Paracuena*; which Riuer wee passed with things made of Canes tyed togethet with withes, which the *Portugals* call *Iangadas*. We were foure dayes before we passed ouer this Riuer it was so great, and ranne so swift. After that, wee trauelled againe some 20. dayes till we came to a great Mountayne called *Panaçoyuuo apacone*, we were foure dayes going vp this Mountayne by reason of the great showres of raine that we had, besides wee were very weake, and all our victuals were done. But hoping to find our enemies very soone, we did our best to hold out comming vp this hill, from sixe of the clocke in the morning, till it was two of the clocke in the afternoone on a rainie day, the Captaine commanded euery man to make his abode for that night; whereupon I set downe my burthen, and went into the Mountaynes to cut some boughes of a Tree called *Cammambaya*, to couer vs from the raine, the weather was so cold, and I hauing trauelled all day without meate was so feeble, that going to cut a bough, my sword fell out of my hand, and I sate vnder a Tree, where I had made mine end, if it had not bin for my deere friend *Henry Barrawell*; who seeing that I carried long came to seeke me, and found me in such case, that I was not able neither to speake nor stand. After he had brought me to the Campe, he layed me by the fire, I recouered and was very well.

R. *Paracuena* how passed.

Mountayne of foure dayes iourney.

His danger of death.

After we had passed this Mountayne of *Paracuena*, wee trauelled in a kind of low wash ground; there were great store of *Canibals* called *Paries*. Vpon a sudden there would come one 100 of them out of the Wood, and assoone as they had gotten any thing from vs, would be gone, wee knew not whether: and presently there would come as many more. There we kept very good order, and had alway very good watch, for feare they should worke vs any Treason; for all our men were very weake; within foure dayes iourney from the aforesaid Mountayne, we came to the Riuer of *Paraena*, where we had great store of fish, but nothing else to eate withall. At this Riuer, one day I going a fishing, being a very rainie day, three *Indians* that went with mee returned againe, and left me alone. As I would haue come backe, I lost my way that I had gone with the *Indians* through the Wilderneſſe, then I returned againe to the Riuer side, knowing thereby I could not misse my way, still going by the Riuer side homewards where the Captaine was, being somewhat late, suddenly I came to a place where there were at least a 100. men and women of those *Paries*. I thought I should haue died no other death, but these *Canibals* did mee no harme, but only tooke away my Knife and my fish-hooke, and gaue me of their meat they were eating, which was rosted Monkeyes. After I had eaten as much as I would, they made mee a thing of dry Canes that they had to swimme vpon the water, which in a meane space carried me where the Campe lay by the Riuer side. These *Canibals* told vs of a Towne within two dayes iourney, where we might get Peaſe and *Guinie* Wheate, and some Roots of *Cassane*.

R. *Paraena*.

He loseth his way.

In one day we passed *Paryena*, and the next day wee came to trauell towards the Towne that the *Paries* had told vs of. We were seuen dayes betweene the Riuer and the Towne, and when we came there, we found almost nothing but women, and asking for their Husbands, they told vs that they had gone to warre against the *Tamoyes*, and that they had killed them all at this Towne. We found a little *Guinie* Wheate, but it was not ripe, of the which we fed a weeke being there, these *Canibals* are called *Tapuyas*. Wee went forward to other Townes of a kinde of *Canibals*, called *Waanawasous*, that were hard by the *Tapuyas*. Comming to one of their Townes, there came twentie old men with woodden Swords in their hands, whooping and reioycing, which is (as I haue said) their manner of bidding welcome. After they had done, they asked what was our determination; wee told them that wee came to warre against the *Tamoyes*, then there came an old man vnto vs all painted with red and blue, with Bow and Arrowes in his hand, and a paire of slippers on his feete, and with one of his Daughters that had beene captiue to a *Portugall* of *Santawsetoco*, which had runne away from her Master, with other Captiues, and so came againe to her father. This old man, by name *Caryuaſou*, came before our Captaine, and at this Towne all our men both *Indians* and *Portugals* fell sicke by eating of a kinde of sweete pleasant fruit that was poyson, and had it not beene for a Gentleman called *Enefrio de say* my Masters Kinsman, who had a piece of Vnicornes horne, we had all died. At this Towne we had nothing to eate but a few *Potatoes*. As we came through this Towne, all the *Canibals Waanaſſees* ranne away from vs, with all our clothes. Now the old man with tenne lustie young men were with vs, and guided vs betweene two Mountayns continually vp a Riuer from morning till night, for the space of forty dayes, we were neuer out of the water from morning till night that we should make our abode, and entred in the morning againe.

Tapuyas. *Waanawasous*.

Poysonous fruit.

Fortie dayes iourney vp a Riuer.

Our men were very weake, and almost starued with hunger. The *Indians* died, amazed (as some of them said) with a Spirit which they call *Coropio*, which did kill them, many would complaine that they were possessed with Spirits called *Anasaly*. Those that were tormented with this Spirit, would command themselues to be bound hand & foot with their Bow strings,

Of Spirits that possessed the *Indians*, and killed them. Master *Knivet* told mee that he heard one *Indian* vpon occasion of such possession, conferring with the Spirit and threatning, if the Spirits vsed them so ill they would turne to the Christians: and thereupon the Spirit left the person so possessed.

and then desire their friends to beat them with the cords, that they hang their beds withall, but for all their Ceremony, I saw not one of them escape after they came to that estate. The most of our *Indians* died with a kinde of sicknesse, that is common in all hot Countreyes, that is, with a sweate and wearinesse of the body; with Wormes in their fundament, that consume their guts, and they so consume away, knowing not what hurteth them. Against this the *Indians* do take slices of Lemons, and greene Pepper, and put it in their fundament, likewise Salt-water is good; questionlesse all our *Englishmen* that died on the Coast of *Guinea* and *Brasil* perished of this Disease: it breedeth with head-ache and burning Feuers, then wee presently let bloud, and that killeth vs.

Strange disease.

After we had done travelling vp the aforesaid Riuer, wee came into a faire Champion Countrey, all full of Pine Trees, but the Apples were not ripe, and we could find nothing to eate, but here and there a little wilde Honey; wee travelled at least a moneth; the *Portugals* beganne to dispaire, and threw away their Peeces, being not able to carrie their clothes. In all this misery, the Captayne made me carry two Muskets (as I hope to be saued) and I was faine to waite vpon him euery day to helpe to make his lodging, and my friend *Henry Barawey*, was so ill, that I was many times faine to carry him on my backe, and continually to leade him by the hand. In this march wee were forced to eate all our Targets, which were made of raw Hides of Buffes; likewise we did eate a Cowes skinne, which the Frier carried with him (as he went with vs) to couer his things which hee said Masse withall from the raine, happie was hee who could get a Toad or Snake to eate. After wee had passed those Champion Countreyes, where wee lost 180. of our men, we came againe into the Mountaynes, and travelled a great Hill called *Etapwa*, that is to say, the *Mountaine of long stones*, for there we found blacke stones of a yard long, as round as if they were made of wood. When we came to the top of this Mountayne, wee were not able to goe downe, but as you shall heare. In those Mountaynes there are great store of withes that hang from the sides and the *Iaquetyua* Trees, wee tooke of those withes, and making them fast to a great Tree, wee were faine to slide by them at the least one hundred fathomes. In those Mountaynes, we had great store of Palmitos and wilde Honey, and many kinde of Fruites.

Hard seruitude.

Miserable famine.

180. men lost.

Mountaine of blacke round stones.

Steep descent.

The *Canibals* that guided vs told vs, within foure dayes wee should bee with our enemies the *Tamoyes*, but wee were aboue twentie dayes, wee came into a dry blacke Champion Countrey, not hauing in it almost any grasse, there we found good store of Honey that the Bees made in the ground, likewise we found a kind of great Beast as bigge as a Beare, and like a Beare in the bodie, but it hath a nose of a yard long, and a faire great tayle all blacke and gray, this beast putteth his tongue through Ant-hils, and when the Antes are all vpon his tongue, hee swalloweth them vp. After we had passed this place, we came to a Mountayne called *Etaambe*, that is to say, the *Mountayne of greene stones*; we were in as great misery as euer we were. Then the *Portugals* assembled together, and told the Captayne that they thought that the *Canibals* did leade them vp and downe of purpose to destroy them. The Captayne called the old *Canibal*, and told him how long we had followed him, and how he told vs before, that in twenty dayes we might easily goe from his Towne to the Towne of our enemies the *Tamoyes*. The old man answered, that within two dayes he would bring vs to the Towne of our enemies, if not he would lose his head, and that all his company should be our slaues.

Ground Hony. Ant beare.

M. of greene stones.

R. *Iawary* which floweth from *Potossi*.

Within two dayes according as the old man said, wee came before the Towne by a Riuer side, which Riuer is called *Iawary*, it taketh the head from the Mountayne *Potosin* in *Peru*, the Towne was on the farther side from vs, and on the side that we were on, they had good store of *Mandioqua* and Reasen. Wee came before the Towne in the Euening, and lay all night in ambush, thinking to take some of them the next morning comming for their meate. That night our men eate so much *Mandioca*, that when we thought we should haue had some skirmish, they lay all vomiting that they were not able to stand, and thirteene of them died. The next morning, when we saw no bodie stir, we maruelled, thinking that they were in ambush for vs, the *Portugale* durst not goe ouer the Riuer, for feare thereof. Then the Captayne commanded me to passe ouer the Riuer, the which I did vpon a woodden Target, when I came into the Towne, there was nothing but a few great pots that the *Canibals* had left full of greene Wheate, great store of Pumpions, and two great Estridges, I tooke most of the prouision that I found, and layed it altogether for the Captayne, then I called for the company that they might not feare, for there was no body. At this place wee remayned two moneths, here the Captayne reaped the grounds, that the *Indians* had planted with *Mandioque*, commanding euery man to make meale for his prouision homewardes, for hee said that from thence hee would returne. Wee had nothing to eate at this place but Potatoes and *Casani* Meale that wee made our selues, and of that very little.

Vomits and death.

The enemies town forsaken.

By this Towne there was a bogge, and when it rained, there would bee great store of Frogges, of them wee would take in the night with Torches of Waxe to light vs. It fell out one night that I should haue beene Sentinell at midnight, and about eleuen of the clocke it rained, then I sayd to my friend *Henry Barrawell*, I would to God that one night you would goe and take some

some Frogges, for you know presently I shall bee called to watch, with that hee went and presently returned againe without any thing, and told vs, that a great Snake was by the bogges, and that it leaped vp and downe after him. Then the *Indians* said, that it was a kinde of Snake that flyeth at the fire, I asked *Henry Barraway* where I might finde the Snake, hee told me at such a place, then I tooke the handle of an Axe being of a heauie blacke wood, and a little Waxe Candle in a guard, because the Snake should not spie mee, and made it very readie. When I came to the place that my friend had told mee, I lighted my Torch, and was so neere the Snake, that if I would, I could not shunne her, this Snake had a great Frogge in her mouth, and assoone as shee saw the fire, shee put the Frogge out of her mouth, and raysing vp her skinne like the scales of a great fish with her mouth open, shee offered to flye at mee, as soone as her mouth was open, I strooke at her, and hit her on the head and the teeth, that I crushed her braines. Assoone as I had strooke her, I threw my Torch one way, and ranne halfe a dozen steps another way, the Snake made a great noyse in the water, but I looked still towards my Torch, to proone if it were true that they would flye in the fire, but when I saw no such thing, I went and tooke my Torch againe, and very warily went to the place, where I had strooke the Snake, where I saw all her head bloudie, and her eyes broken, and so I killed her. When I had done, I tooke a withe and bound it to her forequarters, and dragged her home to the house where I lay, when I came home I asked if I had beene called to watch, the *Portugall* and *Henry Barraway* said that no man had asked for me, then I tooke a Knife, and beganne to cut a piece of the Snake for the Captayne, and would haue parted the rest among the rest. As I was parting, the Ensigne of our company came to the doore, I went and opened the doore, and assoone as hee came to mee, hee strooke mee with a cudgell. I not knowing why hee should vse mee so, came and closed with him, so both of vs went to the ground, with that the *Portugals* that were in the house came and parted vs, and asked him wherefore hee strooke mee, then the ensigne answered that the Captaine had risen and found no body in the watch, to that they all answered, that no man had called mee, then hee commanded mee to goe before the Captaine; hee without hearing me speake, commanded two *Indians* to binde mee to a poste, and commanded them to take the cords of their beds and whip me, I desired that the Captaine would heare the truth, and if hee found any fault in mee, I would according to Marshall Law bee hanged. Before the *Indians* had vntyed their beds, there came in an ancient old man, by name *Iohn de Soso*, Captaine of our Rere-guard, and with him some twentie *Portugals*, that lay in the same house where I lay. When they saw mee bound they told the Captaine that I was not in fault, for no man had called mee. Then the Captaine commanded mee to bee vntyed, and bade mee goe to my Watch, I went home and fetched my Sword, and presently came againe where I should haue watched, and when I came there, I found him that had gone his way before, and said to the Captaine before my face, that hee had called mee, and that I made him no answere, when I saw him there, I asked him if hee was not ashamed to auouch that which was a Lye: with that hee beganne to abuse mee in vile words, calling mee *English* Dogge and Heretique, when I saw my selfe disgraced by a paultry *Mestico*, I tooke my Sword with both my hands, and strooke him on the head with the Hilts, that I made a great wound.

Snake which leapes at the fire.

The Snake killed.

Worse Snakes aliue.

Then the Captaine commanded mee to bee set in the Stockes, and bound my hands, where I lay all that night, and the next day in the afternoone, there came two *Portugals* and read certaine Articles against mee, which the Captaine had caused to bee made, saying, that I had killed many sicke *Indians* when I had found them alone, and that I had deserued death by making a mutinie in the Court of Guard by striking, that was sufficient to make an vproare. After they had read all this, they bid mee prepare my selfe for death, and so went their wayes. Within halfe an houre after the Frier came to mee, and asked mee whether I would confesse or no, I told him that I had stolne nothing from no man, and as for my sinnes God knew the secrets of all hearts, wherefore I had nothing to confesse to him. With that after many Orations that hee made to mee, hee went his way. All the *Portugals* went to the Captaine entreating him to pardon me, but hee would not heare them, desiring God that he might neuer come into Christian Countrey if hee did not hang mee. I lay all day and night in the Stocks, till it was foure of the clocke the next morning. Then the Frier came to me againe, and told mee that my houre was very neere, and desired mee to prepare my selfe to dye like a *Christian*, I told him I hoped the Lord would haue mercie vpon me.

He is set in the Stockes.

Betwixt six and seuen of the clock, there came the ensigne, and a Scriuener, and two or three *Portugals* with them, and an *Indian* with a cord in his hand, and by the command of the *Portugals* put it about my necke, then I was carried to the place of execution: all the *Portugals* being about me, I said, Gentlemen, the Captaine putteth mee not to death for the offence that lately I haue done, but a grudge he holdeth against me falsely rumored by his Cosen, who is now present, because I would not saue him; and for that, and no other matter I am condemned at this present. As I was speaking, the *Indian* that should haue beene my executioner, came from the top of the house, where I should haue bin executed, and thrusting me on the side of the

He is brought to execution.

head

Honest *Portugals* intercedt.

head said, *What doest thou prate, knowest thou not that the Captaines Father sent thee hither, that thou mightest neuer returne?* with that the *Portugals* checkt the *Indian*, and *Iohn de Soso* standing with *Graned del Galbo*, and *Festino Abanos*, yea, a great many *Portugals* said, what authoritie hath the Captaine to hang this man, we come not in the Kings seruice, but for our owne profits, and he is but the Gouernours bastard Sonne; so they commanded the execution to be staied, then *Iohn de Soso* went to the Captaine, and told him, Sir, we know not where we are, and many of our men are dead, wherefore it is not conuenient at this time, that we should weaken our selues, for we know not if any of vs shall returne againe or not, wherefore wee desire you to pardon this *Englishman*, for he is as good a Souldier as any of vs, and the man that is hurt is not in danger. The Captaine swore a great oath, that I should dye; then *Iohn de Soso*, and the rest of the *Portugals*, bid him shew what authoritie he had to put me to death, and if he shew not authoritie from the King, I should not dye at that time, for they were to answere for me as well as he. The Captaine came out very angerly, and made great protestations against *Iohn de Soso*, that hee was an vpholder of mutinies. *Iohn de Soso* said, that he would answere to all that he alleadged, and so I was released from death.

After we had beene at this place, two moneths making our prouision, we went forward to another Towne, we found great store of *Guinie* Wheate newly planted; here we remained three moneths, till the Wheate was ripe, from thence all the Company returned home but my selfe, and twelue yong men; we asked leaue of the Captaine to goe to seeke our aduenture, the Captaine gaue vs leaue to doe what we would; for mine owne part, I asked leaue onely for feare to goe homewards, lest the Captaine should worke me some mischiefe; likewise wee did all thinke we should hardly get home, for we knew not where we were, and the way that we did come, we durst not returne againe, for feare of the *Paries*, and *Lepos Tominenos*, and other Canibals, lest they seeing vs weake, should betraie vs.

A new aduenture.

§. III.

His strange trauailes with twelue Portugals, *whom the Sauages did eate. His life with the* Canibals: *and after that with the* Portugals, *from whom hee fleeth to* Angola, *is brought backe, and after manifold chances, is shipped to* Lisbone.

And the twelue aforesaid, tooke our leaue of the Captaine, determining to goe to the South Sea, rather then returne againe without any thing. The names of the *Portugals* were these, *Francisco Tauares, Lewes de Pino, Gonsalo Fernandes, Tomas Delmare, Lewis Loello, Matheus del Galo, Iohn de Siluesa, Petro de Casta, Antonio fernandes Gorgedias, Maxwell Caldera*, and my selfe *Anthony Knuet*. After we had departed from our Captaine, we made a great Canoa of a barke of a tree, and went downe the Riuer called *Ianary* for the space of a weeke, that we came where we found a little Village of sixe houses, and it seemed it had beene a long time sithence any inhabitants were there; when we came to this Village we left our Canoa, and determined to goe by land. In this Towne we found great store of earthen Pots, and in some of them peeces of Gold tied at lines that the *Indians* fish withall, likewise we found Stones as greene as grasse, and great store of white glistering Stones like Christall, but many of them were blew and greene, red and white wonderfull faire to behold: when we saw the peeces of Gold and those Stones, we made accompt that we were very neere *Potasin*, then we tooke our way South-west, and went vp a great Mountaine of Wildernesse. After that, we came to a place of dry Browne earth, full of hils, rocks, and many small Riuers at the head; by many of these Riuers we found little peeces of Gold, as bigge as an Hasell nut, and great store in dust like sand. After which, we came into a faire Countrie, and we saw a great glistering Mountaine before vs, ten daies before we could come to it, for when we came into the plaine Countrie, and were out of the Mountaines, and the Sunne began to come to his height, wee were not able to trauile against it, by the reason of the glistering, that dazeled our eyes. At the last, by little and little we came to the foote of this Mountaine, where we found great store of *Tamandros*.

Fishing with golden hooks.

Faire Stones.

Golden Riuers

Glistering Mountaine.

Tamandros are the Ant-beares.

We went along by this Mountaine at the least twenty daies, before we could finde any way to passe ouer it; at last we came to a Riuer that passed vnder it, here we determined to make some shift to get through, some of our company said that they thought it best to goe still along by the foote of the Mountaine, rather then to venture to goe through; for they said, if this water goe not through, we are all cast away, for it is impossible to returne againe against this current. Then I answered, friends, we may as well aduenture our liues now as we haue done heretofore in many places, if not, we must make accompt to liue here like wilde Beasts, where we shall haue life as long as pleaseth God, without credit, name, or Religion: wherefore I thinke that our best way is to goe through if we can, for no doubt but God that hath hitherto deliuered

Hideous aduenture.

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red vs from dangers infinite, at this time will not forsake vs, and questionlesse if it be our fortunes to passe on the other side, we shall finde either *Spaniards* or *Indians*, for I am sure, that each of you haue heard, that on a faire day it is to be discerned from the top of *Potasin* to this Mountaine. After I had thus spoken, the *Portugals* determined to venture to goe through; we made a great thing of great Canes, three yards and a halfe broad, and six yards long, that we might lye downe and sleepe vpon it: we killed good store of *Tamandroes*, and rosted them very dry for our prouision, for we knew not how long we should be in the vaute.

After we had made all ready, taking good store of wood with vs, commending our selues to God, we put our selues into the vaut, which made such a noise with the running of the water, that we thought it had beene some inchantment. We went in on munday morning, and we came out on a morning (whether we were two dayes or one in the vault I know not.) As soone as we perceiued light we were very glad, but when we came out, we saw on euery side houses, then we tooke counsell what was the best for vs to doe, to hide our selues, and see if we could passe the Townes in the night, or to goe and submit our selues to the *Indians*: we all agreed, that the best was to goe to them; then I said, well friends, sithence we haue agreed, let vs fully determine here what we shall doe and say, for questionlesse, they will examine vs what we are, and from whence we came; then the *Portugals* said, we will tell them that we are *Portugals*; then I answered, I will tell them that I am a *French* man. We went towards their houses, who as soone as they had perceiued vs came out hooping and hollowing with their Bowes and Arrows; and when they came vnto vs they bound our hands, and tied cords about our middles, and so led vs to their houses: presently there came two or three old men, and asked what we were, then the *Portugals* answered, that they were *Portugals*, and I, that I was a *French* man. *Charons Ferry.*

Within two houres after they had examined vs, they tooke one of the *Portugals*, and tied a new roape about his middle, and carried him into a yard, with three *Indians* holding a cord on the one side, and three on the other side, and the *Portugall* in the middest, there came an old man, and bid him *looke on all things, that he liked*, and told him that *he should bid them farewell, for hee should see them no more*: then there came a lustie yong man, with his armes and face died red, and said vnto him, doest thou see me, *I am he that hath killed many of thy Nation, and will kill thee*. After he had spake all this, he came behinde the *Portugall*, and strooke him on the nape of the necke, that he felled him to the ground, and after hee was downe gaue him another that hee killed him; then they tooke the tooth of a Conie and opened all the vpper skinne, so they tooke him by the head and the feete, and held him in the flame of the fire: after that, rubbing him with their hands, all the vpper skin came of, and the flesh remained white, then they cut off his head, and gaue it to him: they tooke the guts, and gaue them to the women, after which they iointed him ioint by ioint, first hands, then elbowes, and so all the body. After which, they sent to euery house a peece, then they fell a dancing, and all the women made great store of Wine: the next day they boiled euery ioint in a great pot of water, because their wiues and children might eate of the broth; for the space of three dayes they did nothing but dance and drinke day and night: after that they killed another in the same manner as you haue heard, and so serued all but my selfe. The *Indians* kils the *Portugals*, and after eate them. Diuelliſh Butchers.

When I saw all the *Portugals* dead, I looked for the same, but after the *Indians* had done with the Feasts, they came vnto me and said, *Feare not, for your ancestors, haue beene our friends, and we theirs, but the* Portugals *are our enemies, and make vs slaues, wherefore we haue done with them as you haue seene*. After I had heard what they said, I told them I had no reason to feare, for I knew they were my friends, and not mine enemies, and that I had bin a long time prisoner to the *Portugals*. Hatred of the *Tamoyes* to the *Portugals*.

When I had bin two moneths with these *Indians* called the *Tamoyes*, they went to warre against *Tomominos*, and comming to fight, we had almost lost the field, for the *Tamominos* were a great many more, so that we were faine to take the Mountaine: when I saw the rusticall manner of their fight, that without any order they would set vpon their enemies like Buls, I taught them how to set themselues in Battaile, and to lye in ambush, and how to retire and draw their enemies into a snare: by this meanes, we had alwayes the vpper hand of our enemies, and I was held in great accompt amongst them, for they would neuer goe to the field, except I went with them: in a short time we gaue so many battailes to the *Tomominos*, that we made them leaue their Countrey, and flye further from vs: so wee liued in peace. The *Tamoyes* offered mee many wiues, but I refused, saying it was not our custome to take wiues out of our Countrey. After wee had conquered the *Tomominos*, wee liued in peace for the space of foure moneths, and then there came another kinde of *Canibals*, called *Topinaques*. These made their Towne very neere vs, at a Mountaine called by the *Indians Tamimus* (that is) the *Mountaine of Gold*. *Tamominos.* He teacheth them to fight. *Topinaques.* Mountaine of Gold.

When we heard of them, we prepared to make warre against them, wee went fiue thousand strong, in fiue dayes iourney we came before the Towne; but we being espied, they left their Towne and fled, we followed them tenne daies, taking many old men and women, which as we tooke them we killed: we followed them till we came to a great Riuer side, where we durst not

not passe for feare lest the enemy should ouercome vs at the landing, so we returned home againe, from the Riuer called *Morgege*, where we remayned still in peace, for the space of eight moneths till we remoued our selues.

His rich apparell.

At this place I went all naked with out any thing, onely a few leaues I tied before mee for shame. One day going all alone a fishing for pleasures sake, I sat downe remembring my selfe in what state I was, and thinking what I had beene, I began to curse the time that euer I heard the name of the Sea, and grieued to thinke how fond I was to forsake my naturall Countrey where I wanted nothing: then was I out of all hope either to see Countrey or Christian againe; sitting by the Riuer in these passionate thoughts, there came on old *Indian* one of the chiefest of them, and beganne to talke with me saying. It was a good time with them when they dwelt at Cape *Frio*, for then they had trade with the *Frenchmen*, and wanted nothing, but now they had neyther Kniues nor Hatchets, nor nothing else, but liued in great necessitie, with that I answered I did heartily wish, that he and his company would goe and dwell by the Sea-coast, without danger of *Portugals*, whereupon hee and I went home together, and the *Indian* reported in the Towne what I had said vnto him: the next morning there came (at the least) twenty of the chiefest of them into the house where I lay, and asked me if I knew my Place certaine, where they might finde any *French* Ships: I told them that I was sure betwixt the Riuer of Plate, and a Riuer called by the *Portugals Dos Patos*, we should finde *French* men, and if we did not, that here the *Portugals* could not hurt vs. Moreouer, it were better to dwell by the Sea side, where we should haue plenty of al things, then where we did, where we had nothing to liue vpon but roots. These old men went and told the people, which all desired to see the coast, so they resolued, and making prouision, we departed from our abode, being thirty thousand of vs.

He perswades them to seeke new habitations.

New discouries of this wandering Nation.

After we had passed many a Hill, all Wilderneese and Riuers, where wee found many precious stones, we came to a faire sandie Countrie, through which we trauelled some twentie dayes, and we went Northward for feare of comming into the Countrie where there are great store of *Spaniards*, and this Countrie is it selfe very populous, and are friends with the *Spaniards*. Therefore we changed our course and trauelled all Northward, till we came into the Countrie of the *Amasons*, which the *Indians* call *Mandiocusyanas*, then we tooke our course Southward againe. I would haue perswaded the *Tamoyes* to haue warred against the *Amasons*, but they durst not, for they said, we know that their Countrie is very populous, and we shall be all killed. After wee came to the head of the Riuer, called *Patos*, there we found Canoas of barkes of trees that came downe the Riuer some eight dayes, then wee found the Riuer very broad, and many trees cut by the Riuers side, whereby we suspected that we were neere the Sea side, or some Town of the *Waanasses*, for the *Waanasses* neuer inhabit far from the coast. When the *Indians* saw these tokens of abidance; they asked me what I thought was best to doe: I answerd, I thought it best to hide our selues, and to send some nine or ten yong men to see if they could spie any Towne, so we to circle them in their houses in the night: to that they all agreed, and ten of them were sent, they returned again at night without sight of any Towne, but they said there went a great path by the Riuer side, and brought peeces of Cords that they found in the way with them. Hence we iudged that we should finde some Towne by the Riuer side, and determined to goe downe the Riuer in the night with our Canoas, to see if we could finde the Towne.

Amazons, not a one-breasted Nation, but warlike women.

Battell of Sauages.

About foure of the clocke we came to a faire Bay, and saw the Sea; and doubling a point of the shoare we espied a Towne, then as fast as we could we landed our men, and the day began to be cleare, and one of the Town comming out to the Sea side, espied vs, whereupon all the Town rose vp in armes, and we had a great skirmish. We were many more in number, and had farre better order, so we put them to flight killing a great many of them: wee tooke three hundred prisoners men and women, which the *Tamoyes* killed and did eate afterwards. These *Indians* are called *Cariyos*. After we had put them to flight they went to Saint *Vincents* by land, and craued succour of the *Portugals*. At this Towne of the *Cariyos* we found great store of prouision, Cassaui, *Gimio* Wheate, Potatoes, Plantons, Pumpions, and all other such like that the Countrie yeeldeth, and in great plenty: there likewise we found great store of Ryals of eight, for there had beene a Caruell cast away in that place not long before, and the *Spaniards* were gone before by land to *Bonas Ayres* in the Riuer of Plate: with these *Indians* the *Portugals* had peace, but now they are in warre with them againe.

Cariyos.

They are assailed by the *Portugals*.

Some of the *Cariyos* went to the Riuer of Plate to craue succour, others, as I said before, came to the Town of Saint *Vincents*: from Saint *Vincents*, newes was sent to the Riuer of *Ianero*, from thence the *Portugals* made a Nauie of Canoas and Caruels, of the which the Gouernours sonne *Marten de Sasa* (which was come home from the Riuer of *Ianary*, where I departed from him) was come againe as Captaine of all the *Portugals*, and comming vpon vs in the night, they seized our Towne: about three of the clocke, an *Indian* that came with the *Portugals* beganne to speake very loud to the men of the Towne, that they should not stirre, for if they stirred they should be all put to the sword. When the *Tamoyes* heard the *Indian* speake, they began to russell with their Bowes and Arrowes, making a great noise, with that the *Portugals* shot of a Peece, then they all lay downe in their beds, like men without liues or soules; when the day was cleare,

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cleare, and my Masters Sonne saw me alive, he blest himselfe, and asked me what was become of my companions, I told him that the *Indians* had killed them, and eateh them. After that, about ten of the clocke, all the *Indians* were brought out of their houses, and being examined, some of them said that I bid them kill them, & if many of them had not been, I had died for it, but it was Gods will to discouer the truth by their own mouthes: then the *Portugals* killed all the old men and women, and all these that had beene particuler actors of the *Portugals* deaths, which were in all 10000. and 20000. were parted amongst them for their slaues.

He returneth to his Master.

The *Portugals* kill 10000. and captiue 20000. *Indians.*

I came againe to my old Master, and was sent with the *Tamoyes* to a Sugar Mill that my Master had newly made. There I went still to the woods with the slaues to draw out great peeces of Timber for the space of three moneths: then was newes brought from *Cape could*, that the *Canibals*, called *Vaytacasses*, were come to make their abidance a little Southward of the Cape, in certaine places, where before the *Tamoyes* had inhabited. The *Saluador Corea de Sasa* sent his Sonne *Gonsalo Corea de Sasa*, with whom I went against my will. We trauelled eight dayes by the Sea side, where we had alwayes great store of Fish. After that we came to a place, called *Etaoca*, that is to say, the *Stone house*, as strong a thing as euer I saw, for it was a great huge rocke, and it hath an entrance like a great doore, within it, as any Hall in *England*: the *Indians* say that there Saint *Thomas* did Preach to their forefathers there: hard by standeth a Stone as bigge as foure great Canons, and it standeth vpon the ground vpon foure stones little bigger then a mans finger, like stickes; the *Indians* say that was a miracle which the Saint shewed them, and that that Stone had beene Wood: likewise by the Sea side there are great Rockes, vpon them I saw great store of prints of the footing of bare feete; all which prints were of one bignesse. They say that the Saint called the Fishes of the Sea, and they heard him.

Vaytacasses.

Tale of Saint *Thomas*, sauouring like Saint *Francises* Legend.

From thence we went through the Wildernesse, foure dayes till we came to a great Mountaine, called *Abousanga retam*; by the Sea side of that Mountaine, we found a small Towne of *Tamoyes*, that had escaped in the time of the first conquest, that *Saluador Corea de Sasa* made against that kinde of people, and neuer were heard of till now that wee found them by chance. The Captaine of them was (as they shewed by signes) one hundred and twenty yeares old, and yet was very lustie: he had in his lippe a great hole, and on either side of his cheekes a great hole, and in either of them a faire greene Stone. After we had taken this small Towne, wherein there were fiue hundred soules, we asked if they knew where the *Waytacasses* were, they told vs all that they knew very well, so in three dayes they guided vs into a low leggie Countrie, where the *Waytacasses* were: when we came to their habitation, this *Abousanga* came among the thickest of the *Portugals*, and said these words; He that neuer saw *Abousanga* let him looke on me now, and they that dare follow me shall see my valour: and so with his Bowe and his Arrowes, he ran amongst the thickest of the enemy, where he was shot with one and twenty Arrowes. In that enterprise we all saw him kill three of the *Waytacasses*. When we came to the fight, all the *Waytacasses* ranne away, & we tooke but one of them: for all that *Abousanga* was so hurt, he liued foure houres: the *Portugals* asked him why he had beene so desperate? he told them that he had liued all his life a free man, and that he had beene a great warrier, and would rather dye then be their Captiue. Then he asked Baptisme, and desired them that they would tell him somewhat of God, for he said whatsoeuer they told him he would beleeue; the *Portugall* Frier told him that God was the sauer of soules and the giuer of life, and that if he truely repented and would be Baptised he should be saued; he answered, that all that was told him he truely beleeued, and desired that with speede he might be Baptised, and so died, calling to God for mercy till his last houre: from this place we returned home.

Old Captaines

High spirit of a Sauage.

After we came home again, his son *Gonsalo Corea de Sasa*, reported so well of me, that his father commanded me to waite on him whither soeuer he went: newes came at that time from *Portugall* of a Nauie of Shippes out of *England*, that were come to *Brasil*; whereupon the Gouernour commanded a Fort to be made of his owne cost vpon a rocke that standeth on the mouth of the hauen, so neere the Riuer side, that three moneths after it was done, the Sea carried it away, with all the Ordnance in it. I haue told you before that three moneths after I was taken, the *Desire* came from the Straits to a great Iland, where sixteene of her men were slaine, and one taken, by name *Andrew Towre*: this man was a Phisitian, and did many cures, the *Portugals* tooke him for a Sorcerer, for he would prognosticate many things; he had but one eye, and the *Portugals* said, that in his eye which was out, he had a familier: this man tooke vpon him to make a deuise to take the peeces of Ordnance out of the Sea, which was this; he caused to be made a suite of Leather all greased and pitched, that no water could enter into it, then he caused a great head to be made all pitched, with a great nose, & at the nose were three bladders, and at the mouth two; he intised me to vndertake to goe down into the Sea in that, saying it was very easie to be done. I told him, that if I might be well recompensed, I would venture my life to doe it; then he made it known me to the Gouernor, that if I were well paid, I would venture my life, then the Gouernour called me and said, I will giue you ten thousand Crownes, and a Pasport to goe for your Country, or whether you will, if you put a Ring into the eare of one of the Peeces. I told him, I would doe my best by Gods helpe.

What became of the 13. men (so many M. *Lane* reckoneth) lost out of Cap. *Danis* his Ship.

Andrew Towres deuise.

After

His mad aduenture.

After the deuiſe of Leather was made, moſt of the *Portugals* went to the place, where the pieces were loſt with great ſolemnitie, praying to God to ſend me good lucke. Putting on the ſute of Lether, I was caſt into the Sea in eighteene fathome deepe, with a mightie great ſtone tyed about me. The head was ſo bigge, all pitched and tarred, that the weight of the ſtone (for it was great only) carried me downe, and it was a great paine vnto me, for the weight of the ſtone carried me downeward, and the water by reaſon of the head bare mee vpward, that I thought the cord I was tied withall, would haue cut me in pieces. When I felt my ſelfe ſo tormented, I tooke a Knife that was tyed in my hand, and cut the cord, and aſſoone as I came aboue water, I tore the bladders from my face, and cut my ſute before, for I was almoſt ſtifled, and for the ſpace of a moneth, I knew not what I did.

Maſſangano a Portugall Fort in *Africa*. See *And. Battell.*

His eſcape to *Angola*.

Continually I deſired my Maſter, to giue me leaue to get my liuing, intending to come into my Countrey, but the Gouernour, would not let me goe from him. When I ſaw no meanes to get leaue of my Maſter, I determined to runne away to *Angola*; for to ſerue the King as a Souldier in *Maſſangano*, till ſuch time that I might paſſe my ſelfe to the King of *Anyeca*, which warreth againſt the *Portugals*, and ſo haue come through *Preſter Iohns* Countrey into *Turkie*. On the ſeuen and twentieth day of Iune 1597. I embarked my ſelfe vnknowne to my Maſter in a ſmall ſhip of one *Emanuell Andrea*, for to come for *Angola*. In this Voyage wee were driuen ſo neere the Cape of *Good Hope*, that we thought all of vs ſhould haue beene caſt away, the Seas are there ſo great; and by reaſon of the current they brake in ſuch ſort, that no ſhippe is able to endure. There we brake both our mayne maſt and our Meſen. It pleaſed God to ſend vs the wind Eaſtward, which brought vs to our deſired Harbour *Angola*. Wee had beene fiue monethes in our Voyage, and by that meanes other ſhippes that departed two monethes after vs were there before vs, when I heard that there were ſhips of the Riuer of *Ienero*, I durſt not goe aſhoare for feare of being knowne of ſome of the *Portugals*, the next day after that wee came into the Harbour; there came a great Boate aboord vs, to aske if wee would ſell any *Caſſaui* meale, wee told them we would, and asked them whether they went with their Boate, they anſwered, that they tarried for the tyde to goe vp to the Riuer of *Guanſa Tomaſangano*, then I thought it a fit time for my purpoſe, and ſo embarked my ſelfe in the Barke, the *Portugals* maruelled to ſee mee goe willingly to *Maſangano*; for there men dye like Chickens, and no man will goe thither if he can chooſe.

Nine dayes we were going vp the Riuer of *Guanſa*, in which time two *Portugall* Souldiers dyed, the Countrey is ſo hot that it pierceth their hearts, three dayes after I had beene in *Maſangano*, *Don Franciſco de Mendoſa Fortado*, the Gouernour of the Citie of *Congo*, hauing receiued a Letter from *Saluador Corea de Saſa*, who was his great friend, ſent a Purſuiuant for me, who brought me by Land through the King of *Congos* Countrey, and in ſixe dayes we came to a Towne called Saint *Francis*, (where the Gouernour was) hard by the Kingdome of *Manicongo*, when I came before the Gouernour hee vſed mee very kindly in wordes, and asked mee, what I meant to caſt my ſelfe away wilfully in *Maſangano*, then I told him, how long I had ſerued *Saluador Corea de Saſa*; and in how many dangers I had beene for him and his Sonne, without euer hauing any recompence of any of them, and therefore I thought it better to venture my life in the Kings ſeruice, then to liue his Bond-ſlaue. The Gouernour commanded me to be carried to *Angola*, and charged a paire of bolts to bee put vpon my legges, becauſe I ſhould not runne away. About a fortnight after I was ſent backe againe in a Caruell of *Francis Lewes*, and in two moneths we arriued in the Riuer of *Ienero*, and I was carried with my bolts on my legges before the Gouernour; when he ſaw me, hee beganne to laugh and to ieaſt with mee, ſaying, that I was welcome out of *England*. So after many ieaſts hee ſpake, hee bade pull off my bolts from my legges, and gaue mee cloth, and vſed mee verie well.

He is taken & ſent backe to *Braſill*.

Nil habet infœlix paupertas durius in ſe. Quàm quòd ridiculos homines facit.

Captain *Cocke*.

After I had beene with the Gouernour againe ſome two monethes, then came a ſmall man of Warre to *great Iland*, the Captaines name was *Abram Cocke*, he lay in waite for the ſhips of the Riuer of *Plate*, and had taken them if it had not beene for fiue of his men, that ranne away with his Boate, that diſcouered his beeing there, for within a ſeuennight after hee was gone, three Caruels came into the ſame Road where he was. Theſe fiue men were taken by a Frier that came from *San Vincents*, and were brought to the Riuer of *Ienero*, I being at this time in ſome account with the Gouernour, fauoured them aſwell as I could, eſpecially one of them, by name *Richard Heixt*, becauſe that they all ſaid, that hee was a Gentleman, after that wee had beene in the Towne together about ſome three moneths, one of them called *Thomas Cooper*, being married, had his houſe by the Sea ſide, where he vſed his Trade, we were then nine *Engliſhmen*, and three *Dutchmen*, and wee determined when the ſhipping came from the Riuer of *Plate*, that wee would take one of them comming into the Harbour, this *Heixt* alwayes went with me to a *Portugals* houſe where I was very well beloued. One night hee comes into the houſe, and ſteales away a boxe; that had ſixtie Rialls of eight in it, and two or three pieces of Holland, I deſired him to reſtore the ſame, but this *Heixt* being a ſwaggering companion vſed me moſt vilely in words, and went and told the Gouernour, what wee all had determined, and ſaid that wee were Here-

Heixts perfidiouſneſſe to his Countrimen.

tickes,

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tickes, and that he himselfe was a Catholicke, that day at night I should haue stolne the Key of the Kings Store-house to haue taken Muskets and Powder, and haue carried it to *Thomas Coopers* house, but it was Gods will that he had accused vs before I had done it, or else we had beene all hanged for it. We being all before the Gouernour, and denying that we had euer meant any such matter, *Heixt* said, Sir, send to *Thomas Coopers* house, and you shall find 20. Muskets and powder, that *Anthony* hath stolne out of the Kings Store-house for that purpose, if your Worship find it not so, say that I am a lier, and a false dealer. Then the Gouernour sent vs all to Prison, & himselfe and *Heixt*, went to *T. Coopers* house, where they found no such matter. He went to the Kings Store-house and saw that nothing was stirred: whereupon hee was somewhat angry with *Heixt*, because he had taken him with an vntruth, and said, that he neuer saw men of so peruerse and vile condition as we were to seeke the destruction of each other. Vpon occasion of this *Heixt* his ill demeanure not long after, the Gouernour sent him to *Angola*, and from thence *Don Francisco* sent him to *Masangano*, where he dyed in a miserable estate. Presently after that *Andrew Towres*, was accused for eating flesh on the Friday, and for that was put in prison, and paid 100. Rials of eight, and was set at libertie, within a moneth after he had bin out of prison, he ran away to *Fernambacke*, the Gouernour being informed of it sent two small Caruels after him to bring him back againe: in one of the small Caruels went his sonne *Gonsalo Corea de Sasa*, and the High Priests Nephew, and a great many more young Gentlemen. After they were out on the Mayne, and almost aboord of the ship that *Andrew Towers* was in, on a sudden, there came a great storme, that the small Caruell that the Gouernours sonne was in, could not endure the Sea, but was fain to run on shore on the Coast, where three of their company were cast away, one of them beeing the High Priests Nephew, and I thinke that they had bin all drowned, if it had not bin for *Martin de Sasa*, that was at that place with 100. slaues making Brasil ready for a ship of his Fathers, the other Caruell followed him to *Fernambuque*, and brought him backe againe to the Riuer of *Ienero*, where hee was put in prison and should haue bin hanged, but that all the Towne begged him, he was sent to *Masangoma* where he dyed.

Heixts miserable death.

Anno Dom. 1598. there came two *Dutch* ships being Captaine of them, *Iasper Fernandes* a *Dutchman*, and leaue of the Gouernour after he had shewed his Licence out of *Portugall*, set all his goods on shore, and had bought and sold for the space of three monethes in the Towne, and made great store of money. At the time of his going away, the Kings Officers said that his Licence was not good, and would haue stopped his ships, then the Gouernour said, why looked you not to that before, seeing I gaue them leaue to come in vpon your words, saying, that his dispatch was good, answere it how you can, for seeing he came in with leaue and vpon my word he shall goe out without any hearing, and so he departed for *Angola*.

Two *Dutch* ships.

After that, the Gouernor General of all the Coast of *Brasil*, *Don Francisco de Sasa*, came to the Riuer of *Ienero*, with two Hulkes, and being enformed that *Iasper Fernandes* was at *Angola*, hee sent a Caruell thither, that his ships should be kept for the King, hee hearing of it went aboord his ships, and went away in spight of the *Portugals*; the same yeere there came *Francisco de mondousa de vasconsales* for Gouernour to my Masters place, that day the Hulke which the new Gouernour was in, came to the mouth of the Hauen, the Gouernour *Saluador Corea de Sasa*; was at a Sugar-mil that he had newly finished. The aforesaid, when she came to the mouth of the Hauen beganne to shoot off her Ordnance, the Gouernour not knowing what it should bee, presently caused a great Canoa to bee made readie, for immediately, hee would goe to the Towne to see what was the matter, within halfe an houre after we had bin out at Sea, to come to the Towne, a great tempest rose and ouerturned the Canoa, there my Master had bin cast away, if God first, and I had not laid hands on him, for all his slaues swamme away to the shore, and *Henry Barraway* with them, only I, and *Domingos Gomes* a *Molato* slaue that my Master carried with him in the Sea, and betweene vs, we got him to the Canoa, where he held fast, till wee drew neere the shore, where the Sea brake like Mountaynes, there we had like to haue bin all cast away, for the Sea would cast vs against the Hils of sand, and carrie vs backe againe to the Sea; after I had got my selfe ashore, I looked towards the Sea, and saw my Master come in a great waue, and as the waue brake, I and my deere friend *Domingos Gomes* tooke hold of him and dragged him out of the Sea; but we both thought that he would haue dyed, for hee could not speake, then wee tooke him betweene vs by the legges vpon our shoulders, and made him vomit a great deale of water, and so recouered him, when I saw him well, I told him that the Sea knew no Gouernours better then other men, the next day the Gouernour went home by land, and found the other Gouernour in the Towne, for whose comming I did not a little reioyce, for then I thought the time was come that I long had desired, hoping shortly to come into my Countrey.

He saueth his Master.

In the same yeere there came foure *Hollanders*, and anchored before the Citie in the mouth of the Hauen, then all the Towne rose vp in Armes, my Master was at his Sugar-mill, and I remayned in the Towne to wayte on my Mistris. When shee saw the *Portugals* runne vp and downe with their Armes, she commanded me to take a Musket, and bade mee goe to one of the Forts, the which I did according to her command: the new Gouernour came to the Fort where I was, and viewed the men that were in the Fort, and commanded one of his men to giue vs

Foure *Holland* ships.

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Powder and shot. After I had spoken with the new Gouernour (who liked mee very well, because he said I was ready with my Peece, and prayed the *English* Nation to be very good Souldiers.) One *Iohn de Selnera* told him, that he were best take heed of me, that I ranne not away to the *Hollanders*, for I had done greater matters then that, and that he knew I made no account to swim aboord of them in the night vpon any piece of wood, and rehearsed many things that I had aduentured in the time that my Master was Gouernour. The new Gouernour came and tooke me by the hand, and carried mee to Prison, where I lay 27. dayes, till the Hulkes were departed from the mouth of the Hauen, and went to *Great Iland*, then I was set at libertie. After that the Gouernour Generall had beene at *San Vincents* some two moneths, there came a great Hulke of *Amsterdam*, called the *Golden World*, and a Captaine that was called *Lawrence Bitter*, the Hulke had beene at Saint *Thomas Iland*, and an Iland called the *Prince*, and from thence to the Straits of *Magellan*, where many of her men dyed, and by contrary wind they were compelled to returne to the Coast of *Brasil*, this Hulke comming to *San Vincent*, sent her Boate to tell the Gouernour that they were Merchants, and that if they would giue them leaue, they would traffique with them, the Gouernour Generall made them a Certificate vnder his hand and Seale, that they should haue no wrong, but pay the Kings Custome and goe their wayes when they would, and whether they would: with that the Captaine of the Hulke put into the Harbour; & commanded his goods to be set on shore. Euery day he was visited by the Gouernour Generall aboord his ship, and promised him great courtesie. After that the Captayne had landed all his goods, and most of all the *Hollanders* were ashore, a great many *Portugals* went aboord the Hulke with Gitternes singing and playing. When the *Flemmings* saw them come in that sort they mistrusted nothing, the *Portugals* danced in the ship and dranke with the *Flemmings*, and vpon a sudden when the *Flemmings* thought least of them, they drew their Swords and killed two of them, and possest themselues of the Hulke for the King.

Perfidiousnes of *Portugals*.

Flemming taken trecherously.

In the beginning of the yeere of the Lord 1599. there came nine Hulkes before the Citie of *Bacia*, but they could do no good. After the Gouernour Generall had been some foure moneths at *San Vincents*, my Master had some businesse thither, and I went with him, when we came to *San Vincents* the Gouernour Generall was departed fiftie leagues within the land, at a place where he was informed of some Mynes of Gold, but when he came thither, he found that they were not worth the working, then he determined to send farther into the Land to a place called *Etapuſick*, I being there, and knowing the place was commanded by the Gouernour Generall to goe thither, when we came to the aforesaid place, we found very singular good Mynes, and wee broughe of the soyle to the Gouernour Generall, and many small peeces of Gold that we found in many places where the water washed away the Earth, the Gouernour Generall tooke it, paying vs for it more then it was worth, and sent it to the King with a Sey, for to consider whether it should be wrought or not, the Gouernor Generall sent likewise 40000. pounds worth of Plate, that he had wrought out of the Myne of Saint *Paul*, which is twelue leagues from *San Vincents*, In the time that I went to *Etapuſicke*, my Master was gone home, then I serued as a Souldier for the space of three moneths, that shipping went to the Riuer of *Ienero*; then the Gouernour Generall requited my paines very honourably, and sent me backe againe to my Master. After that my Master sent to a place called the *Organs*, which Hill is to bee seene from the Riuer of *Ienero*, where we found a little Myne of Gold, and many good stones. There came a Hulke out of *Spaine* that brought a Bishop, and a *Spanish* Gouernor to goe from thence in small shipping to the Riuer of *Plate*, and from thence to *Summa*. A little after that, this Hulke arriued at the Riuer of *Ienero*, where fell a disease in the Countrey like the meazels, but as bad as the plague, for in three moneths their dyed in the Riuer of *Ienero*, aboue three thousand *Indians* and *Portugals*: this disease was generally in all parts of the Countrey. At this time going vp and downe from the Sugar-mill to the ship, in the night with a Barke lading of *Brasil* for the Hulke, with the Ayre one of my legges swelled, that I could not stirre: it is common and very dangerous in those Countries when a man is hot, to come in the Ayre, especially in the night, for being a hot Countrey, it hath a piercing ayre, and suddenly striketh in any part of the bodie. I was very ill for the space of a moneth.

Mynes of gold.

Siluer Myne.

The *Organs*.

Mortalitie. Diuers frayes, dangers of the Author, which here followed, as in other places of the Historie, for breuities sake are omitted.

Legge swolne with the aire.

The fourteenth of August 1601. *Saluador Correa de Saſa*; Gouernour of the Riuer of *Ianuary*, embarked himselfe in the aforesaid Hulke with his Wife *Donenes de Soſo*, determining to make his Voyage to *Fernambuque*, we sayled East to Seaward. The fifteenth day wee kept still Eastward to the Sea. The sixteenth day we kept North-east, and about tenne of the clocke we had sight of the Cape

The seuenteenth, eighteenth and nineteenth, hauing the wind North-west, we kept stil Eastward for feare of the sands and cliffes called *Aberollas*, they lye betweene the Cape and *Spirito Santo*. The twentieth day hauing the winde South, wee sayled our course North-east. This course we kept till the fiue and twentieth of the moneth, then the winde turned Northward, we made East to Sea; this course we were faine to keepe till the last day of the moneth, the first of February, the winde being at South-west wee sayled North-east along the Coast, till the seuenth day of the moneth. The eight day the Master and the Pilot tooke the height of the Sun, and

and were ten degrees and an halfe Southward of the Line. As the Master and the Pilot were talking together concerning the Voyage, there came a Sea-foule, and sitting vpon the backe stay, cast out two or three little fishes, with that a *Spaniard* called *Iasper Conquero*, who had some experience of the Coast, said to the Master take heed, for I am afraid you are neerer the shoare, then you take your selfe to bee, for you know not how the current drieth you Westward vpon the Coast, the *Flemmings* bade him meddle with his owne businesse, and that they knew what to do without his counsell, the Pilot made himselfe forty leagues from the shore, & directed his course North. The ninth day at midnight wee descried Land, the Pilot presently cast his Lead, and found but eight fathomes water, then he commanded the Saylers to cast about, the which they did, the wind being at North-east, and wee being neere the shore, could not beare vp to Sea; for wee saw Clifts both on the starboord and larboord side of vs, and before wee could get out our Anchor, we were driuen so neere the Clifts on the lee side of vs, that wee had no other remedie, but to runne vpon the Rockes, where we had beene all cast away, but that it was the pleasure of God to deliuer vs, for wee lay with the Prow of our ship vpon one of the Rockes for the space of halfe an houre, and we were faine to cut off both our Masts, and to cast many chists ouer-boord, thinking it had beene impossible to saue any thing, but it was the will of God when wee least thought of it, that a great Sea brake ouer the Rocke, and put vs into eight fathomes water, betweene the Rockes and the Cliffes, so by the prouidence of God, wee were deliuered out of the aforesaid danger. Danger at Sea.

The next day we saw *Canibals* along the shore, then the Gouernour commanded mee to be set on shore to talke with the wilde people, and to know of them vpon what Coast wee were, or if we might goe to *Fernambuque* by land, the Captaine commanded a *Mamaluke*, called *Antonio Fernandes* to goe with me athore, but when we came to land, this *Mamaluke* durst not goe on shore, for feare of the wilde *Canibals*, so I went alone, and saluted them according to the fashion of the Countrey, then I enquired of them, how they called the place where they were, they told me that it was called *Cororeyespe*, which is the Riuer of Toades, likewise they said that we were very neere the Riuer of Saint *Francis*, and Northward, we had the Riuer called Saint *Michell*, and that they were slaues to the *Portugals* of *Fernambucke*, hauing driuen cattle to *Baya*; and now they returned home againe. One of these bond-slaues went aboord the shippe with mee, and talked with the Gouernour, the next day, the Gouernours Wife entreated her husband, that hee would leaue the Hulke, and goe by land, the which he did at his wifes request, so commanding all his Treasure to be set on shore, we left our ship, the Gouernour commanded the Master to take *Fernambuque* if it were possible, if not that he should goe to *Baya*, and from thence into *Portugall*, with any ships that should depart from thence, this Hulke had nine tunnes of Siluer in her, the which incharged to *Diego de Guadro*, by the Gouernour Generall *Don Francisco de Sasa*; and at *Fernambuque*, the charge of it was giuen to my Master *Saluador Correa de Sasa*, from the place where we were driuen on shore to *Fernambucke*, is fortie leagues. In this iourney from the Riuer of Toades, or from the Clifts called *Bayshas Deanrobrio* did I and *Domingos Gomes* alway carrie a Boxe of pure Gold of my Masters, some twelue leagues, from the aforesaid Riuer of Toades to a place called by the *Indians Vpanasou*; are three leagues, this *Vpanasou*; is a very singular good place to take fresh water, from *Vpanasou* to another Riuer called *Casuays*, is one league from the *Casuayes*, to the Riuer of Saint *Michell* are foure leagues, at this Riuer dwelleth a very rich *Mamalucke*, *Iohn de Rocho*, at this Riuer we rested three dayes. The Gouernour Generall fraughted a small fisher Boate at this place, and determined to goe to *Fernambuque* in it. *Mamaluke*. or *Mestizos*. Riuer of toads. Nine tuns of siluer. Places on the Coast.

The same day that wee made sayle in the smal Barke from the Riuer of Saint *Michell*, there arose a great storme from that North-east, and we were faine to take the Riuer of Saint *Michels* againe with great hazard of our liues, for the winde being very great, wee were driuen vpon a Rocke that lyeth South-west from the mouth of the Riuer very neere the shore, all those that could swimme leaped into the Sea; and so the Barke was lighter, and swamme off the Cliffe, then the Gouernour and his Wife said that they would goe by Land, so the day after we departed from the Riuer of Saint *Michels* to another great Riuer called *Vua*, this Riuer is three leagues from Saint *Michel*, heere my small ship may enter and take fresh water, and kill great store of fresh fish, from thence we went to another Riuer called *Iaquareasicke*, from this place the Gouernour sent me and *Antonio Fernandes* before to a small Village to prouide some prouision against his comming, there was in our company a *Portugall* called *Rafiel Penera*, that perforce would go with vs, we told him that we had many great Riuers to passe, and that it were better for him to tarrie with the Gouernour and his Wife, he not regarding our words went with vs, so we departed all three of vs, the next day after wee had departed from the Gouernour, wee came to a very faire Riuer called Saint *Antonio*, that which we passed vpon a *Iangarie* made of Canes, from thence wee went to a place called by the *Indians Amrecuua Prisema*, this is the Harbour of *Frenchmen*, from thence wee came to a great faire Riuer called *Camarijnua*, wee went on to the Riuer of Stones. We departed from thence vp the Riuer on a *Mangada*, made of three dry posts pinde together, the next morning we landed in a faire Champaine Countrey, where we saw great store of Cattle, and a Sugar-mill grinding of Canes, to which wee went, the Owner of the Mill A storme.

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was a high *Dutchman*, to whom we deliuered the Gouernours Letter, the which as soone as hee had read, presently he commanded two Beeues to be killed, and sent away with tenne bushels of *Cassani* meale, and many Hens and Turkeyes, and wee two were very honourably vsed for the space of a weeke that we were there, from thence wee departed to a place called *Porto do Calua*, three leagues from the *Areseene*, this is an excellent Hauen for all weathers, and all the yeere long, there is at the least two thousand chists of Sugar. At this place *Manuell Masquerennas* met vs with two hundred Horse, and then after two dayes rest we came to *Fernambuquo*.

Twentie dayes after we had beene in the Towne *Ielisiano Cuello*, sent word to *Manuell Masquerennas*, how that he was beseeched in *Rio Grande*, by the *Putewaras*, and that if he were not presently ayded by him, he should be forced to lose the Kings Towne, with the losse of all their liues, *Masquerennas* presently determined to goe himselfe, and left the Towne of *Fernambuquo* in charge to my Master *Saluador Corea de Saa*; and thus we departed from *Fernambuquo* with foure hundred *Portugalls*, and three thousand *Indians*, and in seuen dayes iourney we came to *Rio Grande*, hauing many a braue skirmish, with diuers *Canibals* in the way. As soone as wee were come before the Towne our Captaine made a long speech to all the *Portugals* and *Indians*, incouraging them against those *Infidels* whose Armie was at the least fortie thousand strong, and desired them all to confesse to their Ghostly Fathers and to take the Communion, for the next morning he was resolued to giue the onset on his enemies, the which was very brauely performed, for the *Canibals* the day before in a skirmish that they had, did take two hundred prisoners, and hauing killed many of them to eate, not expecting our comming in the chiefest of their feast, and their drinking we set vpon them, the people of the Towne on the other side, hearing the rumour, issued forth, thus taking them on the sudden, wee made such slaughter among them, that they were forced to remoue their siege, with the losse of three thousand prisoners, and fiue thousand that were slaine. The King of these *Canibals* was called *Pirainwath* that is to say, the *finne of a fish*, when this *Heathen* Prince saw himselfe ouerthrowne with so small a number as wee were, in comparison of his multitudes, he sent certayne of his men to *Manuell Masquarennas* to treate of peace, vpon these conditions, that if he would release all those prisoners, and admit him and all his Nation to liue as free men, that then hee and all his would submit themselues as subiects vnto him and be baptized, which offer indeed was accepted of by *Masquarennas*, and thus one of the greatest Prouinces of all the North part of *Brasilia*, became subiect to the King of *Spaine*. This conquest beeing ended, our Captaine Generall *Masquarennas* presently built two strong Forts hard by the Towne, on the Riuer side, and sent to *Fernambuquo* for forty cast Peeces of Iron, placing twentie in either Fort, many Souldiers, got at this conquest very rich stones, both Diamonds, Rubies, and great store of blue Saphires, in some small Villages that stood by the Sea side. We found great store of Ambergreece, which the *Indians* call *Pirapoun Arepoty*, here fortune was somewhat fauourable vnto me, for I got aboue fiue hundred Crownes in this iourney.

Army of Sauages.

Ambergreece.

After this conquest was ended, *Manuell Masquarennas* returned againe to *Fernambuquo*, where I found my Master *Saluador Corea de Saa*, readie to ship himselfe for *Portugall*, in the same ship that brought him from the Riuer *Ianero*, which by this time was come from *Bayeya*, after wee were set ashore at the place, called *Ous Busshes de don Rodrigo*, where we had all like to haue beene cast away, at my returne from *Rio grande* to *Fernambuquo*, I met with two *Englishmen*, the one of them a Gentleman called *Thomas Turner*, the other *Musgrane*, Pilot of a Fly-boate of Master *Newtons* a Merchant of *London*, Master *Turner* by my aduice, went to the Riuer of *Ianero*, and from thence to *Angola*, where he made great profit of his Merchandize, for which hee thanked me after we met in *England*. Now to my storie. The thirteenth of August 1596. *Saluador Corea de Saa*, Lord Gouernour of the Riuer of *Ianero*, Captaine Generall of *Spirito Santo*, *Porta Segura*, *Santos*, and *San Vincent*, departed from *Fernambuquo*, with fifteene Hulkes of *Hamborough*, seuen Fly-boates of *Omden* and *Hamborough*, and at the least twentie Caruels, all of them being laden with Sugars. The old *Mary* of *Hamborough* wherein the Gouernour came was Admirall, a ship of seuen hundred tunnes, the Owner whereof was called *Hans Burgo*, the new *Mary* Vice-admirall a ship of fiue hundred tunnes, the Owner called *Adrian Cornelias*, Rere-admirall a ship of fiue hundred tunnes, the Owner called *Conrado*, likewise another great ship came with vs, called the *George* of one *Hans Duke*, the *David* and others, with this fleete we departed from *Fernambuquo*, the fifteenth of August 1599. and in two monethes sayle wee arriued at *Lisbone*, where I continued with the Gouernour in his house for the space of nine moneths, after which time I fell very sicke, and by this time hauing spent all that I brought with me from *Brasill*, my misery great, and had beene a great deale greater, had it not beene for a vertuous *English* woman, which I met withall in a Nunnery, and in that time that I was there, shee made her approbation. By God first, and by her meanes I was saued from dying a most miserable death.

This *Thomas Turner* I was acquainted with, and receiued of him some nores, which follow after M. *Kniuet*

A. Kniuet ariueth at *Lisbone*.

His sickneſſe.

After my comming to *Lisbone*, I fell very sicke in my Masters house, where I lay in a backe roome hauing only a piece of an old mat for my bed, thus I lay for the space of sicke weekes, in the greatest misery that could be, for first I was sicke of a burning Feuer, none came at mee but a poore slaue of my Masters, for before this time my deare friend *Domingos Gomes* was dead, this

slaue

slaue in loue to me, sometimes would bring me meate and water, sometimes I was two daies without either meate or drinke: in the end of this sixe weekes, *Thomas Musgraue* and Master *Thomas Turner* came to me with some *Dutchmen*, and they amongst them gaue me twelue shillings: I had receiued so many bountifull gifts before of my vertuous friend Mistris *Foster*, that I would haue chosen rather to haue died, then she should haue knowne my want; but *Thomas Musgraue* of *Ratcliffe*, knowing how much she fauoured me, did perswade me to write vnto her, the which (although vnwillingly) I did; presently vpon the receit of my letter, I receiued from her fiftie Crownes, and euery day was visited from her, yet for all this my sicknesse grew to be such, that those that saw me thought that I could not escape, except I had the helpe of some Doctor, then by her meanes, reporting that I was her kinsman, I was carried to the Kings Hospitall, where in two moneths I recouered, being one and twentie times let bloud, and shortly after that I was past all danger, I was very kindely discharged out of the Hospitall, with ten shillings in my purse.

After I came forth of the Hospitall, I thought with my selfe, that the best way was to leaue my Masters house, and determine how to get my liuing by some other meanes: with this determination I went to the Kings Custome house, where I met with many men of all Countries, there I met with some *Scotchmen*, seeking of one that could speake the language; I hearing them, offered my seruice, & after that, I had as many customers as I could turne my hands vnto, and got by them for interpreting verie good maintenance: many *Dutch* Merchants would haue had me gone backe againe in their affaires for *Brasil*, and the *Indies*, but I still had a desire first to come to *England*, thinking that there I should finde some meanes to set forth my selfe in some good fashion, but alas I finde that want hath no preferment: now for my comming into *England*, my determination was to haue tarried somewhat longer then I did, but that my fortunes were and are euer like to be crost, for liuing as I haue told you in verie good fashion, maintaining my selfe verie well by foraine Merchants, that could not speake the *Spanish* tongue: one day amongst the rest in the Kings Custome house I met with one who told me that my Master *Saluador Corea de Saa*, did command me to come to him againe, if not, that he would make me be brought whither I would or no: in briefe, I made little account of his message, and held on my course with them by whom I liued, but now my old friend, imprisonment, and miserie comes againe, and I am as farre from my long desired home as euer I was, for *Saluador Corea de Saa*, seeing I would not come at him, incenst the Viceroy *Christopher de Moues* against me, telling him what harme I might doe if I got into my Countrie, I presently vpon this was taken in the streete as if I had beene some notorious villaine, carried to prison, cast in a dungeon, where I lay (God be my witnesse) three dales without meate, or sight of light; in the end I espied a little glimpse of the light, and clambering vp the wall, in despaire and halfe madde, I broke downe a peece of a boord that stood before an Iron grate, there I cried out in such sort that a great many came to the window, where many pitied me, but none could helpe me, &c.

§. IIII.

The diuers Nations of Sauages in Brasil, *and the adioyning Regions: their diuersities of Conditions, States, Rites, Creatures, and other things remarkeable, which the Author obserued in his many yeares manifold peregrinations.*

THe *Petiuares* are not of so vilde and barbarous conditions as many other Prouinces are in *Brasil*; for if you come as a Merchant vnto them, they will trafficke with you, if as a Warrier, they will fight very valiantly. They are men of good stature, their bodies are all carued with very fine workes, and in their lips they make a hole with a Roe-bucks horne, and when they come to mans estate, they cut the hole of their lippes with a Cane, and then the hole being bigge they weare a groene Stone therein, and he that hath not this fashion is counted a pesant. These *Canibals* haue no religion, they may take as many wiues as they will, or as they can get: the women can take no more husbands but one, except her husband giue her leaue in publike before them all, then she may take whom she will. When these *Indians* goe to the wars, their wiues carry all their prouision in Baskets on their backes: these *Canibals* goe all naked, and inhabit on the Northerne parts of *Brasil* from *Baya* to *Rio Grande*: they haue no certainty of meate but rootes, and if they kill any wilde Beast or Foule in the Mountaines, when he comes home, looke to which of his wiues he giueth that which he bringeth, with her he will lye that night; then she presently goeth to the water, and washeth her selfe, and lying downe in a net, commandeth all the rest of her husbands wiues to serue her; which they doe very obediently for that day. When the time commeth that any woman is to be deliuered of Childe birth, she will

The Petiuares described.

No set formes of Religion.

Warres. Region. Diet.

Rites of childe-birth.

Superstition. will goe to the doore, and as soone as the Infant is borne, presently the Father lyeth downe in the net (as women doe with vs in childe bed) and is visited of all his neighbours, and his wiues serues him very diligently. No *Indian*, when his wife is great with childe, will kill any thing, fish nor flesh if it be female; for he beleeueth that if he should kill any thing breeding, that for it his childe should dye. Tobacco. These *Indians* when they trauaile through the Wildernesse, doe carry great store of Tobacco with them, and continually they haue a leafe laid along their mouth betweene the lip and the teeth, and as they goe the rume runneth out of the hole, that they haue in their lippes.

Man-eaters. These *Canibals* warre against the *Portugals*, and against all other Prouinces of *Canibals*, and eate all kinde of people that are their enemies, when they take any man, and if they take any prisoner they kill him not, but he that tooke him giueth him to his brother or his friend to kill: and as many men as any *Indian* killeth, so many names he taketh. When they kill a man, they take a new cord made of Cotten wooll, and binde him that shall dye about the middle, they Manner of their Butchery bring him forth of the prison, and three men holding one end of the Cord, and three the other, he that must dye remaineth fast tied in the middle. Then he that must kill him commeth forth with all his wiues dancing, being painted all in red, and gallantly attired with Feathers of diuers colours on his head, knees, and armes, with a great Sword made of wood in his hands. Comming before him that must dye, he maketh him a long oration, telling him that he must dye, with these words, *You must behold the Sunne, and all things that like you, and so bid them farewell, for you shall see them no more.* After he hath said these words, he goeth away dancing with his wiues, and presently commeth backe againe hooping and crying, saying, *I am he that commeth to kill thee, defend thy selfe*: and thus comming behinde him that is to dye, he striketh him in the pole of the necke; and when with that blow he is fallen downe, he breaketh the scull of his head, then they beleeue that he is dead. After that they haue killed him, they take the tooth of a Conie that is set in a peece of wood, and with that they scratch all his body raising the vpper skin, holding the dead man in the flame of the fire, all the vpper skin commeth off, and the flesh remaineth very faire and white. Then they roast and boile it, and feede of it, thinking that mans flesh maketh them strong and valiant.

Townes and houses. These *Canibals* haue great Townes, their houses are two hundred and twenty yards long, couered with Palmita boughes without any partition. They hang their nets vpon beams that they lye in, and make their fire in the ground: euery morning men, women, and children, doe wash themselues: they haue good store of *Ginnie* Wheat, and *Mandioca*, whereof they make Bread. They part their grounds, and are setled, keeping good orders among themselues. In this Countrey there are many good Fruites, and Hearbes of great vertue, and many wilde Serpents, the which as neere as I can I will describe vnto you. In this Countrie I saw Serpents both dead and aliue, or Snakes, that the *Indians* call *Ieboya*, you shall finde these Serpents in the Mountaines Serpents called Ieboya. of *Rio grande*, lying on the ground like the body of a Tree: when anie wilde beast commeth neere him, he striketh out two sinnes out of his forequarters with such force, that whatsoeuer he hitteth he killeth. This *Iaboya* hath foure legges like a Crocadile, or an Aligator, and a great taile, the which hee hideth vnder him when he lieth in the woods for his pray for the wilde beasts, because that they shall not know him. Likewise in this part of the Countrie, I saw a Strange Munkie Orators. kinde of Munkies, called by the *Indians Wariua*, they are as bigge as a water Dogge, all blacke, their faces are like a mans; they haue long broad Beards, you shall see twentie of them together in a Tree, and one of them will walke vp and downe alwaies with his hand on his Beard making a great noise, and all the rest sitting still and harkening for the space of an houre.

The *Mariquites Tapoyes* is a name (as in the *Portug.* Friers treatise which followeth, appeareth) giuen to 76. Nations. *Amerones.* On the coast betweene *Fernambuque*, and *Boya* inhabite a kinde of *Canibals*, called *Mariquites*, which all other *Indians* call *Tapoyes*. *Tapoyes* in their language is a *Wilde Man*: among all the *Canibals* that name is held in great disgrace, except among themselues, or another kinde of *Canibals*, called *Vaanasses*, like the *Mariquites* in their behauiour. The *Mariquites* are men of a good stature, the women are very proper of person, and fight with their Bowes as well as the men. They haue no dwelling, but runne vp and downe the Wildernesse like wilde Beasts: they haue no Religion, nor friendshippe with any Nation, but warre; whersoeuer they come (but now they are in peace with the *Portugals*.) They haue holes in their lippes, as the other *Canibals* haue, but they are not carued in their bodies as the *Petiuares* are: they take wiues as the other *Canibals* doe, as many as they will. Their language differs from all other *Indians*, they take a kinde of Gumme to rubbe their bodies with, and then they take the young Feathers of Parats, and other Birds, and paint their bodies. These *Canibals* are verie tawnie of complexion, verie swift, will neuer come to the field to fight as other *Canibals* will, but alwaies keepe in the Mountaines, lying in holes, and hiding themselues behinde Trees: and when they see that they haue aduantage of their enemies, they will start out, and hurt, and kill as manie as they can haue aduantage of. Thus when these *Caniballes* haue done what mischiefe they can, they will runne away, and hee that can runne fastest is accounted most valiant. You shall haue of these *Canibals*

at

at the Riuer of *San Francisco*, *San Miguell*, Saint *Antonio*. These *Caniballes* likewise eate mans flesh, but they vse not those Ceremonies which the *Petiwares*, and other *Caniballes* doe.

From the Riuer of Saint *Francisco* to *Baya de Todos Santos*, inhabit *Topinambazes*; like the *Petiwares* in their behauiour: all their bodies are carued from the face to the feete: the women are of better complexion then the *Petiwares*: they goe all naked as the other *Canibals* doe; they let their Beards grow long, and so doe no other kinde of *Canibals*, but still as their haire groweth they pull it away with a likewise they pull away all the haire of the eye-browes, and of their priuie parts: they doe sing and dance like the *Petiwares*, and doe speake the same language. *Topinambazes.*

From *Baya* to the *Elews* inhabite a kinde of barbarous people, called *Waymores*: these are men of great stature: they are verie resolute and desperate; as swift of foote as any Horse. These *Canibals* haue driuen the *Portugals* from the Ilands, and are so desperate, that fiue or sixe of them will set vpon a Sugar house, where there are at least one hundred persons; and I haue seene one of them, take a man a liue, and defend himselfe with his prisoner, as if one of vs would defend our selues with a Target. They haue long blacke haire like wilde *Irish*: haue no Townes nor Houses, but runne vp and downe the Wildernesse like wilde Beasts: care not what Prouince they come into, for they are so swift of foote, that no people can hurt them. These feede verie greedily on mans flesh, and are verie filthie people, for their bodies are alwayes foule with dust and durt, lying on the ground and in the ashes. *Waymores*, strong, tall, swift Sauages.

At *Spirito Santo* inhabite a kinde of *Canibal*, called *Tomomynos*; these are men of good stature, I haue gone to warre against them, many times with the *Portugals*, at a place called *Morogege*; they had many Townes in the Ilands that stand in the Riuer of *Paruena*; their Townes were all serled with great stones set together like pales, of a good height: & within that there are walls made of clay and stone, their houses are long all couered with the barks of trees, and the side of their houses are like hurdles made of Canes, in such sort that they may shoot out of them. We were at least fiue hundred *Portugals*, and three thousand *Indians*, in the siege against the Citie of *Morogege*, and many times the *Tomomynos* did set vpon vs with such violent force, that wee thought we should all haue beene slaine there, we were forced to settle our selues vnder a walke made with stone, clay, and logs, sending for succour to *Spirito Santo*. The *Indians Tomomynos* would stand vpon the wall of their Citie, all decked with feathers, and their bodies all painted with black and red, most vgly to be seene, with things in their hands like a wheele, all done with feathers, the which they would set on fire, and waue it about their heads, crying out to the *Portugals*, *Louas eyane pomembuna*, that is to say, *Euen as this you shall be consumed*. After the fresh men came from *Spirito Santo*, they began to feare, and to steale out of the Towne. But when we saw that, we made things that the *Portugals* call *Paueses* (they are made of Canes, of seuen or eight yards long, that no arrow can passe them) and those the *Portugals* and *Indians* that were on our side did carrie before them like a wall, and so came to the wall of their Citie and brake it downe, with hurt and death of many on our side. The *Tomomynos*. Their Townes walled. *Morogege*.

Here our Captaine *Martin de Sasa*, was cast into the Riuer by a *Canibal*, that tooke him in his armes, and in despight of vs all carried him a stones cast, and threw him into the Riuer, where he had beene drowned if it had not beene for a very famous *Indian*, called *Pataumuyeu*, which was the same *Martin de Sasa* his slaue. This *Pataumuyeu* (that is to say, *Long Tabacco*, for the *Indians* take such names) killed the *Canibal* that would haue drowned his Master, and so saued him. That day wee had the victorie, and tooke 16000. of them, of the which wee put to the sword 1600. and all the rest we parted among the *Portugals*. After that, we tooke many small Townes, killing all the old men and old women; likewise we parted the rest that were seruiceable, and so wee returned home; after we had destroyed the Countrie, comming for the space of a weeke downe the Riuer of *Paraguna*. Then we came to a Towne of *Canibals* which was called *Moron*, and from thence to the Hill, called by the *Indians*, *Paranapuacuena*, that is to say, the *sight of the Sea*; and from thence to a place, called by the *Canibals*, *Tupanbopera*, that is, the *Beades of God*; the *Portugals* call this place the *Organes*: it hath certaine Halls that lie ouer the Riuer of *Ienero*, then wee came downe a Riuer called *Macuin*, and from thence to the Citie of *San Sebastian* in the Riuer of *Iamarin*, from whence euery man went with his slaue to his owne house. Valiant Sauage. 16000. taken. *Moron*.

The *Wayaquazes* inhabite at Cape *Frio*, called by the *Indians*, *Iocoua*, they dwell both on the North and on the South side of the Cape, in low marish grounds: they are men of bigger stature then the *Waymores*. I went with *Gonsalo Correa de Sosa* to warre against these *Canibals*, and at one time we tooke thirteene of them and laid them bound hand and foot in a house, going forward to take more of them, and when wee returned they were all gone, wee left them fire, and they burned the Cordes from their hands, and so got away. They weare their haire long like wilde *Irish*; the women doe warre with their bowes and arrowes as well as the men, their houses are very low and little, they doe not lie in Nets as the *Tamoyes* and other *Canibals* doe, but on the ground like Hogs, making a fire in the middle of their houses. These *Canibals* haue no peace *Wayaquazes*. Women warriors.

with

with any kinde of Nation, but doe eate all kinde of people, *Frenchmen*, *Portugals*, and *Blackamoores*. Many times whileſt I was at the Riuer of *Iannaris*, ſome ſhips were caſt away at this Cape, and all the *Portugals* and *Blackamoores* were eaten. I haue ſeene them take great dog-fiſhes by the taile, and dragge them aſhoare. In this place I haue ſeene very great water *Aligartos* (which we call in *Engliſh* Crocodiles) ſeuen yards long. This Crocodile hath great ſcales, and long clawes very vgly to be ſeene. The *Portugals*, when they know where any of theſe great ones are, doe fiſh for them with a chaine, and a great Iron hooke, and for bait they tie a Cock or a Hen to the hooke, they take this paines to take him becauſe his Cods are very great, and better then any muske. At this place, the Mountaines are ſo full of Crab-lice, that wee knew not what to doe, they would ſtick in our skins that we could not get them off, but were faine to take drie ſtraw and ſinge our ſelues, as you would ſinge Hogs, and ſo rid our ſelues of them. Here alſo wee had great ſtore of wilde Hogs, and a kinde of wilde Fowle as bigge as Turkies, called *Mutas*.

Sharkes deuoured by Sharkes.

Crocodiles, how and why taken.

Crab-lice.

Abauſangeream.

Abauſanga, is the name of a valiant *Canibal*, that is adioyning hard by the *Wataquazes*, theſe *Canibals* are a kinde of the *Tamoyes*. Some twentie yeeres agone there was a Gouernour among them, called *Mendeſaa*, in the Riuer of *Iannaris*, who made warre againſt the *Tamoyes*, and in the end ouer-run all their Countrie or Prouince; onely this *Abauſanga* remayned hidden in Dungeons and great Holes with ſome fortie or fiftie of his Countrimen. It was our chance going to warre with the *Wataquazes* to come through this Towne, and there we had newes by *Abauſangas* people, that he was at warre againſt the *Wataquazes*; whereupon we made Spies to ſee if we could take him, before that we would ſet vpon the *Wataquazes*. One euening, we heard a great noiſe of *Canibals*, then the Captaine ſending out ſome Spies, my ſelfe being one, wee ſaw that it was *Abauſanga*, and his companie, that had taken fiue *Wataquazes*, and with great ſtirre were killing of them to eare. Aſſoone as we had eſpyed all that we could, wee returned againe to the Captaine, and told him what we had ſeene, and that night circled *Abauſanga*, and tooke him priſoner, with ſixtie young men of his companie; wee asked of him our beſt courſe, to warre againſt the *Wataquazes*, he told vs, that he was rather to take our aduice, then we to aske his, that he vſed no policie but to fight in open field, and if we would, we ſhould ſee how he made warre againſt his enemies: the next day, we being hard by the Inhabitants of the *Wataquazes*; *Abauſanga* came forth, and ioyned all his companie together with leaue of our Captaine, and aſſoone as they were all readie vvith their bowes and arrowes, hee ran into the thickeſt of his enemies, with all his companie, where eighteene of his companie were preſently killed, and moſt of them ſore hurt, he himſelfe being ſhot in one and twentie parts. In our ſight he killed three *Wataquazes* before hee fell; the *Portugals* kept ſtill by the woods ſide, and with their peeces killed one hundred and thirtie *Wataquazes*, the wilde people were ſo amazed when they heard our peeces goe off, that they thought the Deuill had beene amongſt them, and euery one began to flie as faſt as he could, the *Portugals* following them, found *Abauſanga* in the field hurt, as you haue heard. This *Abauſanga* aſſoone as he perceiued the *Portugals* to ſtand amazed at him, deſired them to tell him ſomewhat of God, for he ſaid, that *Frenchmen* had told him that there was a God, and that he which beleeued in him ſhould be ſaued. The *Portugals* telling him of their faith, hee ſaid that hee beleeued in that God, and deſired to bee baptiſed, and had his name giuen him *Iohn*. For the ſpace of two houres that this *Indian* liued, hee did nothing but call vpon God, and ſo ended his life, being one hundred and twentie yeeres of age, as he ſhewed vs by ſignes.

See the former §.

The *Wayanaſſes*, inhabite eighteene leagues Southward of the Riuer of *Iannaris*, at a place called by the *Portugals*, *Ilha Grande*, that is to ſay, *The great Iland*. Theſe *Canibals* are of low ſtature, great bellies, and broad feet, very Cowards, of a reaſonable good complexion. They doe not carue their bodies, neither doe they glorie ſo much to eate mans-fleſh, as the *Tamoyes*, the *Tomymenos*, and other *Canibals* doe. The Women are bigge in the body, and very vgly, but they haue very good faces. The Women of this Countrie doe paint their bodies and faces with a thing called in their language *Vrucu*; it groweth in a round Cod like a beane, and that maketh a red inke like Oker; which maketh them ſeeme moſt vgly. The haire both of men and women groweth long by the ſides, and on the crowne all ſhaued like *Franciſcan* Friars. Theſe *Canibals* lye in Nets made of barkes of trees, and likewiſe when they trauell through the Wildernesſe, ſuch prouiſion as they haue, they carrie in little Nets at their backs; they are neuer without Tabacco, they eſteeme it more then any thing that they haue in their Countrie, and with it do heale their wounds, when they are hurt. When the *Portugals* doe ſtand in need of ſlaues, they doe come to *Ilha Grande*, and there they ſhall be ſure to meet with ſome of the *Wayanaſſes* a-fiſhing, then they ſhew them Kniues, Beades, and Glaſſes, telling them what they would haue for merchandiſe, and preſently they will goe to a place called in their language *Iaouarapipo*, which is their chiefeſt Towne, and from thence bring all ſuch as they meane to ſell to the Sea ſide, and as good cheape as you can you may buy of them.

The *Wayanaſſes*.

Painting.

Tabacco.

The *Topinaques* inhabite at Saint *Vincents*, they are men of good ſtature, and of reaſonable good complexion; their women are all painted with diuers colours, and on their heads, they weare a thin barke of a tree like a Ribband: the *Canibals* eate mans fleſh as other *Canibals* doe, they adore no Idoll, neither haue they any kinde of Religion, onely when they kill any man, they

The *Topinaques*.

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they all paint their bodies with a kinde of fruit, called *Iunipaua*, and all their heads are set with feathers, and great stones in their vnder-lips, with Rattles in their hands, and thus they will dance for three dayes together. I was amased to see how they would drinke a filthy drinke without breaking of their bellies, and asked them how they were able to stand so long and drinke so much of that filthy drinke: they answered me, that Tabacco did make them as fresh as if they had done nothing. Among these *Canibals* there is great store of gold in many Hills hard by the Sea side, and now the *Portugals* haue some of those places, I would wee had the rest. Here I end to discourse any farther of the *Canibals* that dwell by the Sea side, till I haue told you of such Nations as I met withall when I went through the Countrie, and how I came againe to the Sea; I haue told you in the first booke of my trauell, how that fiue or sixe yeeres after I had beene taken by the *Portugals*, I went to warre against the *Canibals* with the *Portugals*. Now by the grace of God, as neere as I can I haue told you of all the Nations, that I saw, and conuerst with in nine moneths, that I trauelled through the Wildernesse with the *Portugals*, and a yeere and eleuen moneths that I passed with the *Canibals* themselues.

Canibals called *Paries*.

THe *Canibals* called *Paries*, inhabite at the least one hundred miles within the land, they are most like vnto the *Wayanasses*, men of low stature, they liue onely on Pine nuts, and small Cocos that are as bigge as Apples, but they haue shells like Wall-nuts, somewhat harder, the *Indians* call them *Eyrires*. They are of good complexion, and esteeme very much of clothes if they can get them; the women are all painted with diuers colours, as red, blue, and yellow; they are in peace with the *Portugals*, and warre with no Nation, neither will they eate mans flesh, if they haue any other meate; they lie in little Nets made of barkes of trees, they haue no houses but two or three boughs tyed together, couered with Palme leaues if it happen to raine. In this part of the Countrie I saw great store of Leopards, and Lions; the *Indians* call the Leopard, *Iawaryte*, and the Lions, *Iawarosou*; and many great Cats of mountaine, which the *Indians* call *Marcayabite*, here you may haue of the *Indians* for a Knife or a Combe, fiue or sixe Gallons of Balsome oile.

Small Cocos.

The *Molopaques*, bearded Sauages, and ciuiller then others.

After you haue passed the famous Riuer of *Paraeyua*, you shall come into a Countrie of *Canibals*, called *Molopaques*; they are much like vnto *Dutchmen* in bignesse, very faire of complexion, they haue all beards like other men; so hath not any other kinde of *Canibals*, except it bee here and there one. Most of them doe couer their priuie parts, they are very ciuill in their behauiour: their Townes are very strong, all circled with walls made of earth and great logs, they haue houses seuerall euery man with his familie. They haue one amongst them whom they call *Moronishana*, which is their King, but we saw no difference betweene him and the rest, but only the name, and he had (as I remember) thirteene wiues, and no other had so many. Amongst these *Canibals* we found good store of gold, the which they doe not esteeme, neither doe they vse it for any thing, but to tie on their fishing lines, when they goe a fishing in the Riuer of *Para*, where they take great store of good fish. *Para* is beyond *Paraeyua* eightie leagues: these *Indians* doe not worke in the mynes for gold, as the *Spaniards* doe, but onely take such peeces as they finde when the raine hath washt away the earth: for where the mynes of gold are there are no trees, but are drie Mountaines of black earth, which the *Indians* call *Tainquara*; and the Mountaine where the *Molopaques* doe finde this great store of gold, is called *Esteparange*: if these *Canibals* had the knowledge of God, I might boldly say, that there are not any in the world like them. The women are goodly of person, faire of complexion, as our *English* women are, they are very modest and ciuill in their behauiour; you shall neuer see them laugh, they are people very capable to conceiue any thing, they haue their haire so long, that they tie it about their middles with the barke of a tree, wherewithall they couer their nakednesse, they esteeme very much of it. Their haire is of colours like our *English* women, some yellow, some white, some browne: the women that haue not long haire, to couer their nakednesse, doe weare a kinde of Furre, which they call *Sawyathwason*. These *Canibals* doe eate mans flesh, I was not past nine or ten dayes among them, therefore I cannot resolue you further of their customes. In that time I was with them I saw no manner of Religion among them, they doe keepe very good order, obseruing times to eate their meate, at noone, and at night, and that doth not any other Nation amongst them, they are very cleanly in whatsoeuer they doe.

Houses seuerall.

Gold.

Riuer *Para*.

Mynes.

Faire women.

Meales.

Then wee came to a faire champaine Countrie, where wee found a kinde of *Canibals*, called *Motayas*. Assoone as these *Canibals* heard of our being in their Countrie, they all left their houses, and came to meet vs dancing and singing, telling vs that they were very glad of our comming into their Countrie; they brought *Ginny* Wheat, Pepper, and diuers kinde of rootes to present vs, and craued our friendship, desiring vs, that we would aide them against the *Tamoyes*. We desiring nothing more, told them that to that purpose we were come. Assoone as wee came to the houses of these *Canibals*, all the women would sit about vs, and laying their hands on our bodies, they would weepe most bitterly. After that, euery one of them would bring such victuals as they had; some brought boyled Frogs, others brought Serpents, and Snakes, which wee found very good; other some brought Munkeis, and a kind of wilde Dogge that they kill in the Mountaines.

The *Motayas*.

Weeping welcome.

Wilde Dogs.

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taines. The men brought vs mans fleſh roſted, drie, as black as a coale, and told vs that it was of a *Tamoya* that they had killed, and deſired vs that we would eate of it, thinking they had preſented vs a great and daintie diſh. When they ſaw that wee refuſed to eate mans fleſh, they fell a laughing and ſome of them ſaid that we knew not what was good meat. Theſe *Canibals* are men of ſmall ſtature, browne of complexion, they goe all naked, they weare their haire (as now we doe in *England*) below their eares, and ſo doe the women. As their haire groweth long, they burne it with fire, making it equall ſo artificially, that you cannot perceiue but that it was cut with Sizors. They will not haue any haire grow on their eye-browes, not on their chin, but ſtill as it groweth they pull it away with a ſhell: their food is *Ginny* wheat, and Roots, Frogs, Snakes, Serpents, Crocodiles, Monkeis, Dogs that they kill in the Wilderneſſe, Leopards, and Cats of Mountaine; all this is good meat amongſt them, and we found them very good, and were very glad when we could get them to eate.

The *Lopes.* Then we came to a kinde of *Canibali*, called *Lopes*, the *Portugals* call them *Bolreros*, theſe *Canibals* are alwayes in the Mountaines of Pine trees, and haue not any other thing to liue on: I neuer ſaw any houſes that they dwell in, but boughs tyed together with rines of trees, theſe *Canibals* would come to vs, and tell vs of many things, and would goe with vs two or three dayes, and then would run away from vs, and many times when they did meet with any of our *Indians*, or our *Portugals*, they would take away ſuch things as they had about them, and ſend them away without any hurt to their perſons. As wee went through this Countrie we found many mynes of gold, and amongſt theſe *Indians* our Captaine got good ſtore of it, and many good ſtones. In all *America*, there is not a richer part then this, but it is ſo farre within the Land, and that Countrie is ſo populous that as yet neither *Portugall* nor *Spaniard* can inhabite there. They are men of ſmall ſtature, and very browne of complexion, their bodies are all painted as the other *Canibals* before named. The women are as browne of complexion as the men, and very rude and ſhameleſſe, for in their behauiour they differ not from wilde beaſts, but in all things liue like them.

Gold in plentie.

The *Wayanawaſons*, ſimple ſauages. After we had paſſed this Prouince, we came into the Prouince of the *Wayanawaſons*, where we found them in ſmall Townes built by a Riuers ſide, and found theſe the ſimpleſt Nation of all other: for theſe *Canibals* would ſtand and gaze vpon vs like herds of Deere, and neuer ſay any thing vnto vs. Here we found great ſtore of *Ginny* wheat, and pompions that wee did eate. In many Bogs hard by their Towne we killed good ſtore of Crocodiles, and did eate of them, for in this iourney we were almoſt ſtarued. Theſe *Canibals* are of a good ſtature, bigge, and tall of bodie, and very cleane made of their lims, very ſufficient to behold; but they are a kinde of laſie people, that care not for any thing, but will lie all day laſing in their houſes, and neuer goe abroad but for their victuals. The women are of good ſtature, they are of a dunne pale complexion, and they doe prouide Pompions and Rootes for their husbands. Here we were all, or moſt of vs very ſicke with eating of a kinde of fruit, which the *Indians* call *Madiopuera*, this fruit is as bigge as a Horſe plum, as yellow as gold, the kirnell of it is as ſweet as any Almond, of this fruit did moſt of our companie eate, and of them dyed ſixteene, and many others ſicke for a fortnight after.

Venemous plum.

Aſſoone as our companie had recouered we went on our way to ſeeke out the *Tamoyes*, hauing for our guides ſixe of the *Motayes*, who carried vs at the leaſt two moneths vp and downe the Wilderneſſe, euery day making vs beleeue, that we ſhould come vnto our enemies Countrie. They brought vs at laſt to the ſight of two Townes along by a Riuer ſide. The *Portugals* after they had ſeene how great the Townes of the *Canibals* were, durſt not aduenture to paſſe ouer the Riuer, for feare leſt the *Indians* had eſpied vs, and were layne in ambuſh. There was not any of all the companie, *Portugall* nor *Indian*, that durſt to goe ouer the Riuer; the Captaine and the chiefeſt of the *Portugals* agreed together and made me goe to the Towne, whether I would or no. When I ſaw that there was no remedie, I tooke my leaue of them all: for I thought verily that I went to the ſlaughter houſe, or at leaſt to haue liued a *Canibali* with them during my life. With theſe two extremities in my thought, commending my ſoule and bodie to Almightie God: I ſwam ouer the Riuer vpon a little Target made of Corke, and aſſoone as I had landed I went ſtraight to the Towne, where I found nothing but two tame Eſtridges: he people had eſpyed vs, and were run away. When the *Portugals* had newes from me that there was no body, then they were ſo valiant as Lions, ſtriuing who ſhould get firſt into the Towne, this was the Riuer of *Iawarie*, the Towne is called *Menuare*. Here it was that I ſhould haue beene hanged, for ſtriking of *Antonio Martines* in the Court of guard, after I had killed the great Serpent, called *Sorocuen*. In this Towne we found great ſtore of *Ginny* wheat, and Pompions dried in the ſmoke. In this Towne likewiſe we had great ſtore of drie Tabacco, and Potato rootes: wee found great ſtore of gold in peeces, and alſo ſtore of Criſtall, and many other good ſtones; ſome found Diamonds, and a kind of blue ſtones that the *Portugals* did eſteeme of very much, and called them *Pedras de Sangua*, bloud-ſtones.

Many ſtraits.

Tame Eſtridges.

Riuer *Iawary*. *Menuare*.

Gold, Criſtall and Iemmes.

The Serpent *Sorocuen* deſcribed, his ſtrange forme and qualities. The Serpent that I killed was thirteene ſpan long, it had foure and twentie teeth, as ſharpe as any naile, about the necke it had greater ſhels then the other parts of her body; the ſhels were blacke

blacke and ruſſet like a coller, and on her body they were ruſſet and darke greene; vnder her belly all ſpeckled with black and white. It had foure ſharpe feet, no longer then a mans finger, it had a tongue like a harping Iron, her taile was like a ſtraight Bull horne, all black and white liſted. From one of theſe did the Lord defend me, and permitted me to kill one of them with the helue of an axe in the night. The *Indians* dare not goe to kill one of them except they goe fiue or ſixe of them with bowes and arrowes. All kinde of wilde beaſts, Lions, or Leopards, all kinde of Snakes, but only this, doe feare the fire, and if they come where the *Indians* leaue any fire trauelling through the Wilderneſſe, if any of theſe Serpents doe finde it, they neuer leaue beating themſelues in it, till they either kill themſelues or put out the fire. Theſe Serpents when they ſeeke their prey will ſtand about a ſmall tree or a bough, and when any wilde beaſt paſſeth, hee falleth vpon him, thruſting his taile into the fundament of whatſoeuer it ſeizeth on.

After we had remayned at this place a fortnight, or three weekes, the *Portugals* did reſolue to come back againe without any purchaſe, there the Captaine gaue vp his authoritie, and ioyned himſelfe with his friends to ſeeke the neereſt way home, then did I and twelue young men of the *Portugals* determine to goe to the South Sea by land, for we knew by the Notes of the *Motayes*, that we were not farre from *Peru*, and *Cuſco*, and we knowing how poore our eſtates were, and the great famine we had paſſed comming to the Towne of *Menuare*, made vs afraid to goe back againe, that way which we had come, and for mine owne part, I encouraged the twelue young *Portugals* all that I could to goe forward, for I had ſurely beene knocked on the head if I had gone back in my Captaines companie. With much adoe, wee thereon reſolued to ſeeke our fortunes in the Wilderneſſe. After we were departed from our companie, wee came to many Mountaines, where we found good ſtore of gold, and many precious ſtones; when wee came into this Countrie, wee thought wee had beene in the Prouince of *Peru*, wee had ſuch plentie of mynes, and there was not one of vs but had ſtore of ſtones, that thoſe which we tooke as to day, wee would throw away to morrow to take other better then them which we had before. Thus wee trauelled ſome two moneths in the golden Countrie, till at the laſt wee came to that great and moſt ſtrange Mountaine of Criſtall. This Mountaine is of a huge height, that it ſeemeth to be within the cloudes, and ſo ſteepe that it is impoſſible to goe ouer the top. Here it was that wee paſſed through the Vault, and in truth it was one of the greateſt dangers, and the moſt deſperate that euer I was in.

Two moneths trauell in a golden Countrie.

Criſtall mountaine.

Vault-ſtraits.

Aſſoone as we had paſſed this danger, it was the pleaſure of God to deliuer vs into the hands of our mortall enemies the *Tamoyes*, where my twelue companions were killed and eaten, onely my ſelfe remayned among theſe *Canibals* a yeere and eleuen moneths, in the which time I went many times to warre againſt other Prouinces that were ioyning vpon the Conntrie of *Tamoyes*, and (I thanke God) proſpered ſo well that I was very much eſteemed of them, and had a great command ouer them when they went to the field. Theſe *Tamoyes* be as proper men as any bee in all *Europe*; they vſe to make holes in their vpper-lips like the *Peteuares*; moſt of them are of a very faire complexion. The men haue their heads alwayes ſet with feathers of diuers colours which ſheweth very pretily, they goe ſtarke naked. The women are as proper as any Nation can be, tall, comly, well legd, cleane made of body, very ſmall in the waſte, very faire of complexion, fine handed, and very comly faces. They vſe a kinde of caruing ouer their breaſts, which becommeth them very well. Here the *Canibals* eſteeme not any more of gold, or precious ſtones, then wee doe of any ſtones in the ſtreets: if the *Spaniards* had knowne of this Countrie, they needed not to haue gone to *Peru*, there is not like vnto this for all kinde of rich metals, and many kinde of precious ſtones. In this place I liued eighteene moneths, and went naked as the *Canibals* did. After I had liued with theſe *Canibals* the time that you haue heard, I was in great fauour and credit with them, inſomuch that they would not doe any thing before they had made me acquainted withall: I haue told them many times of the comming and going of our *Engliſh* ſhips to the Straits of *Magellan*, and how well we did vſe all kinde of Nations, and what kinde of all things neceſſarie wee had for their vſe. Theſe wordes made the *Canibals* deſire to come to the Sea coaſt, and asked of mee how it were poſſible for them to come to dwell by the Sea without being ſlaues to the *Portugals*: I told them that I knew many places where *Engliſh* men and *French* men did vſe to come, but that neither *Portugall*, nor *Spaniard* was neuer there. After I had told them what I thought beſt, we all agreed to come through the Prouince of *Tocoman*, and ſo to the Sea, betweene the Riuer of *Plate* and Saint *Vincents*. This Countrie of *Tocoman* is all ſandie, and in it inhabite the *Pigmeys*; I haue ſeene many of them amongſt the *Spaniards* at the Riuer of *Plate*. They are not altogether ſo little as wee ſpeake of them here in *England*: their inhabitation in *Tocoman* is in Caues of the ground. In this Countrie the Inhabitants in many places haue ſuch Wheat as we finde in *England*, and Caſſaui meale.

Tamoyes propenſion.

Store of gold.

His iourney with the Sauages.

Tocoman.

Pigmeys dwelling in Caues.

This *Tocoman* is iudged by the *Spaniard* to be the end of *Braſill*, and the entring into *Peru*; for in *Tocoma* there are all kinde of *Braſila* Rootes, and all kinde of Corne, aſwell as *Peru*; this Countrie yeeldeth nothing to the *Spaniards*, but wilde Horſes, and the *Indians* of *Tocoman* are mortall enemies to all the Inhabitants of *Peru*; therefore the *Spaniards* doe keepe this Countrie becauſe they keepe the Prouinces of *Peru* in feare, or elſe they would riſe vp againſt the *Spaniards*.

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Riuer running to *Chile.*

Mountaines of all Mettals.

niards. After we had passed this Countrie, we came to a Riuer that runneth from *Teroman* to *Chile*, where we tarried foure daies making Canoas to passe the Riuer, for there were so manie Crocodiles, that we durst not passe it for feare of them: after we had passed this Riuer, we came to the Mountaine *Detodas Metalas*, that is, *of all Mettals.* At this place diuers *Spaniards* and *Portugals* haue beene, and certain lawlesse men were set on shoare on this coast by one *Pedro de Charamento*, which came to this place, and set vp a great Crosse, and on it writ, that the Countrie was the King of *Spaines*; the which I put out, and writ that it was *the Queene of Englands.* This hill is of diuers kinde of Mettals, Copper and Iron, some Gold, and great store of Quicke-siluer. It is verie high, and all bare without any Trees. Here likewise was a little Church made, where we found two Images, one of our Lady, and another of Christ crucified. When the *Tamoyes* saw those signes, they thought that I had betraied them, and (indeede) I was amazed, thinking that we had beene in some part of the Riuer of *Plate*, and because the *Indians* should not be discouraged, I shewed my selfe to be very glad, and told them that I knew those were signes that my Countrie men vsed to make when they came into strange Countries: with these perswasions I made the *Tamoyes* to come on their iourney to the Sea; where otherwise if I had told them it had bin set vp by the *Spaniards*, the feare that the poore *Canibals* stood in of them had bin enough to haue made them all returne againe from whence they came. At the last we came to the Sea, as I haue told you, to the Towne of the *Caryobs*: this Towne standeth in a fine pleasant place, hard by the coast in a faire Bay, where one hundred Ships may anker without any danger. And in this place you shall alwaies haue great store of fish. In this Countrie, for a Knife or a fish hooke, you may buy a dozen of skinnes of very good Furre; and if you will, these *Indians* will goe (for any trifle) and fetch two or three baskets of Mettals, and some haue had such good lucke, that for two or three Glasses, and a Combe or two, with some Kniues, they haue got the value of foure or fiue thousand Crownes in Gold and Stones. The Towne stood vpon a hill, but we puld it down. But when we were taken by the *Portugals*, and that the *Caryobs* were restored againe to their Countrie, they did situate againe within the same place where they were when we draue them out of their Countrie. Here the *Portugals* did binde mee, and would haue hanged mee for the twelue *Portugals* that the *Canibals* had killed and eaten.

The *Caryobs.*

The *Caryobs* are men of good stature, and very valiant: they make holes in their vnder lippe as the other *Canibals* doe. These *Canibals* likewise eate mans flesh, and speake the same language that the *Tamoyes* doe: the women are very comely, the most of them are of a faire complexion; they weare their haire loose about their eares, and all their bodies are died with blacke, and their faces withered, and yellow, their brests are all carued with diuers colours, which beseemeth verie well. Here is the end of my trauell through *America*, with the *Canibals*, from whence I returned againe to my Master *Saluador Correa de Sasa*; where I was worse then euer I was before.

The Giants of Port Desire, *and inhabitants of Port* Famine: *also* Angola, Congo, *and* Massangana, *and* Angica, *Countries of* Africa.

AT Port *Desire*, which is the next hauen to the straits of *Magelan*, inhabited Giants of fifteene or sixteene spans of height. I affirme, that at Port *Desire* I saw the footing of them, by the shoare side, that was aboue foure foote of one of our mens in length; and I saw two of them that were buried newly, the one of them was foureteene spannes long. After I was taken with the *Spaniards*, the *Desire*, one of our Shippes that had beene all alone at Port *Desire*, lost nine men and a boy, and two or three of them that had beene taken on the coast of *Brasil*, said that these Giants did throw stones of such bignesse at them out of strings, that they were faine to weigh anker, and to lye further from the shoare. I saw another of these in *Brasil*, that was taken by *Alonso Dias* a *Spaniard*, that with foule weather was driuen out of Saint *Iulians*; this was but a young man, yet aboue thirteene spannes long. This Port *Desire* is a faire pleasant Countrie, it hath many fine Riuers, and the *Spaniards* doe affirme, that from this place it is easie to goe to the *Indians Chele*, which is a very rich Countrie. In Port *Desire*, in many small Riuers there is great store of Pearle, and Currall. Here you may haue great store of Penguins and Seales at an Iland that lieth a mile Southward of the mouth of the hauen. These Giants whereof I haue spoken, goe all naked, they weare their haire long to the shoulders. He whom I saw at *Brasil*, was a man of faire complexion, and very well proportioned according to his long stature: and this is all that I can report of them, for I know not their behauiour, but as the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* iudge, they are no better then the Man-eaters of *Brasil.*

A youth 13. spans high.

Chile.

Giants habite. leslie habit.

Port *Famine* in the Straits of *Magelan.*

Wide mouthed men.

At Port *Famine* the Generall would haue left mee. Here inhabit a kinde of strange *Canibals*, short of body, not aboue fiue or six spans high, and very strong and thicke made: their mouthes are verie bigge, and reach almost to their eares; they eate their meate in a manner raw, for they doe nothing but scorch it a little in the fire, and so eate it, and with the bloud that runneth from their mouthes, they smeare all their faces, and their breasts, and lay yong feathers on their bodies to the bloud that clingeth to their skinnes like Glue. When we were at the straits in this place,

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place, there came aboue foure or fiue thousand vnto vs of them; but they neuer brought vnto vs any thing but Feathers and Pearle as much as we would (for there is great store in this Port *Fasmine*) all the while that we were at it. These *Canibals* would neuer let vs come so neere them, as to touch any of them, for feare we should take them; when they would giue vs any thing, they would tie it at the end of a long staffe, and so likewise we did to them. Here our Generall left seuen sicke men ashore: the Snow lyeth all the yeare on the Mountaines, and it is so cold in Iune, and Iuly, that our men did freeze, and many of them lost their toes, as I my selfe for one, for in one night that I lay moist of my feete, I lost three of my toes on one of my feete, and foure of the toppes of the other foote; some had their feete frozen, some their noses, as *Harris* a Gold-smith, *Henry Barrawell*, that was taken with me, lost his haire from his head, and was all bald for a yeare or two in *Brasil*: yet for all this cold, all the Inhabitants goe naked, except here and there one weare seale skinnes, or the skins of some wilde Beasts, of the which there are many, as Leopards, Lions, and a kinde of Beasts bigger then Horses, they haue great eares aboue a span long, and their tailes are like the tailes of a Cowe; these are very good, the *Indians* of *Brasil* call them *Tapetywason*: of these Beasts I saw in *Ethiopia*, in the Kingdome of *Manicongo*, the *Portugals* call them *Gombe*: farther within the Straits at *Tolisbay*, we found many barkes of trees, that the *Indians* of the Straits doe fish in, these *Indians* would not come neere vs, but still as they spied our Boates they would runne away, but we plainely saw that they were men of good stature, and of white skinnes; they goe all naked both men and women. And thus I end my trauell of *America*.

Extreame cold and naked people.

Harris the Goldsmith. *H. Barrawell.*

Beasts bigger then Horses at the *Magellan* straits, called *Tapetywason*, in *Ethiopia*: whether he meaneth *Zebra* or *Danteca*, see Tom. 1. p. 1002.

Angola is a Kingdome of it selfe in *Ethiopia*, where first the *Portugals* did begin to inhabit: the Countrie of *Angola* commeth along the coast, as *Portugall* doth vpon *Spaine*, so doth *Angola* runne vpon the Kingdome of *Longa* and *Manicongo*. In *Angola* the *Portugals* haue a Citie, called the *Holy Ghost*, where they haue great store of Merchandise, and the *Moore* doe come thither with all kinde of such things as the Countrie yeeldeth, some bring Elephants teeth, some bring *Negro* slaues to sell, that they take from other Kingdomes which ioyne hard by them: thus doe they vse once a weeke, as we keepe Markets, so doe all the *Blackamoores* bring Hens and Hogs, which they call *Gula*, and Hennes they call *Sango*, and a kinde of Beast that they take in the Wildernesse like a Dogge, which they call *Ambroa*: then they haue that Beast which before I haue told you of, called *Gumbe*, which is bigger then a Horse. The *Blackamoores* doe keepe good Lawes, and feare their King verie much: the King is alwaies attended with the Nobles of his Realme, and whensoeuer he goeth abroad, he hath alwaies at the least two hundred archers in his guard, and ten or twelue more going before him singing and playing with Pipes made of great Canes, and foure or fiue yong *Moores* comming after him as his Pages, after them follow all his Noblemen. When there falleth out anie controuersie among them, they craue battell of the King, and then they fight it out before him. They come before the King and fall flat on their breasts, then they rise vp and kneele on their knees stretching out their armes, crying *Mahobeque benge, benge*; then the King striketh them on the shoulders with a Horse-taile, then they goe to the Campe, and with their Bowes they fight it out, till they kill one another. After the battell is done, if any liueth, he that liueth falleth downe before the King in the same manner as he did when he went to the field, and after a long oration made, he taketh the Horse-taile from the Kings shoulder, and waueth it about the Kings head, and then laieth it on his shoulder againe, and goeth away with great honour, being accompanied with all the Nobles of the Court: the *Moores* of *Angola* doe know that there is a God, and doe call God *Gari pongoa*, but they worship the Sunne and the Moone.

Of *Angola* to which he fled out of *Brasil*, as is before deliuered.

The King's pompe.

Rites of the people.

The Countrie is Champain plaine, and drie blacke earth, and yeeldeth verie little Corne, the most of any thing that it yeeldeth is Plantons, which the *Portugals* call *Baynonas*, and the *Moores* call them *Mahonge*, and their Wheate they call *Tumba*, and the Bread *Auon*; and if you will buy any Bread of them, you must say *Tala Cuna auen tumbola gimbo*, that is, *giue me some bread, here is money*. Their money is called *Gull gimbo*, a shell of a fish that they finde by the shoare side, and from *Brasil* the *Portugals* doe carrie great store of them to *Angola*. These *Moores* doe esteeme verie much of red, blew, and yellow cloathes, they will giue a slaue for a span of cloath in breadth I meane, and the length of it of the breadth of the peece, those peeces of cloth they weare about their middles, and vnder it they hang the skin of a great Weasell before them, and another behinde them, and this is all the garments that they weare. A Weazell in their language is called *Pucen*. You can doe a *Blackamoore* no greater disgrace, then to take away his Skinne from before him, for he will dye with griefe if he cannot be reuenged: the *Portugals* doe marke them as we doe Sheepe with a hot Iron, which the *Moores* call *Crimbo*, the poore slaues stand all in a row one by another, and sing *Mundele que sumbela be Carey ha belelelle*, and thus the poore rogues are beguiled, for the *Portugals* make them beleeue that they that haue not the marke is not accounted a man of any account in *Brasil* or in *Portugall*, and thus they bring the poore *Moores* to be in a most damnable bondage vnder the colour of loue. The Countrey of *Angola* yeeldeth no stone, and very little wood: the *Moores* doe make their houses all couered with earth; these houses are no bigger then a reasonable Chamber, and within are many partitions,

The Countrie.

Wezels skin affected.

Branded beguiled slaues.

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like the Cabbins of a ship, in such sort that a man cannot stand vpright in them. There beds are made of great Bulrushes sowed together with the rindes of a Tree. They doe make cloth like Sparke of Veluet (but it is thinner) of the barke of a Tree, and that cloth they doe call *Mollelleo*.

Taking of Elephants.

The Elephants doe feed in the Euening and in the Morning in low marishes as there bee many. The *Moores* doe watch which way they come, and assoone as the Elephants are at meat, they digge great holes in the ground, and couer them with sticks, and then they couer the pits with earth, and when they haue made all readie they goe to the Elephants, and shoote at them with their Arrowes, and assoone as the Elephants feele themselues hurt, they runne at whatsoeuer they see before them, following after the *Blackamores* that chase them, then they fall into the deepe pits where after they are once in, they cannot get out. The *Moores* of *Angola* are as blacke as Iet; they are men of good stature, they neuer take but one Wife, whom they call *Mocasha*. These *Moores* doe cut long streakes in their faces, that reach from the top of their eares to their chinnes. The women doe weare shels of fishes on their armes, and on the small of their legges. The Law amongst them, is, that if any *More* doe lie with an others wife, hee shall lose his eares for his offence. These *Moores* doe circumcize their children, and giue them their names, as wee doe when we baptize. *Angola* may very easily be taken: for the *Portugals* haue no Forts to defend it of any strength.

Circumcision.

Of *Conga*.

The King of *Congo* is the greatest King in all *Aethiopia*, and doth keepe in the field continually sixtie thousand Souldiers, that doe warre against the King of *Vangala*, and the King of *Angola*; this King is a *Christian*, and is brother in Law of Armes with the King of *Spaine*, his seruants of his house are most of them all *Portugals*, and hee doth fauour them very much. The King is of a verie liberall condition, and verie fauourable to all Trauellers, and doth delight verie much to heare of forreigne Countries. He was in a manner amazed to heare how it was possible her Maiestie had liued a Maiden Queene so long, and alwaies reigned in peace with her subiects. When I was brought before the King, and told him of my Countrie; what plentie of things we had, if the *Portugals* had not liked of it, they would interrupt my speech, and the King would shew himselfe verie angrie, and tell them that euerie man was best able to speake of his Countrie, and that I had no reason but to tell him that which was true. The King of *Congo*, when hee goeth to the Campe to see his Armie, rideth vpon an Elephant in great pompe and maiestie, on either side of the Elephant he hath six slaues two of them were Kings, that he himselfe had taken in the field; all the rest were of noble birth; some of them were brothers to the King of *Ancica*, and some of them were of the chiefest bloud of the great King of *Bengala*. These noble slaues at euerie command of the King of *Congo*; doe fall flat on the ground on their brests. When the King doth ride as you haue heard, they carrie a Canopie as it were a cloth of State ouer his head. His two Secretaries, the one a Nobleman of *Spaine*, the other a *More*, doe ride next after him. Before him goeth at the least fiue hundred Archers, which are his Guard, then there followeth a *More*, which doth nothing but talke aloud in praise of the King, telling what a great Warriour he hath beene, and praising his wisdome for all things that hee hath accomplished verie honourably to his great fame of such as knew him. When this King of *Congo* commeth to his Host, all the Souldiers as he passeth, fall flat on their faces to the ground. He neuer commeth into his Host after any battell, but hee dubbeth at the least twentie Knights *Portugals*, and as many *Moores*, giuing them verie great liuing according to their callings, and the seruice that they haue done. The brother of this King was in *Spaine*, at my comming from thence for Ambassadour from his brother.

The King.

Here the *Portugall* Captaine would haue taken mee perforce, to haue beene a common Souldier, but the King commanded that they should let mee goe whether I would, and my determination at that time was to haue gone for the Countrie of *Prester Iohn*, for I had a great desire to see the Riuer of *Nilo* and *Ierusalem* (for I accounted my selfe as a lost man, not caring into what Countrie or Kingdome I came) but it was not the will of God, that I should at that time obtaine my desire. For trauelling through the Kingdome of *Congo*, to haue gone to the Kingdome of *Angila*, It was my fortune to meete a companie of *Portugall* Souldiers that went to a Conqueste, that the King of *Spain* had newly taken, called *Masangana*; which place is on the borders of *Anguca*. Here they made me serue like a Drudge, for both day and night I carried some stone and lime to make a Fort. It lieth right vnder the Line, and standeth in a bottome in the middle of foure hils, and about are many fogges, but not one Riuer. It is the vnfirmest Countrie vnder the Sunne. Here the *Portugals* die like Chickens; you shall see men in the morning verie lustie, and within two houres dead. Others, that if they but weat their legges, presently they swell bigger then their middle; others brake in the sides with a draught of water. O, if you did know the intollerable heate of the Countrie, you would thinke your selfe better a thousand times dead, then to liue there a weeke. There you shall see poore Souldiers lie in troupes, gaping like Camelians for a puffe of winde. Here liued I three moneths, not as the *Portugals* did, taking of Physicke, and euerie weeke letting of bloud and keeping close in their houses when they had any raine, obseruing houres, and times to goe abroad morning and Euening, and neuer to eate

Masangana. See *Tom.1.l.7. c.3. And.Battell* liued here fiue yeeres.

Sickly disposition of the place.

to eate but at such and such times. I was glad when I had got any thing at morning, noone or night, I thanke God I did worke all day, from morning till night, had it beene raine or neuer so great heate. I had alwaies my health as well as I haue in *England*. This Countrie is verie rich, the King had great store of Gold sent him from this place: the time that I was there, the King of *Angica* had a great Citie at *Masangana*; which Citie *Paulas Dias*, gouernour of *Angola*, tooke and scituated there, and finding hard by it great store of Gold, fortified it with foure Forts, and walled a great circuit of ground round about it, and within that wall, now the *Portugals* doe build a Citie, and from this Citie euerie day they doe warre against the King of *Angica*, and haue burnt a great part of his Kingdome.

Gold.

Paul Dias.

Angica.

The *Angicas* are men of goodly stature, they file their teeth before on their vpper Iawe and on their vnder Iawe, making a distance betweene them like the teeth of a Dogge; they doe eate mans flesh, they are the stubbornest Nation that liues vnder the Sunne, and the resolutest in the field that euer man saw; for they will rather kill themselues then yeelde to the *Portugals*: they inhabit right vnder the line, and of all kinde of Moores these are the blackest; they doe liue in the Law of the *Turkes*, and honour *Mahomet*, they keepe manie Concubines as the *Turkes* doe, they wash themselues euerie morning vpwards, falling flat on their faces towards the East. They weare their haire all made in plaits on their heads, as well men as women: they haue good store of Wheate, and a kinde of graine like Fetches, of the which they make Bread: they haue great store of Hennes like Partridges, and Turkies, and all their feathers curle on their backes: their houses are like the other houses of the Kingdomes aforenamed. And thus I end, shewing you as briefe as I can, all the Nations and Kingdomes that with great danger of my life I trauelled through in twelue yeares of my best age *getting no more then my trauell for my paine*. From this Kingdome *Angica*, was I brought in Irons againe to my Master *Saluador Correa de sa sa*, to the Citie of Saint *Sebastian* in Brasil, as you haue heard. Now you haue seene the discourse of my trauels, and the fashions of all the Countries and Nations where I haue beene, I will by the helpe of God, make you a short discourse in the language of the *Petiwares*, which language all the Inhabitants of *Brasil* doe vnderstand, especially all the coast from *Fernambucque* to the Riuer of Plate, the which I hope will be profitable to all trauellers, and of them I trust my paines shall be well accepted of.

Angicans valiant.

Of *Mahumetan* Religion, if the Author were not deceiued by occasion of their circumcision; which in *Africa* is common to *Christians* and *Ethnicks*, with *Mahumetans*.

First, you must tell them of what Nation you are, and that you come not as the *Portugals* doe for their wiues and children to make them bondslaues.

We are *Englishmen*, as you all know that in times past had peace with you.

Now knowing the neede and want that you haue of all such things as before your Fathers had, for the loue that both your ancestours and ours did beare one to another, and for the loue and pittie that we haue of your want, we are come to renew our ancient amity.

Ore aquiretama que se neering peramoya weriſco
Catudeie waray oreroyebe bereſoy.
Coen peceremo Cowauere pipope pewſoma bare-
ſoy, ypaiabo bayo berua ouerjco coen pecotene ſon ſo.
Coro mandoure peramoya wayſonbo, ore ranoya
wayſonbo reſoy etequeima reſoy pecotene pararaua,
oro in iberith ore ranoya pereri ſocaramoyn go
paraabe.

Of Riuers, Ports, Harbours, Ilands of Brasil: for instruction of Nauigators.

Rio Grande, is called by vs the great Riuer, lately was conquered by a *Portugall*, called *Manuell Masquarenhas*. It is aboue two leagues broad in the mouth, and on the South-east side standeth a great Fort made by the foresaid *Manuell Masquarenhas*: that Countrie is plaine and sandy in many places, especially neere the Sea, and yeeldeth Sugar Canes in abundance. On the coast are many great Bayes, where the *Indians* doe oftentimes finde great store of Ambergreese: within this place, there is also store of Wood, Pepper, Ginger, and Waxe. Here inhabit a kinde of *Canibals*, called *Petywares*: these *Canibals* haue had trafficke a long time with *France*, and amongst them there are many that can speake *French*, which are Bastards, begotten of *Frenchmen*.

Rio Grande.

Ambergreese.

On the coast of *Brasil* there are three Riuers of *Paraeyua*: one is this that lieth next to *Rio Grande*, the other is a great Riuer that runneth through the Countrie almost as farre as *Lymo*, and commeth out betweene Cape *Frio* and *Spirito Sancto*: the third is a faire Riuer that lieth betweene the Riuer of *Plate* and Saint *Vincents*. This *Pareyna* whereof we speake, is a faire great Bay, where shipping being neuer so great may enter, within this Bay vpon a hill, you shall see a faire Citie, and on the Sea side standeth two small Forts. You may anker neere the shoare, at the entrie of this Bay, you shall see three hils of red earth on either side of the harbour, which the *Portugals* call *Bareras Mermelhaes*.

Paraeya three Riuers.

A Riuer called *Guyana*, I mean not that of Sir *Water Rawly*.

Guyana, is a small Riuer that lieth by *Paraeua*, it belongeth to *Iasper Desiquerd*, who was chiefe Iustice of all *Brasil*. In the mouth of this Riuer standeth a great rocke, which is continually couered with Sea Foules. This Riuer hath two fadome water in the mouth, a quarter of a mile within this Riuer, on the South-west side, you may take fresh water, and great store of Cattell: vpon this Riuer there are great store of Sugar-Mils, and continually you shall haue in this Riuer small Caruels that fish, and carry Sugar from thence to *Fernambuquo*: likewise here is great store of *Brasil*, Pepper, Ginger, and Cotten, Cocos, *Indian* Nuts, here likewise inhabit *Petywares*.

The description of a place, called by the *Indians Etamariqua*.

Etamariqua in the *Indian* language is a bed, it is a point of the land like a Cape: the point runneth halfe a mile into the Sea, and vpon it the *Portugals* haue built a Towne, you may anker very neere the shoare, both on the South-west and on the North-east side of the Towne, in seuen and eight fadome water. All the Countrie till you come to Cape *Augustin*, is low land, and to saile from thence to *Fernambuquo* is no danger, but the clifts which lye along the coast, as farre as the Riuer Saint *Francis*, which are alwayes seene, the Seas when there are any Spring tides, doe ouerflow the land behinde: moreouer if any winde blow from the East, it beateth the Sea into hils of the Clifts, that it maketh a great noise. Wherefore the *Indians* call it the *Land of the Bell*. Here are reasonable store of Sugars, and great store of *Coco* Nuts.

Fernambuquo and the Citie of *Olinda*.

On the North side of *Fernambuquo*, you shall see white Downes, and when you are past all the Downes on the South, you are by *Capiguramirinj*, which is a place where alwaies you shall see Fisher-men in small Boates or *Iangades*; and from thence to *Fernambuquo*, are fiue or six miles, and so if you be vnder 8. degrees, you shall see a flat land euen and bare, called *Capitunja*; then you must take heede you runne not Southward, for then you runne vpon a point of the land, called by the *Portugals Punta de Olynda*, which is foure leagues from the Cape, and stretcheth into the Sea as farre as Cape *Augustin*. As soone as you haue doubled this point, you must take heede you put not in with the Towne of *Olynda*, which you shall see; for if you doe, you will runne vpon the Sands, called by the *Portugals Baxos de S. Antonio*, which lye at least foure or fiue miles into the Sea, being neere the shoare, you shall see the Shippes that lye at anker ouer the Clifts, called by the *Portugals Arecias*: this place is a league from *Fernambuquo*, being the harbour where all the Shipping that goes from *Fernambuquo* doe arriue: from this place to the Cape yon shall see the Clifts, as if it were a wall made by Bricklayers, no higher in one place then in another, but all euen. The Towne of *Fernambuquo* is scituated vpon a hill, and very strongly entrenched round about, on the Sea side euery twelue score, standeth a small Fort or defence for Soldiers, with foure cast Peeces, and so they scoure all the shoare from the *Arecias*, where the Shippes lye to the point of *Olynda*, which is the farthest part of the Towne Northwards, from the *Arecias* where the Ships lye commeth a Riuer through the land, a Harquebusse shot from the Sea coast, and runneth right behinde the Towne from the South to the West and East, which maketh the Towne almost an Iland, all but a little part of the North side.

Cape of Saint *Augustine*.

The Cape of Saint *Augustin* is a Point of land that runneth into the Sea two or three miles: from the Sea you shall see three hils, called by the *Petywares*, *Aquare Wasen Remitum*, they will seeme vnto you like the backe of a Camell, and now you may easily know it, for you may see a Church that the *Portugals* haue built; and halfe a league towards the South, you shall see the Iland of Saint *Aleyxo*.

Il. of S. *Aleyxo*.

The Iland of Saint *Aleyxo* is long and narrow: it lieth within a league of the shore, and stretcheth North-east and South-west, you may anker betweene the shoare and it all weathers, for the Iland hath very faire Baies, where you may lye in ten or twelue fadome water. Vpon this Iland you may take wood or fresh water.

Porto Decalon.

Porto Decalno lyeth Southward of the Iland of Saint *Aleyxo*, it is a flat land, you neede not feare the comming in by the rockes, for hard by them you shall haue fourteene fathome water. Here you shall haue great store of Cattell, and Sugars. This Countrie is plaine low land, and all planted with Sugar Canes: you shall know this harbor very easily from the Southerne point of the Iland Saint *Aleyxo*, for when it ebbeth, you shall see a faire Bay, and all the shore bare almost to the Cape, being blacke ground.

Riuer of Bones

Eight leagues Southward from the *Porto de calno*, is the *Riuer of Bones*. Southward of it you shall see three great red Hills, which stand ouer the Riuer of *Camaryiuma*, which is a league from this Riuer, you shall see from Sea a great Bay run within the Land, and before the mouth of it many great Rocks, to come to this Bay you must come close to the shoare on the South-west side, and after you bee in the Bay keepe full West, and it will bring you to a Riuer that runneth into the Land at the least twentie leagues. In the mouth of this Riuer dwell sixe or seuen *Portugals*, that keepe Cattell for *Iohn Pays*, but they are of no strength. Here you may take water at pleasure, and alwayes in these houses, that stand in the mouth of the Riuer, you shall haue good store of Cassaui meale. If you be of any strength, that you dare goe ten or twelue miles vp the Riuer you shall take good store of Sugars, for there standeth three or foure Sugar mills onely, an other on the Riuer side; likewise here is good store of Brasill, and Pepper, Cotton, and many other merchandise.

Cama-

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Camaryiuua (as I haue said) lyeth a league Southward from the *Riuer of stones*, to know it you shall see three Hills of red ground, called by the *Portugals, Barcos Vermellos*, this place is not inhabited: the mouth of this place is narrow, and hath not aboue fiue foot water, but you may anchor in the Bay hard by the Riuer, and send your Boat safely for fresh water without danger, or to fish with your Net, for there is great store of fresh fish of all kindes. *Camaryiuua.*

The Riuer of Saint *Antonio* lyeth seuen leagues from *Camaryiuua*, it is a faire great Riuer, lyeth some fiftie leagues within the Land, hath foure fathom water at the comming in, but is so narrow that no ship can come in. It is a very good place for you if you stand in neede (hauing salt) to make your prouision, for there you shall haue great store of all kinde of fish, especially of a kinde of fish, called by the *Indians, Varana*, which is as bigge as an Oxe. After you are within this Riuer, you shall haue high land on both sides, and you must be carefull and keep good watch, for vp this Riuer dwelleth a kinde of people, called *Caraÿas*, these people if they see you vnprouided will fight with you, but if they see you able to defend your selues, then will they bring such things as they haue to traffick. The Riuer of Saint *Antonio.* Salt. Fish *Varana.*

The Harbour of *French*-men, called by the *Indians, Aiurema piasaie*, lyeth two leagues Southward from the Riuer of Saint *Antonio*. It is a small Bay, that may be knowne by a high Hill that standeth ouer it, which is all full of Brasill trees. To enter into this Harbour, you must marke the Cliffes, and when you are to the North of them all but one, you may safely come within a stones cast to the shoare. When you haue landed if you want fresh water, you must seeke on the South side of the Hill, and you shall finde a streame that runneth out of the Hill into a great Cisterne of stone, which is made out of a Rocke, you cannot misse of this place if you seeke for it, for all the way you shall see small Rocks, and mens names written in them. A place called the *Harbour of Frenchmen.*

This Riuer in our language is called the *Riuer of Crocodiles*, for in it there are many, which the *Indians* call *Iaquares*; it is narrow, and in the mouth of it standeth a white Rocke. To enter it you must take heed you keepe on the North side of this Rocke, and you shall finde nine and ten foot water; after you be within it you shall come to a great Bay, and on the North-east side you shall finde a small Riuer, where you may take fresh water, but let euery man take heed how hee leapeth into the water, for the Crocodiles lie by the banke-side hidden, and if any thing fall into the water presently they kill it. Here is nothing to bee had vnlesse you will fish for the Crocodiles, and take the Bladders or Cods of muske from them: here you need not feare any Inhabitants, except you be espyed by some passengers that goe to *Fernambuquo*. Riuer called *Iaquareaſicke.*

Alaqua is a very faire Riuer, that lyeth foure leagues Northward from the Riuer of Saint *Michael*, and three leagues Southward from the aforesaid Riuer of Crocodiles. On either side of it you shall see a great Hill, called by the *Portugals, Os Caiuas*. You shall finde but seuen or eight foot water at the comming, and very cleere from any Rocks, but after you bee within, you shall finde many bankes of sand, where you shall kill good store of fish, and alwayes you shall bee sure to haue Caruells fishing in this place, at the comming in on both sides you may take fresh water. *Alaqua.*

Before the Riuer of Saint *Michael* you shall see the Cliffes like *Arecines* of *Fernambuquo*; you must enter at the end of the Cliffe, hard by the shoare on the South-west: and you must marke a small Cliffe that lyeth betweene the mouth of the Riuer and the shoare, this Cliffe you leaue betweene you and the shoare, and betwixt this Cliffe and the great Rocks you may enter it; three fathom water. But take heed when you enter, that you saile not towards the North-east, although you see the Bay great, for you shall run vpon many great bankes of sand, therefore you must keepe West still within a stones cast of the shoare, so shall you be sure to keepe in the Channell. Thus you must saile till you discouer a house, that you shall see doubling a Point full South from you, then your best is to anchor, for if you goe farther, you are in danger except you know the Channell very well. In this place dwels a *Portugall*, called *Iohn de Rocho*: and vp a Riuer that you shall see runne into the Land dwell many *Portugals*, where they haue a Church with Friars to say Masse. Here you shall haue good store of Cartell if you need, and Brasill wood, Cassaui meale: and in this Riuer you shall haue good store of Oisters, and in them you shall find many great Pearles: likewise here is good store of Balsom oile, and trees of *All Nesico*, which is a very precious and rich wood, singular good for bruises, or old hurts: also here is good store of Tabacco. This place is eight leagues from the *Riuer of Toades*, where we were driuen on the Rocks, because we knew not where wee were, for it is a singular good Harbour to enter, if a man know the comming in betweene the Rocks, called, *Os Bayos de Don Rodrigo*. Riuer of Saint *Michael.*

Because the *Indians* indeed doe kill many Toades, therefore they call it *Cororoen*, that is to say, the *Riuer*, or *water of Toades*, I tell you the name in the *Indian* language. Because in all places you shall haue of them, and so you may know when they tell you where you are. When you are in ten degrees and an halfe Southwards of the Equinoctiall Line, you shall see fiue hils and the three that standeth on the North side of this place whereof wee speake are round and high, the other two that stand on the South, not farre in distance one from another, are long and lower then the other, if you come neere the shoare, you shall see a great many of small Rockes, and a great Bay which is the place I speake of, right before this Bay you shall see two great Rockes, to The Harbour, called *The Riuer of Toades.*

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goe into this Harbour, you must passe betweene these Rockes which are called *Bayos de don Rodrigo*, when you are entred you may anchor hard by the Rockes, and sound the Channell, which will lye North-east from you. Here you may haue fresh water vp the Riuer, but it will be hard for you to find, therefore your best is to goe a quarter of a mile by the Sea side, and you shall see a faire Riuer, where you may take water at pleasure, and kill good store of fish. At this place comming from the Riuer of *Ienero*, in the night we were driuen vpon the Rockes for want of a Pilot that knew the Coast.

I doe not set downe the places betweene this and the Cape *Frio*, because I know them not, but by report of other Trauellers, and therefore I leaue it to them, for I will write no more but what I haue seene, and am able to proue when time shall serue, and thus I end shewing you all that I haue seene on the Coast Northward of Cape *Frio*, which is in our Language Cape *Cold*.

Cape *Frio* is a point of the Land that runneth into the Sea at least twelue mile, it lyeth vnder 22. degrees. At this Cape you may haue sight of a great Mountaine, that you may see ouer it called *Abausango Retambuera*, here you may anchor on the East-side of this Cape in a Harbour called *Abayia formoze*. Here you may haue great store of Brassell-wood, and in this Bay you shall find oftentimes good store of Amber-greece, and on the North side of this Bay you shall see a great Riuer called *vparasou*, where you may kill good store of many kinde of fishes, and in the mouth of this Riuer you shall haue great store of Corall, if you will dragge for it.

R. *Saquarema*. *Saquarema* is a Riuer, where the *Frenchmen* did traffique with the *Canibals* called *Tamoyes*; it floweth foure leagues Southward from the Cape. This Riuer is narrow at the comming in, you shall find twelue foote water, till you be three or foure leagues vp the Riuer. You shall find fresh water on either side of the Riuer, and great store of Brassell-wood, all along the Riuer side. On the South side of this Riuer you shall see a great hill which the *Indians* call *Boypeua*, that is, *The rotten Whale*, for you shall see the top of it like a dead Whale. If you want refreshing, you may haue good store of Potato Roots there, Plantons, Lemons, Orenges, and many other good Roots as bigge as great Turnips, which the *Indians* call *Caranasou*.

Etioca. *Etioca* is a league Southward of the Riuer of *Saquarema*, It is (as I haue said in the description of my trauell) a great and huge Rocke, hollow within, where the *Indians* say that the seruant of God did preach vnto them, which they call *Topannayapera*, before the mouth of this Rocke towardes the Sea standeth another flat Rocke, that reacheth somewhat into the Sea; vpon it you shall see the prints of bare feet, here if you fish with Lines, you may quickly lade your shippe. A little behind this stone house, you shall see a fine Riuer of water, where you shall finde many pretie greene stones that *Indians* doe vse to weare in their lips. You may anchor within a Musket shot of the shore, but it is verie dangerous if the wind be in the East.

Piratininga. *Piratininga* is fiue leagues to the Southward of *Etioca*, right before it standeth a small Iland, it is inhabited by the *Portugals*, It is a Bay that runneth betweene two Mountaines a mile and more within the Land. There I haue seene a Mermaid and many other strange fishes. You may lie with your shipping at the Iland, and send your Boates ashore, where you shall find great store of Cattle; and you may take good store of all kind of fishes if you will, either with Hook or Net. Here you may haue Oranges, Lemmons, and Cassaui Meale, and all other such things that the Countrey yeeldeth, but you must be alwaies sure to keepe good watch, for feare of the *Portugals* of the Riuer of *Ianuary*, which are hard by you.

Mermayd seen by the Author.

The Riuer of *Ienero*, and Citie of Saint *Sebastian*. The Riuer of *Ianuary* lieth three leagues from *Piratininga*, it is a great Arme of the Sea, that runneth into the Land at the least fourteene miles; on the mouth of this place, stand foure Ilands, and now the best marke that it hath to be knowne, is a Fort that standeth on the North side of the comming in of the Harbour, vpon a Rock. On the South side standeth a Hill that reacheth into the Sea, which the *Portugals* call *Cano*, that is, *The top of a ship*, for it seemeth like the maine top-saile of a ship from Sea. Hard by the Sea side on the foote of this Hill on the North side of the Hill as you saile into the Harbour; standeth a Rocke of great height made like a Sugar-loafe, and is called by the *Portugals* the *Sugar-loafe*. In the midst of the going in, in the mouth of this Riuer lieth a Rocke plainly to bee seene, to goe in you must keepe betweene the Rocke and the Fort, that standeth on the North side of you. When you are entred the mouth of the Riuer and are past the Fort, you shall see an Iland lie right before you, and euen with a Church called *Santa Lucia*, this Iland is called the Iland of *Brigalion*. You must be sure to passe on the North side of this Iland, and assoone as you haue passed it, you shall see all the Citie both on the Hill, and on the Sea side. Then you must take heed that you goe not right to the Towne, for you shall run vpon certaine shelues of sand, that lie right before the Towne all along to a small Iland called the *Iland of Saint Bent*, this Iland lieth a quarter of a mile from the Iland of *Bragalion*, and Eastward of this Iland of Saint *Bent*, standeth a great Rocke, you may saile betweene the Rocke and the Iland, and assoone as you haue entred, betweene them you may anchor hard by the Iland, and then you shall see a Church standing vpon a Hill which is called Saint *Bent*, then you need not feare to goe right before the Towne, within a Caleeuer shot of the shore from the Towne, you shal see on the North-east shore a towne of *Canibals*, called Saint *Lorenzo*, which is in peace with the *Portugals*, and within the Bay you shall finde many Riuers and Sugar-mils, where there is great profit to be made.

Iland of *Brigalion*.

Iland of Saint *Bent*.

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Waratina lieth three leagues from the Riuer of *Ianuary*, you may know it by two Ilands that lie right before the mouth of the aforesaid Riuer. At the mouth of the Riuer likewise standeth a high Hill, and on either side both on the South-west and North-east is low Land, in this place you cannot enter with any ship, but you may anchor betweene the Ilands, and send your Boats ashore. If you goe vp, you shall find good store of Potatoe Roots, Plantons, great store of Oranges and Lemmons, and many other kind of fruits, which are very good to releeue sicke men. If you will fish with your Net, heere you shall kill all kinde of good fishes, but alwayes bee sure to keepe good watch, for the *Portugals* are very neere you. The Riuer called *Waratina*.

From the Riuer of *Waratina* for the space of foure leagues is all sandy low Land, you shall see a high Hill which the *Indians* call *Marambayapuam*, that is in our Language, the *end of Warre*; right ouer against this point you shall see a great Iland at the comming in of this Harbour, you need not feare, for hard by the shore, you shall haue twentie fathome water. When you are in the mouth of this Harbour right before, you shall see a white Rocke, which will lie full West from you: you must leaue the Iland Southward from you, then shall you descrie another great Iland called *Epeoya*; at a point of this Iland that lieth full West, towards the firme Land, you shall see two small Ilands, and when you are right against those two Ilands you shall see a faire Bay, where you may anchor at pleasure to come into this Bay, you must enter between those two Ilands that I haue spoken of. I doe describe this Harbour vnto you aboue many good Harbours that you may find, because you may depart from hence with any wind, for the mouth of *Marambaya* lieth South-east from you, when you are in this Harbour, then you haue another going out that lieth North-east from you, from this Port where you shall anchor called *Epeoya*. If you want victuals for your ships, you may take your Boat or your Pinnasse, and goe out betweene the two Ilands that you entred, and when you are betweene those Ilands you shall see a flat broad Iland, which will lye flat South-west from you; this Iland the *Indians* called *Sapeawera*; that is, the morning, and this is the Iland that I was driuen vpon, when I runne away to Master *Hawkins*, as I haue told you in the discourse of my troubles, you must come with your Boat to this Iland, and you must be sure to passe betweene the West shore and the Iland; and assoone as you haue passed the point of this Iland, you shall see three Hils of red Earth one hard by another. You must leaue one of them West from you, then may you land your men at pleasure, when you haue landed, you must goe through a little Copps, for the space of a Harquebusse shot, then shall you come into a faire Lawne, where you shall find great store of Cattle, and a house or two that standeth vpon a Hill where you shall haue alwayes good store of *Cassani* meale, if you will haue Roots and Plantons vpon the Iland where you anchor there are good store, but there is an Iland called the *Long Iland*, where you shall haue of all these things in abundance. To know this Iland, row with your Boate to the Iland of *Epeoya* that lieth full South from your ship, and then you shall see a long Iland hard by the firme Land, which is this whereof wee speake, and because you shall bee sure not to misse it, be attentiue. When you come neere the shore, beholding a Rocke that lieth a quarter of a mile from the shore, vpon which Rocke standeth a Crosse, this is the place where a *Portugall* called *Manuell Antones* dwelleth, but now there is no bodie, but a kinde of *Canibals* that come and goe, therefore be sure alwaies in those parts to keepe good watch and be carefull; if you can speake their language you may haue many things. From this Iland Southwards you shall see two small Ilands halfe a league from you, these Ilands are called *Anambuquano*, right against them lieth a faire Riuer, where you shall haue alwaies great store of fish, and by the Riuer side you shall see the *Mandioca* plainly, and many other Roots very good to refresh your companie. Southward from this place some two leagues you shall see a faire Bay called *Paratecy* there dwelleth a kind of *Canibals* called *Vaimasses*, of them you may buy skins of diuers wilde beasts, and sometimes they haue good store of Amber, which they call *Pira ponia ergaty*. Certaine Ilands called by the *Illa grande*; Great Iland.

Saint *Sebastian* lieth some three leagues from *Great Iland*, It is a long and a faire Iland; you may anchor betweene it and the shore. After you haue entred at the North point of this Iland, you shall see a great white Rocke, right ouer against this Rocke, you shall see a point of the firme Land runne into the Sea, and right before this point lie three Rockes, where commonly you shall see *Indians* shooting fishes with their Bowes and Arrowes, if you goe with your Boate to that point, you shall see a great Bay called by the *Indians Iequerequere*. There likewise standeth a great Towne of *Canibals*, such as those that dwell at *Great Iland*, halfe a league from Saint *Sebastians* standeth a small Iland right into the Sea, called by the *Indians Vraratan*, and by the *Portugals Alquatrasses*, heere you shall finde great store of Seafoules and Seales; *Alegators* that liue on the Land called by the *Indians Fisewasou*. Right ouer against the South point of the Iland of Saint *Sebastian* standeth a great white Rocke called by the *Portugals Paidemilio*, that is, the life of *Ginnie* Wheate; then shall you see an Iland hard by the shoare called by the *Indians Boysouconga*, that is, the Whales head, this Iland standeth in the mouth of *Pertioqua*, which is, the Riuer that goeth to Saint *Vincents*, as you goe to this place after you haue passed the Iland, you shall see North-east from you certaine houses where there dwell a kind of *Canibals* called *Caijoses*, there you may haue good store of Cattle, Orenges, Lemmons, and many kinds of Roots and Fruits. The Iland of S. *Sebastian*.

Right

The description of S. *Vincents & Santos.*

Right against this Towne of *Canibals* called *Caribos*, standeth the Towne of Saint *Vincents* called by the *Indians Warapiumama*; as you goe farther vp the Riuer you shall see a small Iland Southward, where you shall see a Sugar-mill of the Captaines of *Santos* called *Ieronimo Letou*, where our Gentlemen were slaine. Farther vp the Riuer, you shall see a Castle stand at the foote of the Hill; then you come to the Towne of *Santos*, which standeth hard by the water side. Right behind the Towne of *Santos* standeth a Hill wher *Brascubas* had a house, from the top of this Hill did *Iohn Danies* make a Plate of the Countrey. Now the *Portugals* haue found Mynes of siluer in this place.

The description of the third *Pariena*; now called by the *Portugals Os patos*, and by the *Indians Vwason.*

The third *Pariena* is a good Harbor for ships, and here are great store of *Canibals* called *Caribos*, which very lately are inleagued with the *Portugals*, you may buy of them great store of Pepper and Ginger, very rich Furres, and Cotton-wooll, and Waxe, this is the place that I came vnto after I had beene taken by the *Tamoyes* within the Land. Here the *Tamoyes* were taken by the *Portugals*, and I was giuen againe to be my Masters slaue, when 10000. of the *Tamoyes* were slaine, and 20000. of them parted among the *Portugals* for slaues.

The description of the Riuer of *Plate.*

The mouth of the Riuer of *Plate* is wide, and within it there are many Downes of sand, you must bee sure to keepe very neere the North shoare, till you shall see a high Mountayne white at the top; then must you saile Southward at least foure leagues, and shall you see another small Hill on the Northside, you must saile right with it; then shall you come into a faire Bay, where you must be sure to keepe still along the shoare, and after you haue passed the Westerne point of this Bay, you shall haue the Riuer *Mareer*; then you need not feare any shallowes till you come before the Towne of *Bonos Ayres*. There the Riuer runneth full Southward, and along the Riuer side from *Bonos Ayres* is a small Village built by the *Spaniards* of Lime and stone that they brought from *Brasil*, for all the Countrey is sandie: the *Indians* doe make their houses all couered with earth. Here are great store of wilde Horses and Cattle, sheepe and Goats, but for siluer and gold, there is none but that which commeth from *Cordoua* and *Potosin*. Here likewise the *Indians* haue great store of Wheate, twentie leagues within Land lyeth a Prouince called *Tocoman*, now it is a Bishopricke, this Countrey is the diuision of *Brasil*, and all the Prouinces of *Noua Hispania*. Here the *Indians* haue Wheate and *Cassani*, Apples, Peares, Nutts, and all other fruites of *Spaine*, likewise they haue all the fruites of *Brasil*. But after you trauell Southward of this Countrey, you shall not find any thing that groweth in *Brasil*, nor any wild beasts, as *Leopards*, or *Capiuaras*, *Iauaseuings*, *Cat of Mountaines*, *Aqueques*, *Mariuas*, *Moroquies*, *Ioboyas*, *Surucuons*, *Iararcas*, *Boyaeua*, *Boyseuinga*, *Boybeua*. *Brasil* is full of all these wilde and dangerous beasts, and diuers others; But the Prouinces of *Peru* are cleere of them, except it bee some chance. From *Tocoman* to Saint *Iago* is eightie leagues, and you shall trauell it as you doe by Sea with a Compasse, for the Countrey is all sand, and as the wind bloweth, so shall you haue the Mountaynes of sand, to-day on one side of you, to morrow on the other, in this passage you shall passe through many Riuers, which to your thinking are not aboue a foote deepe, but if you haue not good guides and great experience, your waggons and horses will quickly be cast away in them, and at an instant be couered with quicke sand. After you haue passed this Countrey, you shall come to Saint *Iago*, then till you come to *Beteseu*, you shall trauell through great Mountaines and Valleyes, and all the way as you goe, you shall haue great Townes of *Indians*, who are all in peace with the *Spaniards*, you shall haue fiue hundred of these *Indians* by the way as you trauell readie with Nets to carrie you, eyed on a Cane from Towne to Towne, for a fish-hooke or a few beads of glasse, or any such trifle; and there is no trauelling in the World so easie as this, for you may lye, or sit, and play on a Cytterne all the way if you will, for so the *Spaniards* doe; you shall passe by many Mynes of Gold and traffique with the *Indians* for Gold, and diuers kinds of precious Stones, but not in that plentie as you shall at *Potasin*, by reason that there the Mynes are open and wrought on, and those betweene *Santiago* and *Potossin* are not. At *Potossin* there is no want of any thing, although the Countrey of it selfe bee very barren, but by reason of the great traffique that they haue from *Lima*, and all the Townes of the South Sea; they haue alwayes prouision enough, for from those Townes, they bring Oyle and Wine in great Iarres of earth vpon great sheepe, which are called sheepe of fiue quarters, for their tailes haue almost as much as a quarter. To tell the particulars of the Mynes, would bee a new Storie, only this: they find the Oare like blacke Lead, then they grinde it in Ingines, then they wash it through fine Sieues in paued Cisternes that are made for the purpose; the *Moores* are all naked as long as they worke, because he shall not hide any precious stone. The *Spaniards* here are all very rich, and in truth as gallant fellowes as can be. The *Francisco* Friers carrie a great sway in this Countrey, by reason that they were the first that preached in this part of *India*.

Note. Beasts of *Brasil.*

Trauell by Compasse on sands.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Relations of Master THOMAS TVRNER *who liued the best part of two yeeres in* Brasill, &c. *which I receiued of him in conference touching his Trauels.*

IN Saint *Michael* one of the *Açores*, they ascend vp in a forenoones iourney vnto a hill into a Chappell, wherein they need a fire in Summer for the cold: there being a little off three Springs, the one whereof casteth vp waters in a continual boyling with a terrible noise, and of great heate, the second of heate intolerable, which in short time scalideth any liuing thing to death, the ground also hote to stand on: but the water calme. The third is warme, and a fit Bathe. In these Ilands in Caues bee found men buried before the Conquest, whole, &c. *Brasilian Indians* are *Canibals*, and not for reuenge only, but for food also deuoure mans flesh. The *Portugals* make not slaues of them, nor can enioyne them worke, by reason of a commission to the contrarie obtained by the Iesuites: neither doe they winne of them ought but by faire meanes. They are most excellent Archers, goe starke naked, the womens haire long and blacke, harsh as a Horse-taile. He did see vp the Riuer of *Plate*, one twelue foot high, and report was of higher in that Countrey. Their Weapons are two massie bowles at the two ends of a string cast, &c. He saw also men there with the hinder parts of their heads, not round but flat, (and a little before this Relation, about *Anno* 1610. he said that at *London* he had seene carried to the Court a thigh bone of a man a yard and halfe in length.)

Saint *Michaels*.

Brasill.

Iesuits *Sauages* friends.

Giants.

Flat heads.

Their beasts in *Brasill* are great Apes with beards and Mustachioes. Kine like vnto ours of both sexes, but liuing in the waters and resorting to land to feed. Hauing no Vdders, nor hornes, long legs, harmelesse, lesse somewhat then ours, their flesh like beefe, but eaten in the name of fish.

Strange Kine.

Tigres like Grey-hounds spotted like Ounces exceeding swift, the force of whose paw at a blow killeth his prey. Their beast by some called *Hay*, which yet he saith, eateth leaues of trees and not Aire only: the louely prettie *Segonin*. The Serpent *Cobras*: whereof he saw one almost as bigge as himselfe, twentie foot long, killed by their *Indian* boy, of colour like an Adder. Of whom they report (and a Father gaue him instance of the proofe) that watching his prey, what is whatsoeuer commeth by, it windeth about and getteth the taile into the fundament drawing the guts after it: and so preyeth on the same, deuouring all, till that it be not able for fulnesse to stirre, but rotteth as it lyeth, the flesh quite away, the head and bones remaining, in which the life continuing recouereth at last his former state. One was thus found in the rottennesse, and being bound for proofe by the *Portugals*, with a withe to a Tree, at their returne was so found repaired. The beast that baggeth vp her young ones, &c. *(as in others Relations, heere therefore omitted.)*

See before in *Oviedo* Strange Serpent.

The number may perhaps seeme incredible and iustly: yet hee tels the report, which in some one yeere after some great battle, may also be probable: but the general report is of diuers thousands shipped thence yeerly: the *Portugals* making their gaine by the *Negroes* foolish and frightfull wars vpon each other.

The *Indian* is a fish in the Sea, and a Foxe in the Woods, and without them a *Christian* is neither for pleasure or profit fit for life or liuing.

Out of *Angola* is said to bee yeerely shipped eight and twentie thousand* slaues and there was a Rebellion of slaues against their Masters, tenne thousand making a head and barracadoing themselues, but by the *Portugals* and *Indians* chased, and one or two thousand reduced. One thousand belonged to one man, who is said to haue twelue thousand slaues, Eighteene *Ingenios*, &c. his name is *Iohn de Paiis*, exiled out of *Portugall*, and heere prospering to this incredibilitie of wealth.

There are Apples called *Ananas*, pleasant in colour and exceedingly in taste, and holesome, but eating Iron as *Aqua fortis*.

Brasill is full of Mines, if the King would suffer the digging them.

CHAP. IX.

The taking of Saint Vincent *and* Puerto Bello, *by Captaine* WILLIAM PARKER *of* Plimmouth, *the seuenth of* February 1601.

IN the beginning of Nouember 1601. I departed from *Plymmouth* with two ships, one Pinnasse and two shallops in quarters toward the West *Indies*. My chiefe ship wherein I went my selfe as Admirall was named the *Prudence*, of an hundred tuns, wherein I had an hundred and thirtie tall men, the second was the *Pearle*, a small ship of sixtie tunnes, wherein went as my Vice admirall Master *Robert Rawlin*, accompanied with sixtie lustie fellowes, my Pinnasse of twentie tuns was manned with eighteene men. In this *Consort* were Master *Edward Giles*, and *Philip Ward* Gen-

Gentlemen Captaines by Land, with Captaine *Antonie Fugars*, Captaine *Loriman*, Captaine *Ashley*, and diuers other Gentlemen of much towardlinesse and valour as they made good proofe in the successe of this Voyage. In our passing by the Cape of Saint *Vincent* in *Spaine*, commonly called the South Cape, I was encountred with such a terrible Ternado or gust of winde that my Pinnasse with fifteene of our men, to our great griefe was vtterly cast away, wee being not able with the vttermost of our endeauours to saue aboue three of the rest. From thence I shaped my course to the Iles of Cape *Verde*, and immediately vpon my arriuall there, I set vpon one of them called Saint *Vincent*, with an hundred men, and tooke the Iland and the Towne thereof, which was a prettie place, the spoile whereof I gaue to my Souldiers, which after they had pillaged it, set the same on fire.

Pinnasse lost in a Ternado.

Iles of Cape *Verde*.

The Ile and Towne of S. *Vincent* taken.

Hence we haled ouer to the Coast of *Tierra firma*, and arriued first at the Ile of *Margarita*, and comming to the *Rancheria* or fishing of Pearles in the small Iland of *Cubagua*, we found the Gouernour of *Cumana*, there with a company of Souldiers: neuertheless we made bold to land, and in our landing we receiued a great fight wherein diuers of our men on both sides were wounded; but in the end I tooke the place with diuers of the stoutest of our Enemies Prisoners, and thirteene Periaguaes and Canoes, which are Barkes and Boats of the Countrey: for ransome of all which I receiued fiue hundred pounds in Pearle. This done I proceeded on my iourney, saying directly for Cape *dela Vela*, and there meeting with a *Portugall* shippe of two hundred and fiftie tuns laden with three hundred and seuentie *Negros*, brought from *Congo* or *Angola*, and going to *Cartagena* with little resistance I tooke the same. And saying along with my prize Westward, not able to double the Iles, called *Las Cabeças*, I was driuen farre downe to the Southward into the Gulfe of *Acle*, in *Spanish* called *Ensenada de Acle*, where we landed all our *Portugals* and *Negros*, keeping only the Captaine which afterward paid me fiue hundred pounds for his owne and their ransomes. Within a while after we stood Westward with our shippes, and went into the Iles called the *Cabeças*, where I embarked an hundred and fiftie of my men in two small Pinnasses and two fine shallops, and went for the Iles *de Bastimentos*, and landing there vpon the said Iland, which are peopled and very fruitfull, I tooke fixe or seuen *Negroes* for guides, and so presently with our Pinnasses and Boates entred the mouth of the Riuer of *Porto bello*, the seuenth of Februarie about two of the clocke after midnight, the Moone shining very brightly.

Ranchera in *Cubagua*, with diuers prisoners taken and ransomed.

A great ship with 370. *Negros* taken.

Las Cabizas.

They take fixe or seuen people of the Iles of *Bastimentos*.

R. of *Puerto bello*.

At our first entrance into the Hauen, which is aboue twelue score ouer, and very deepe at the mouth and farre vpward, we were hailed by the strong and stately Castle of Saint *Philip*, hauing thirtie fiue great pieces of Brazen Ordnance and fiftie Souldiers in the same, to know whence we were: we hailing aboord vs such as could speake *Spanish* excellent well, answered that we were of *Cartagena*: then they commanded vs to anchor, which we did accordingly. About one houre afterwards with my two shallops which lay close by my Pinnasses, and some thirtie of my principall men, I went vp the Riuer hauing some of the smaller Fort, called the Fort of Saint *Iago*, which is directly ouer against the great Castle of Saint *Philip*, running still on the shoare, and crying out on me to stay: but neglecting their out-cryes, I landed at the first Towne called *Triana*, where the alarme was presently giuen: which neuertheless I set on fire, and marched ouer a little Brooke into the great rich Towne of *Porto bello*; and comming directly vp to the Kings Treasure-house, which is very faire and large, we found a squadron of souldiers (whereof there are two hundred and fiftie alwayes belonging to the Towne and another company of the Inhabitants) with two brasse Pieces of field Ordnance well mounted on their carriages, which we presently possessed, and fiercely set vpon the Souldiers.

The great Castle of S. *Philippe*, with 35. pieces of brasse, and 50. Souldiers.

The Towne *Triana*.

Porto bello.

At which alarme Captaine *Antonie Fugars*, and Captaine *George Lawriman* of *Ratcliffe*, came vp with my two Pinnasses with an hundred and twentie men to my rescue, which was very hardly laid vnto. At this house at our first comming into the Towne, my Lieutenant *Samuel Barnet* was shot on the side of his head, and through his eare, and Captaine *Giles* comming to second him, was likewise shot ouer the brest and through his arme. In this meane space *Pedro Melendes* the Gouernour of the Towne, had gathered sixtie Souldiers together, and was comming toward a certaine bridge to encounter me, I hauing not then aboue eight or nine men with mee to withstand them: but God did prosper our proceedings mightily. For the first two shot that went from vs, shot *Melendes* through his Target, and went through both his armes: and the other shot hurt the Corporall of the field. Whereupon they all retired to the house, which they made good vntill it was almost day. Against whom I sent Captaine *Ward* with some Souldiers, who entred the house, killing diuers of them, and wounded *Melendes* in eight places more; himselfe being shot through both his thighes in entring, and some of his men hurt: but in the end he tooke *Melendes* Prisoner, and became Master of the house.

Pedro Melendes

Melendes the Gouernour taken prisoner.

My selfe with others went to the Kings house, wherein were many of the Souldiers, who would not come to any composition, but stoutly defended the same against Captaine *Giles* and our Lieutenant *Samuel Barnet*: who in the end slue diuers of them and hurt many others, taking the Kings *Scriuano* prisoner. This fight endured for the space of foure or fiue houres. The fight being ended, and we being Masters of the Kings Treasure-house and all the Towne, and hauing the Gouernour *Melendes*, and the *Scriuano* with many others of the chiefest my Prisoners,

ex-

except the *Alcalde* which fled out of the Towne with a chaine of Gold about his necke. Such Treasure as was found in the Kings house to the value of some nine or ten thousand Duckets, I reserued to my selfe, which was nothing to that which wee did expect (that being the receite at one time of the yeere of all the Treasure that commeth from *Peru* and *Chile*, amounting at least to fiue or sixe Millions of Duckets) and had I come but seuen dayes sooner, I had taken heere an hundred and twentie thousand Duckets which were newly laden in two Frigats for *Cartagena*. The rest of the spoile of the Towne, which came to no small value in Money, Plate, and Merchandize, I gaue wholy to my Souldiers: which being done, I disposed my *Corpses du guard* in diuers places, for keeping the Towne all that day: and at the end of the streete leading toward *Panama* on the South Sea, being full of all Artificers, we made a barricado where Captaine *Giles* stood with another *Corps du guard* being diuers times assaulted by the enemy: whom still hee valiantly repulsed and put to the worse.

Pedro Melendes the chiefe Gouernour of the Towne being my Prisoner, in regard that he had valiantly carried himselfe in making resistance vntill he had tenne or eleuen wounds vpon him, I did not only at length dismisse without any peny for his ransome, but also caused my Chirurgion very carefully to dresse and trimme his wounds: vsing him and his, farre otherwise, then *Pedro Melendes* his great Vncle vsed *Iohn Ribault*, *Landoniere*, and the *French* Nation in *Florida*, whom they most cruelly murdered and massacred as many as they could lay any hands vpon. Braue spirit & liberall minde of Captaine Parker.

Thus being Master for one whole day of the stately and new builded Towne of *Porto bello*, which had two goodly Churches in it fully finished, and sixe or seuen faire streets, whereof two were full of all necessarie Artificers, and of Merchants, with three small Forts on the Townes sides, besides the great Fort of Saint *Philip* on the other, when I might haue speedily haue consumed it all with fire, I willingly abstained from the same: knowing that though I could haue done the King of *Spaine* exceeding great hurt, and haue vndone a number of the Inhabitants, yet the good that I should haue done my selfe, and mine thereby should haue beene very small in comparison of their damage. Only certaine out houses wherein their *Negros* dwelt, I caused to be burned to amaze and put them in feare: I also tooke two Frigats of theirs which roade far vp within the Riuer, the one of them hauing in her three pieces of Ordnance, the which I likewise tooke and brought away from thence with mee, with the which Ordnance we beate vpon the enemy marching vnto vs from the Wester Fort. *Porto bello* described. He abstaineth from setting the Towne of *Porto bello* on fire. Two Frigats taken and brought away.

The day being spent, at the beginning of the night I embarked my men, enriched with the chiefe spoile of the Towne, and set saile to depart with my owne two Pinnasses and two shallops and the foresaid two *Spanish* Frigats which I had wonne: but in going out I was shot in at the elbow, and out at the wrist with a Musket shot which came from the Wester shoare, whereof there were many shot ouer vs: besides eight and twentie great shot from the chiefe and Easter Fort, which did endanger vs often. But God so wrought for vs, that we safely got forth againe contrarie to all our enemies expectation, who made full account to sinke vs in going forth. Being safely come forth wee rode with our Pinnasses, and shallops behind a small Iland which lay betwixt vs and the Wester most Fort of Saint *Iago*, vntill my Vice-admirall Captaine *Rawlins* brought two ships thither, which rode somewhat to the Eastward of the Castile of Saint *Philip*, vnder the Rocke where Sir *Francis Drake* his Coffin was throwne ouer-boord, all the while that we were busied in gaining, sacking, and possessing the Towne. Our whole fleet beeing assembled together in the place aforesaid, I set the Kings *Seruants*, and the rest of my prisoners on shore, suffering them to depart without paying any kind of ransome. Their departure. Sir Fr. Drakes buriall.

And the next day being the ninth of February, I set saile and stood off to Sea, leauing the goodly Hauen and beautifull Towne of *Porto bello*, which standeth in ten degrees of Northerly latitude: and directed my course backe againe toward *Cartagena*, and about twelue leagues to the Eastward thereof, I came into a good Bay called *Sambo*, where I watered and staied some twelue or thirteene daies, and riding there tooke certaine Frigats which were bound for *Cartagena*. Whereupon the Gouernour *Don Pedro de Coronna*, armed out two Gallies and a Brigandine, with some two or three Frigats, with a purpose to assault vs; but beeing better aduised they would neuer come neere vs. When he heard that I had taken *Porto bello*, one of the chiefest places of the West *Indies*, with so small forces, he pulled his beard, and sware that he would giue his Mules lade of siluer, but to haue a fight of mee and my companie. From this Bay of *Sambo* wee stood ouer for the Iland of *Iamaica*, and so doubled the Cape of Saint *Antonio*, beeing the most Westerly part of *Cuba*, and dismboked through the Gulfe of *Bahama*, the last of March 1602. and came with good weather to the Iles of the *Açores*, where victualling my Vice-admirall and two Pinnasses out of mine owne ship for two moneths, and leauing them at Sea to take some farther purchase, with mine owne ship I tooke my course for *Plimmouth*, and arriued there in safetie the sixt of *May* 1602. Sambo. *Virtus in hoste laudanda.*

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Certaine Notes of a Voyage made by mee DAVID MIDDLETON *into the West* Indies *with Captaine* MICHAEL GEARE, *An. Dom.* 1601.

Grand Canarie. THE fiue and twentieth day of May, wee set saile from the *Lyzard*, and the tenth day of Iune we fell with the *Grand Canarie*: the Towne standeth on the North-east point of the Iland, and the Road is one league to the Northward of it. That night we stood of South South-west. And the fiue and twentieth day of Iune we were in the latitude of twentie two degrees thirtie minutes.

Punta delaraya. The sixe and twentieth day of Iune wee came in companie of seuen saile of *Hollanders*, that were bound for the West *Indies*, to *Punta delaraya* to lode Salt, and the seuen and twentieth day we lost sight of them.

S. Vincents. The second day of Iulie we fell with Saint *Vincent*. When you came from Saint *Vincent* to the *Testoges*, you must make the way South-west by West, or else you shall not fetch it, for the Current lets North and by West from them.

Being to leeward from *Caracus*, two leagues we stood ouer North North-west, the wind being at East North-east, we fell twelue leagues to the Eastward of *Boinara*, beeing the twelfth of Iulie. If you stand ouer from *Boinara* to *Quraſao*, minded to goe to the South ward of the Iland, you must stand South and by West, or else you cannot get about, because there is a Current that sets North-west, and may set you vpon the Iland.

Boinara.

The three and twentieth day of Iulie wee anchored to the Westward of *Quraſao*, and there the Land lies North and South.

Aruba. The nine and twentieth of Iulie we landed vpon *Aruba*, for to get fresh water, and there we had seuen men slaine by the *Indians* of the Iland: and we rid with our ship in fiue fathomes water, halfe a mile from the shoare. One point of the Land bare North, the other South-east and by South, and there is an high Hill in the middle of the Iland, and that bare East and by South. Betwixt *Coque* and the Maine the course is East and West.

Seuen men killed.

Puntal. The shoale of *Puntall* lieth two leagues off: the best of the Channell betwixt that Point, and *Coque* is in eight, nine and ten fathomes.

Bracheo. From *Bracheo* to the *Parretaes* is fiue leagues course West and by South.

Cape *Caldera.* From the *Parretaes* to Cape *Caldera* is twentie fiue leagues course North-west and by West, and betwixt the *Parretaes* and the Maine, you shall haue foure, fiue, six and seuen fathoms water.

Morecapana. The Road of *Morecapana* lieth betwixt the Maine and *Borachco*, within the Ilands.

The eight day of August we set saile from *Aruba*, and we stood ouer South for the Maine, the wind being at East and by South, wee fell with *Mecola*, being nine leagues from *Aruba*. Saint *Ann* is an high Hill vpon the Maine neere vnto *Mecola*.

M. S. Ann.

Portete. The seuen and twentieth day of August we came to anchor at *Portete*, that is to the Eastward of Cape *La uela*, foure leagues. The Cape bare West a little to the Southwards, at the going to *Portete*. And on your Larboord side going into *Portete*, there is a round Hill: being in the offing it sheweth verie blacke. The going into this Harbour is verie narrow, but within it is a verie broad Sound, and two thousand saile of ships may ride there in verie good ground, and you may ride from fiue fathomes to twentie, but wee ridde in three, a little within the point, on our Larboord side going in.

Cape *S. Anthony.* The eighteenth of *Ianuary* wee parted from our Man of Warre at Cape Saint *Anthony*, and set saile for *England*, in a Prize, a ship of some one hundred and fortie tunnes, laden with *Campeche* Wood and Hides, the Master of the Prize, was *William Goobreath*: and from Cape Saint *Anthony* we stood off North-west and by North.

Organes. The nine and twentieth day at noone, we had sight of the Westermost Land of the *Organes*, being East South-east from vs, and then we stood North-east, and the twentieth day we were in latitude 23. degrees 15. minutes, the winde being at East North-east, we stood off North, and from the twentieth day to the one and twentieth day wee made our way West and by North, and this day we were in latitude 23. degrees 20. minutes, then we stood to the Eastward.

Cuba. The two and twentieth day, we were North-west and by North, from the Crowne in *Cuba*, fourteene leagues, then we stood to the North-ward: these fourteene leagues we turned vp and downe with the winde Easterly. The three and twentieth day, wee were in latitude of 24. degrees no minutes, the wind being at East North-east, and we lay North with the stemme, and this night we came in twelue fathomes, being then in latitude of 24. degrees 35. minutes, the winde being at East and by South we stood to the Southward. The fiue and twentieth day, wee fell with *Cobey* twelue leagues to the Eastward of the *Hauana*, and this day about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, we had the *Pan* of the *Matanças* South-east, and by South from vs some sixe leagues, the winde being at East, and we stood North North-east three Watches, and

Cobey.

brought

brought the Pan vpon the *Matanzas* South of vs: the winde being at East North-east, we stood to the Northward, for so we made the ships way. The seuen and twentieth day at foure of the clocke in the afternoone, wee fell with the South-east part of the *Martyrs*: then wee stood off South-east and by South three watches with a low saile, and so cast about, and stood North-east and by North three watches, and then obserued, and found the ship to bee in the latitude of 24. degrees and 55. minuts, being then South-west and by South of the Cape of *Florida* about three leagues: the winde being at South-east and by East, we stood off South and by West three watches, and then cast about, and stood North-east two watches, and then obserued, and found the ship to be in 25. degrees 36. minutes being the nine and twentieth day of Ianuarie, 1602. and then two watches North and by East, and foure North North-east: and the thirtieth day at noone wee had the Cape *Canaueral* West and by North from vs sixe and twentie leagues: by supposition being now in latitude 28. degrees 14. minutes, the winde being at South, wee stood North-east and by East into the Sea. The eighteenth day of March at noone (being Thursday) wee fell with *Silley*, and wee were South from it three leagues or ten miles, the winde being at West South-west, wee stood for the Lizzard, and the twentieth day of this moneth we came to winde being at anchor in *Dartmouth*, this was my first voyage which I haue made to the West *Indies*.

Martyrs.

Cape of Florida.

Silley.

CHAP. XI.

The description of the Ile of Trinidad, *the rich Countrie of* Guiana, *and the mightie Riuer of* Orenoco, *written by* FRANCIS SPARREY *left there by Sir* WALTER RALEIGH, 1595. *and in the end taken by the* Spaniards *and sent prisoner into* Spaine, *and after long captiuitie got into* England *by great suite.* 1602.

The description of the Ile of *Trinidad*.

PORTA *la Spanola* lyeth North-east. The *Spaniards* name themselues *Conquerabians*. *Anaperima* is the name of the Riuer, which goeth to *Corona* the *Spanish* Towne. The North part is very mountainous. The *Indians* of *Trinidad* haue foure names. 1. Those of *Parico* are called *Iaios*. 2. Those of *Punta, Carao Arnacas*. 3. Those of *Curiadaes* are called *Saluages*. 4. Those betweene *Punta Carao*, and *Punta de la Galera, Nepoios*. But those which are seruants to the *Spaniards*, name themselues *Carinepagotes*. The chiefest of the *Indians*, I meane the Kings and Lords of the Ilands in times past, named themselues *Asiarewanas*, but now *Capcanis*.

The description of Guiana, *and of the great Riuer* Orenoco.

GUiana beareth directly East from *Peru*, and lyeth almost vnder the Equinoctiall Line. The entrance to the Riuer *Orenoco* through the Riuer *Capuri* at the mouth at a full Sea hath nine foot water, and at the ebbe but fiue foot. The water floweth but a small time, but increaseth much; and the ebbe goeth but slowly: for it continueth sixe houres. In the bottome of the Gulfe of *Guanipa* there is the Riuer of *Amana*, which leadeth into *Orenoco* also. In this Riuer, which wee named the Riuer of the *Red Crosse*, wee tooke an old *Tiuitiuan* for our Pilot to *Orenoco*.

The Riuer of *Capuri*.

The Gulfe of *Guanipa*.

The Riuer *Amana*.

Orenoco.

The Riuer of *Orenoco* or *Baraquan* hath nine mouthes, which lye on the North-side of the mayne land: but I could heare but of seuen mouthes vpon the South-side. So that betweene Ilands and broken Lands it hath some sixteene mouthes in all. The Ilands are somewhat bigge, so as I can hardly ghesse how many leagues it is from the North-side to the South-side. At the entrance of this Riuer are two great Lords *Tiuitiuans*, which hold warre one with the other continually: The one Nation are called the *Tiuitiuans* of *Pallamos*, and the other of *Hororotomaca*. He that entreth the Riuer of *Amana* from *Curiapan*, cannot possibly returne the same way hee came, by reason of the Easterly windes and the great Currents, but must of force goe in a Riuer within the Land, which is called *Macureo*.

Tiuitiuas.

The Riuer *Macureo*.

To goe from the Ile of *Trinidad* to the great Riuer *Orenoco* the Riuer of *Amana* beareth South: But parting from that Riuer by a branch which beareth to the West we entred *Orenoco*. *Toparimaca* is the chiefe Gouernour vnder *Topiawari*, of the entrance of the Eastermost part of the Riuer *Orenoco*. The Towne of this Gouernour is called *Arwacan*. These are friends to the *Carapanaes*, *Tiuitiuans*, and all Nations, the *Caribes* excepted. *Carapana* lyeth in the Prouince of *Emeria*: and the Eastermost part of *Dorado* is called *Emeria*.

Toparimaca a Gouernour. *Arwacan*. *Carapana* lyeth in the Prouince of *Emeria*.

Assapana Iland.
Iwana Iland.
Arraroopana.
Europa Riuer.
Ocawita Iland.
Morrequito.
Arromaia.
Putapaima Iland.
Oecope.
The Playnes of *Samia.*
Cumana.
Aroami Iland.
Aio Iland.
Manoripano.
Aromaio.
The Riuer *Caroli.*
Cassipagotos.
Morrequito.
Caiama Iland.
Epuremi.
Great Fall.
Canuri.
Store of gold among the *Epuremians.*
Cassipagotos.
Eparigotos.
Arawagotos.
Store of gold beyond the Mountaines of *Curaa.*
Store of gold.
Riuer *Arui.*
Riuer *Cassipa.*
Riuer *Atoica.*
Riuer *Caora.*
Riuer *Cassero.*
Amapaia.
The Riuers *Cari, Limo, Paoo, Caturi, Voari, Caputi.*
The Prouince of *Amapaia.*
Bad water.
Guicar.
Goauar.
Papemena.
The Iland of *Amazones.*
The Iland *Athul.*
Riuer *Vbra.*
Eregoodawe.
Oromena.
Tapiawary.

Riuer *Salma.*

Papemena a great Riuer.

Athul, a most sweet & pleasant Iland.

Assapana is the first Iland in *Orenoco*: it is but small. The second Iland is called *Iwana*. There is another entrance into *Orenoco*, which I discouered not: but the *Indians* name it *Arraroopana*. *Europa* is a Riuer which commeth into *Orenoco*; but the head of it I know not. In the middest of *Orenoco* there is a pretie bigge Iland, which is somewhat mountainous; and the name of it is *Ocawita*. One *Putima* commandeth vnder *Tapiawari*, in the Confines of *Morrequito*, which lyeth in the Prouince of *Arromaia*. The Iland of *Putapaima* is farre vp within the Riuer of *Orenoco*, and standeth right against the high Mountaine, called *Oecope*. Ouer this Mountaine lye the Playnes of *Samia*. Through these Playnes you may goe to *Cumana*, or to the *Caracas*; which are at least one hundred and twentie leagues iust North. In these Playnes are foure Nations, which are held for great men. The *Samias*, the *Assawais*, the *Wikeries*, and the *Arroras*. These Nations are something blacke.

On the left side of this Riuer *Orenoco* are two small Ilands, a small distance the one from the other. The one is called *Aroami*, the other *Aio*. In the morning before the Sunne bee high the winde is still Easterly in this place. *Manoripano* lyeth in the middle of *Orenoco*. *Aromaio* is the name of *Morrequito*. *Orenoco* reacheth to the Mountaines of *Wacarimoc*, which is to the East in the Prouince of *Emeria*, or *Carapana*. The Vallies are called *Amariscapana*, and the people by that name also. Vpon this Riuer *Orenoco* there is a pleasant Riuer for many kindes of victuals, which is called *Caroli*, and the people *Cassipagotos*.

This Countrie of *Morrequito* lyeth in some fiue or sixe degrees to the North of the Equinoctiall Line. At the Point of the Riuer *Caroli* is the small Iland called *Caiama*. The Inhabitants of this Iland *Caiama* are enemies to the *Epuremi*. Here is a very great fall of Land water. *Canuri* lyeth in the Prouince of *Morrequito*. The Gouernour is called *Wanuretopa*.

The *Epuremians* are richest in gold onely. These people called *Epuremi* haue many enemies, but three especially which are very strong: which are these; the *Cassipagotos*, *Eparigotos*, and *Arawagotos*. Hee that will passe the Mountaines of *Curaa* shall finde store of gold; which is farre to the West.

The Riuer *Arui* runneth continually North, and so to the Riuer *Cassipa*, and from thence into *Orenoco*: neere vnto the Riuer *Arui* are two Riuers, the one is called *Atoica*, the other *Caora*: and also one branch which is called *Caora*. To the Westward of *Caroli* is a fourth Riuer, which is called *Cassero*: it falleth into *Orenoco* on the side of *Amapaia*.

The first Riuer that falleth into *Orenoco* from the North, is called *Cari*. Beyond it on the same side is the Riuer *Limo*: to the West of it is the Riuer *Paoo*: and beyond that are the Riuers *Caturi*, and *Voari*; and another called *Caputi*, which is dangerous to enter. To the Westward of *Caputi* in the Prouince of *Amapaia*, is most vile, vnwholsome, and bad water to drinke; it is of a bad tawnie colour; it hath killed many a man, both *Indians* and others. They say this water commeth from *Anobas*.

On the North part of *Peru* is a way to enter into *Orenoco*, as I haue heard by the *Indians*. The first place whereby they are to passe, is called *Guicar*: the second *Goauar*; and so to the Riuer of *Papemena*; which is the Riuer that runneth toward the Iland of the *Amazones*. Neere vnto the Iland of the *Amazones* is the famous Iland of *Athul*.

The Riuer *Vbra*, bearing to the West of *Carthagena*, beareth to the Southward of the Iland of the *Amazones*. This Riuer *Vbra*, if you stand to the South-west, leadeth to a part of *Aromaio*, which is called *Eregoodawe*. This Countrie of *Eregoodawe* is very Mountainous, and nothing fruitfull: it is inhabited by the *Coman Ibes*. They haue *Ginny* wheat but no store, and very little Cassaui: Venison, Hogs, and Conies they haue in great abundance. The King or chiefe Gouernour of this Prouince or part of *Aromaio*, which is called *Eregoodawe*, is one which beareth great sway in those parts, whose name is *Oromena*. But all are chiefly commanded by *Tapiawary* King of *Morrequito*.

In mine vndertaking the discouerie of the North part of *Orenoco*, I was aduertised by certaine *Indian* Pilots, that I should finde a perfect and readie way to goe to *Peru*. In which my trauell, I fell, by reason of a great storme, into a Riuer, which is called by the Indians *Salma*. This Riuer is not great: in three dayes I passed through this Riuer, and entred into the Riuer of *Papemena*. This Riuer of *Papemena* is more in my iudgement then fiue or sixe Leagues broad.

North North-west of this Riuer is the Iland of the *Amazones*. But leauing that course, I came to the most sweete, pleasant, and temperate Iland which is called *Athul*. If I had had companie to my liking, I could haue found in mine heart to haue stayed there and spent my life. *Athul* is not rich in mettals: but some stones I found in the fresh-water Riuers: for there are great store of fresh-water Riuers; and no want neither of Fish, Tortoyses (which the *Indians* name *Catsepames*) Foules, nor other good things. It hath Wood great store, Fruites all the yeere in abundance, many good places to make a Towne if you will, Cotton, and Balsamum, Brasill, Lignum vitæ, Cypresses, and many other sweete trees. The earth of this Iland doth promise to the eye to be good, it is very fad, and much like to Oare, which I found in diuers places.

ces. I cannot report of the goodneſſe of the ſtones, becauſe my knowledge in them is nothing. *Athul* is not inhabited by any. The Iland is ſmall, and for feare of the *Caribes*, there is no body.

I returned from this good Iland *Athul* toward the Riuer of *Orenoco*, becauſe I found my labour was loſt: For to finde the way to *Peru* that way was impoſſible. And to make my iourney the ſhorter, I returned by the Riuer *Papemena*, but left the Riuer of *Salma* cleane, and came my directeſt way to *Orenoco*: which mine *Indian* Pilots held to bee through the Riuer of *Limo*; and ſo I came into the Riuer of *Orenoco*. Then I went from *Orenoco*, and held my courſe altogether Weſterly: becauſe I found the Weſt moſt rich; although it was moſt dangerous to trauaile thither, I meane farre into the Countrie, by reaſon of the *Epuremi*, which liue continually in armes, and hold warres againſt many Nations, but againſt three Nations eſpecially. Theſe are, as I wrote before, the *Caſſipagotos*, the *Epatigotos*, and the *Arawagotos*. My deſire was to goe to *Curaa*; and from *Orenoco* I firſt entred into the Riuer of *Coſnero*, and ſo coaſted to *Amapaia*, where is the bad tawnie water, which before I mentioned: from thence I went to the Riuer *Paoo*; and within ſixe weekes after I departed out of the Riuer of *Orenoco* I came to the rich Countrie of *Curaa*.

He returneth from *Athul*.
Papemena.
Limo.
Orenoco.
Coſnero Riuer.
Amapaia.
Paoo Riuer.

The Countrie of *Curaa* is in the Prouince of *Guiana*, or *Manoa*, where are the mynes of white ſtone; in which mynes is much naturall and fine gold, which the *Indians* call *Callicurij*. The gold in this place, I ſay in *Manoa*, or *Guiana*, runneth betweene the ſtones like veines; of which gold I had ſome ſtone: but now the *Spaniard* is the better for it. In *Curaa* is alſo gold in ſmall graines, which lye in the ſands in the little Riuers or Brookes. I alwayes tooke thoſe graines for the fineſt gold. In theſe Riuers where gold lyeth, are many *Aligattos* or Crocodiles. I heard by the Nation of the *Tiuitinans*, that a place called *Tulahe*, had many good things in it: but I found it nothing ſo. Some bad freſh-water pearles I found there: which were nothing round, Orient, nor very great. I brought of them with me to the *Spaniards*; and they ſaid they were no Pearles, but Topaſſes.

The rich countrie of *Curaa* ſixe weekes trauell from *Orenoco*.
Manoa.
Gold in abundance.
Gold in graine found in Riuers.
Crocodiles in the Riuer and worſe on land, keepers of gold.
Tulahe.
Bad pearles.
Topaſſes.

Camalaha is a place where they ſell Women at certaine times, in the manner of a Faire. And there you ſhall buy colours, ſuch as the Sauages paint themſelues with. In this Faire, which is called *Camalaha*, which is to the South of *Orenoco*, I bought eight young Women, the eldeſt whereof I thinke neuer ſaw eighteene yeeres, for one red-hafted knife which in *England* coſt mee one halfe-peny. I gaue theſe Women away to certaine Sauages which were my friends, at the requeſt of *Warime* the Kings Daughter of *Murrequito*.

Camalaha.
Women-Faire and yet no fair women.
Eight women for a halfe-peny knife.

Tar or *Taroo* is an Iland, which is to the South South-weſt of *Orenoco*. To which place I went, becauſe they ſaid there was neuer any that inhabited in this Iland, but that it was in the manner of a bayting place for the *Caribes*, when they had ſtollen people, which they meant to eate. One Captaine *Caramatoy* was my guide to this place: whither we went ſomewhat ſtrong, with intent, if wee could finde any *Caribes* on this Iland, to kill them; but wee found none. Many houſes wee found there couered with ſtraw, which wee ſet on fire. And there I found cloſe by the water ſide, going about the Iland, which was but ſmall, many ſtones of diuers colours.

Tar or *Taroo*, an Iland.

To the Weſt of this Riuer and Iland, which is called *Tar* or *Taroo*, is a Riuer, which is called *Habuc*: There are about this Riuer in moſt places eight, ten, ſeuenteene, and thirtie fathomes water. This Riuer of *Habuc* commeth from the Sea. The entrance of this Riuer at the mouth is barred; but at a full Sea you ſhall haue fourteene and fifteene foot water; but in the Channell in which the Canoas enter, which is but narrow; there is more then ſixe fathoms: but I doubt that ſhips cannot enter there. This Riuer *Habuc* is the beſt and ſureſt harbour that I could finde for our ſhips, and freeſt from the danger of the enemie; and is not full eight dayes iourney from *Orenoco*.

Habuc a Riuer.
Habuc ſcarce eight dayes iourney from *Orenoco*.

The Riuer *Europa* lyeth to the Eaſt of *Orenoco* as you come from *Trinidad*: you may, as I certainly know, going ſome twentie leagues in the Riuer of great *Amana*, diſcouer the great and high Mountaine which is called *Oecopa*: being there you ſhall plainly ſee the Playnes or Downes of *Sanio*; through which Playnes you may ſafely march ouer the Land within ten or twelue leagues of *Caruana*, or to the *Caracas*.

Europa Riuer.
Oecopa Mountaine.

From *Orenoco* alſo it is very eaſie to goe to the Towne of *Santo Domingo*, which beareth North-North-weſt directly: but you muſt paſſe of force the Riuer *Amapaia*, leauing the Iland called *Amazones* South: and beare your courſe as neere as you can North-weſt, or North North-weſt. By this courſe you ſhall paſſe and eſcape the force and danger of the Towne, and land ſome ſixe dayes iourney from *Santo Domingo*.

Santo Domingo.
Amapaia Riuer.
Amazones Iland.

The Riuer *Wiaumli* is to the North of *Orenoco*. To goe into this Riuer, which is little worth, you may goe in the Land till you come to another ſmall Riuer, which is called *Maccab*: directing your courſe South, you ſhall within two dayes, if your Canoa bee good, enter the Riuer of *Wiaumli*. The Land taketh the name of the Riuer. The Gouernours name is *Woripur Worrok Halaba*. *Carrabouca* is in the firme Land of the great Iland, called *Murrequito*: it is the common trade to goe to the rich *Guiana* or *Manoa*.

Wiaumli Riuer.
Maccab Riuer.
Woripur.
Carrabouca, *Guiana* or *Manoa*.

Drano Riuer. *Drano* is a faire Riuer, but it is dangerous to goe farre in it, by reason it lyeth due South-east from *Orenoco*: and the Southermost part of the *Moores* of *Anebas* is very low, so that the same waters issue in great abundance into this Riuer of *Drano*. The danger for entring this Riuer is nothing, but the doubt is onely of the bad water, and most terrible dewes which fall from the *Moores*, which are vnhealthfull, and kill the *Indians* daily; for that continually when they trauell they lie in the open aire.

Anebas Moores.

Vnhealthfull dewes.

Emeria. The Eastermost part of *Dorado* is called *Emeria*. There is a small Riuer, which lyeth farre East in *Emeria*, and beareth North North-west. Through this Riuer called *Capurisol* is a sure, a perfect, and most safe way to goe to *Peru*: but the iourney will aske eight or ten weekes to finish it. Through these Riuers of force wee must passe with Canoas or Ship-boats, or such like: for there is alway very little water.

Capurisol Riuer. The Riuer of *Capurisol* lyeth in eight degrees and two terces to the North of the Equinoctiall Line. But the North starre keepeth his degree and altitude 11. degrees and two terces. In this Riuer is still a fine small brise of winde, which lightly bloweth at West: but at noone you shall hardly finde any winde.

CHAP. XII.

Captaine CHARLES LEIGH *his voyage to* Guiana *and plantation there.*

THe one and twentieth of March, 1604. Captaine *Charles Leigh* in the *Olive Plant*, a proper Barke of some fiftie Tunnes accompanied with six and fortie men and boyes, departed from *Wolwich* with intention to discouer and inhabit some part of the Countrie of *Guiana*, where he had beene in a former voyage, they stayed in the *Downes* vntill the eight and twentieth of the said moneth, and passing thence they touched in the Ile of *Mogador* on the coast of *Barbarie* in the moneth of Aprill, where we stayed about some fiue dayes, and watered on the mayne land in despite of the rebell *Moores*, which would haue had money for our watering. Thence with prosperous winde coasting the Iles of Cape *Verde*, we passed quer to the West *Indies*, and vpon the tenth of May comming in change of water, which shewed thicke and white, by the next day we were in fresh water, and the next day following about fiue in the morning wee saw two Ilands in the mouth of the Riuer of *Amazones*, making account that we were fortie leagues vp the Riuer, and came to an anchor in three fathoms vnder them, which wee found low land couered with high Trees. Then the Captaine with some eight of the best men of the ship went toward the shoare, and finding many *Indians* comming toward them they returned aboard, and found the ship almost aground, but sounding the Bay brought their ship into the Channell which they found very narrow.

Canoa of water.

Riuer of *Amazones.*

Within awhile after foure *Indians* in a small Canoa shewed themselues vnto vs, to whom we sent our Boat with some of our commodities, as Hatchets, Knives, Glasses, Beades, they had nothing but Maiz and small blue-headed Parrots, for which we gaue them some of our trifles. Not long after another Canoa comming out, our Boat clapt betweene them and the shoare to take some of them, to learne the state of the Riuer by them, but they freed themselues all saue one youth, which was brought aboard, which next day after escaped leaping into the Sea twelue leagues as we iudged from land. Thus we tooke our leaue of the Riuer of *Amazones*, and hauing vncertaine shoaldings all the way in our way, about ten a clocke in the night wee strooke vpon a sand before we could let fall our anchor, where wee beat off a piece of our false keele, before wee could get off. Being gotten off, wee came to an anchor in foure fathom and a halfe water, and rode there vntill the next morning, where wee descryed the land sixe leagues from vs with the entrance of a Riuer.

Riuer *Wiapoco.* The two and twentieth of May, wee arriued in the Riuer of *Wiapoco*, in the latitude of three degrees and a halfe to the North of the Line, where wee found the people readie to giue vs the best entertainment they could, bringing vs Hony, Pines, Plantons, Potatoes, Cassaui (whereof they make their bread and wine) Fish of many sorts, Hennes, Conies, Hogs, and such like. This day he tooke an oath of all his people to be true to him as long as he abode in the Countrie. Then after diuers conferences with the chiefe *Indians*, and namely with two of their Countrie, which had beene before in *England*, and could speake some *English*, he found them very willing to haue him and his people abide in their Countrie: who pretending want of many necessaries, whereof indeed he stood in need, and especially of victuals, hee went vp the Riuer in his Boat with some fourteene men to take perfect view of a fit place to inhabit in, and to sound the depth of the Riuer as they went. At his returne he caused his ship to be brought vp hard vnto the falls of the Riuer: but after they had stayed there one day, finding sundrie inconueniences, they came backe againe to their first road; with a determination to plant and seate themselues vpon the first

The Falls.

Mount

Mount or high ground, at the entrance of the North side of the Riuer. But the *Iayos* and *Sapayos* seeing him and his company come downe the Riuer againe, entreated him earnestly to stay among them, offering him their owne dwelling Houses and Gardens alreadie planted to their hands, whereof he accepted: to wit, of two Houses and of as many Gardens as they thought conuenient to serue his turne, with condition that he should ayde and defend them against their enemies the *Caribes* and others. Hereupon they made a great Feast, desiring our Captaine to bee at it, and they demand of their generalitie of the staying of our men in the Countrey or no. Whereunto they gaue their free consent, and desired him withall to send into *England*, for men to teach them to pray. This done, the next day he brought all his furniture on shoare, and bestowed it in the aforesaid houses. And for the better assurance of the performance of the *Saluages* promise, he demanded pledges of them to be sent into *England*: whereunto they willingly condescended: which where in number fiue, whereof two were of good account. Hee retayned thirtie fiue *Englishmen* and Boyes with him, sending the rest home in Iune, with the fiue *Saluages* which were plentifully furnished with their Country victuals, with Letters to the right Worshipfull Sir *Olaue Leigh* his brother, of his successe and desire to supply his wants, which he most kindly twice supplied to his great charge, within short time after. They desire to learne religion

The *Caribes* in eight warlike Canowes came to surprize them as farre as the Mount *Comaribo*: whereof the *Indians* being aduertised by our fishers, desired Captaine *Leigh* to aide them: which he did with some foure and twentie of his men in eight Canowes. But the battell being begun after they had heard the sound of our Trumpet and Musket, they fled to Sea-ward, our Canowes chasing them: but the enemy being swifter escaped with casting of one of their Canowes which are able to carry twentie men and victuals for ten dayes, which Canowe they brought home. *Caribes.*

Within a seuenight after our Captaines returne, hee made a Voyage in an *Indian* Canowe hauing *Indians* to rowe him, accompanied only with *Thomas Richardson*, his Refiner of Metals, and *Iohn Burt* his Chirurgion 90. miles by water vp the Riuer of *Aracawa*, to a Nation called the *Maiaranas*, where he traded for Tabacco and Cotton yarne, and Cotton-wooll. There he left his Chirurgian being sicke, and with his Refiner and three *Indians* (whereof one *William* was his Interpretour) went vp to a Nation called *Marraias* the space of thirtie miles, where they passed thorough a goodly Plaine foure miles broad of much stonie ground, wherein they saw Deere. At length meeting with the people, they were kindly entertayned and fed with such as they had; as dried Tygres flesh, dried Hogges flesh, and small fish. Then after some discourse, they enquired for Gold shewing a Ring. An old man spake vnto him and pointed vp into the Countrey, and the Captaine asking the Interpreter what he said, he told him that he said there was no such that way. The Captaine perceiuing the falshood of his Interpretor would goe no further, and so returned home, where he found vs for the most part sicke, and the *Indians* not so kind vnto vs as they had promised: which he much maruelled and grieued at. A Canowe taken. R. *Aragaua.*

Within three dayes after his returne, his shipwright *Richard Haward* died before hee could make an end of his shallop. And in September our Captaine himselfe began to droope, partly of griefe to see the weake estate of his people, and the ill performance of the *Indians* promises: yet neuertheless he ceased not to take order for the *Indians* bringing in of victuals and such Merchandize as could be gotten, as Waxe, fine white long Feathers, Flaxe, Tabacco, Parrots, Monkeyes, greene and blacke, Cotton-yarne and Cotton-wooll, sweet Gummes, red Pepper, *Vrapo*, and *Apriepo* woods, Spleene stones, matiate stones, Roots and Berries, which we thought to be medicinable, *Anato* a Berrie or Cod, such as the *Indians* paint themselues red withall mingled with Oyle, *Vrapo* which is the heauie wood whereof they make their Swords and Bowes, *Apriepo*, a wood that the *Frenchmen* and *Hollanders* fetch away, a wood which they call *Ayard*, which they kill fish withall. The Commodities of the Countrey.

The fishers beate this wood with another piece of wood, till it shiuer into flakes, which smelleth exceeding strong like Garlicke, wherewith in sundry places of the creekes going in according to the depth of the water, they beate it vp and downe often in the Riuer, which the fish tasting, are intoxicated, and so distempered withall, that they flote and tumble vpon the vpper part of the water, and then with Bats and Poles they knocke them on the heads. Their bread they make of *Cassania*, a white *Roble* commonly a span long, and almost so thicke, which the women grate in an earthen panne against certaine grates of stone, and grate three or foure bushels in a day: The iuyce thereof they crush out most carefully beeing ranke poyson raw, in a hose of withe, which they hang vp vpon an hooke, and afterward with a weightie logge which they hang at the other end they squeeze out the water into an earthen pan or piece of a Gourd, and then seethe the same iuice with their red Pepper whereby it becommeth holesome, and if they will haue it sweete, they will seethe it but ordinary, if they will haue it sowre, they will seethe it extraordinarily, and vse it in manner of sawce, and when they be sicke they eat the same and bread only. The women also make drinke of this *Cassana* bread, which in their Language they call *Arepapa*, by baking of it blacke, dry, and thinne, then chewing it in their mouthes, they put it into earthen pots narrow in the bottome and broad aboue, containing some a Firkin, some a Kilderkin, some a Barrell, set in a small hole in the ground, with fire about them. Strange fishing. *Cassani.* The iuice.

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Being well sod, they put it out into great Iarres of Earth with narrow neckes, and there it will worke a day and a night, and keepe it foure or fiue dayes till it be stale, and then gathering together an hundred and more, they giue themselues to piping, dancing and drinking. They make drinke also of *Cassana* vnchewed, which is small and ordinary in their houses. They vse also to make drinke of Potatos which they paire and stampe in a Morter being sod, then putting water to it, drinke it.

Sickenesse. Before and after the sickenesse of our Captaine, many of our men fell sicke, some of Agues, some of Fluxes, some of giddinesse in their heads, whereby they would often fall downe: which grew chiefly of the excessiue heate of the Sunne in the day, and of the extreame dampe of the earth, which would so moysten our Hamackas, or Cotton beds, wherein wee lay a yard from the ground, that we were faine to imitate the *Indians* in making fires on both sides vnder them. And for all that we could doe, some nine of our company were dead before our ships arriuall. Besides we were mightily vexed with a kinde of Worme, which at first was like to a Flea, and would creepe into the feet especially, and vnder the nayles, and would exceedingly torment vs, the time it was in, and more in the pulling out with a Pinne or needle, if they were few. But one of our men hauing his feete ouer-growne with them, for want of hose and shooes, was faine to submit himselfe to the *Indians* cure, who tying one of his legges first with his feete vpward, powred hot melted Waxe which is blacke vpon it, and letting it lye vpon it till it was throughly cold, they forcibly pulled it off; and therewithall the Wormes came out sticking in the same, seuen or eight hundred in number. This man was named *Iohn Nettleton* a Dier of *London*, which afterward was drowned.

The cause.

The remedie.

Niguas little Wormes, great torture.

Terrible cure.

In themiddest of all these extremities our Captaines Interpretor which hee had threatned for his false demeanour in his Voyage to the *Marraias* before mentioned, gaue counsell to his Master named *Anaccauri*, an ancient Captaine among them, to make a motion among the *Indians* at their next meeting to say, it is the best way for vs now to make an end of them while they are sicke either by staruing or otherwise. For when the ship commeth, hee will kill vs for keeping him without victuals now. This motion being made at their meeting, which was in *Carisana* his house, and among his and *Martins* kinred, (which then remayned pledges for our mens safetie in *England*) their wiues hearing the Interpretors Master *Anaccauri* broaching this matter ranne furiously vpon him and tare his clothes such as hee wore from him, and mightily beate him, the other of their kindred, keeping those *Indians* off from the women, which would haue taken his part.

Trecherie of a Sauage.

Some of our owne men lying at the next house where this was done, inquired of an *Indian* which owed this *Anaccauri* a grudge, what the cause was of the said tumult: who imparted the whole truth vnto them. Our men comming suddenly to the Captaine, acquainted him with the whole matter: who suddenly bethought himselfe and sent for all his men that were neere him; and for *Eperiago* and *Pluaimma* an *Indian* that had beene in *England*: which were two of the chiefest, and caused him to send for his trayterous Interpretor, which came bringing Hens, drinke and bread: Assoone as he came, shewing what hee had heard, requiring them to declare what wrong he had done them. Who answered, none. Then said he, this fellow, meaning the Interpretor hath sought my life; and therewith commanded his men to bind him hand and foot, which done, he dismissed them, desiring them to returne the next morning. In the meane time he caused his Prisoner to send for a Canowe to fetch three of his men. which were vp in the Riuer, who immediately did so. Now hauing all his men together, hee caused them to haue all their Furniture readie: appointing one *William Blake* to see the same diligently fulfilled, the watch carefully to be kept in the night, and two to ward at the doores all day with their Furniture, to take the *Indians* weapons out of their hands at their comming in at the doore.

This being ordayned, the *Indians* came the next day, to whome the Captaine said, In regard that I haue beene so carefull to punish the wrongs done vnto you, I would haue you readie to reuenge the wrongs done vnto mee, who seemed very vnwilling to doe any farther Iustice, esteeming his binding a sufficient punishment. At the which the Captaine beeing very much vexed, commanded the two foresaid *Indian* Captaines to depart, charging them to send him in, fish and other victuals for his company. In the meane time he and the chiefe of his men, consulting what course to take with the Malefactor, they thought it best that hee should lye so bound vntill the next day being the third of his bondage, and to send for the chiefe of the *Indians*, and vpon confession of his fault, and crauing pardon thereof, to be dismissed before them.

Captaine *Charles Leighs* Letter to Sir *Olaue Leigh* his Brother.

MOst louing Brother, I did write vnto you from Muggador, where I stayed vntill the nineteenth of Aprill, and on the fourteenth of May I had first sight of Guiana, in the mouth of the Riuer Amazones,

mazones, *The two and twentieth, I arriued (prayſed be God) in ſafetie in the Riuer* Caroleigh, *heretofore called* Wyapoco, *and the ſame day, I tooke poſſeſſion of the Countrey in ſight of the* Indians. *The* Indians *which doe inhabit this Riuer are about one thouſand fiue hundred men, women, and children, and they are of three Nations, viz.* Yaioas, Arwarkas, *and* Sapayoas, *which beeing chaſed from other Riuers, by the* Caribes *haue combined themſelues together in this place for their better defence, and are now at deadly warres with the* Caribes. *After that I had ſtored my ſelfe with Bread and Roots ſufficient vntill the Earth with Gods prouidence might yeeld me ſupply, I did then ſend for the chiefe Captaine of the* Yayoas *aboord, whom with gifts and good vſage, I eaſily entreated to ſtay aboord my ſhip vntill ſuch time as by his meanes I was prouided with all kind of Plants, which their Gardens doe affoord, yet all this while he knew not my purpoſe. The day before I purpoſed to make my intent knowne, their came another chiefe Captaine of the* Yayoas *aboord to dine with me, who together with the former after Dinner deſired to ſpeake with me, whereupon I ſent for an* Indian *who had beene in* England, *to bee Interpreter, and tooke them into my Cabbin. The twe Captaines told a long Storie of the wrongs the* Caribes *had done them, how they had driuen them from their ancient dwellings in other Riuers, killed many of their friends, carried their women and children away Captiues, and hurt many of their men, and thereupon they called one of their men to ſhew me how he was lately hurt in three places with their Arrowes, to conclude, they told me, how they purpoſed the next Moone to goe againſt the* Caribes, *with twentie Canoas, and earneſtly entreated me if I ſtayed ſo long to goe with them to their Warres. Vpon this good occaſion, I told them that I purpoſed to ſtay in the Countrey, ſeuen or eight moneths, to ſeeke out and make triall of Mynes. And in the meane time that I purpoſed to build Houſes aſhoare at the head of the Riuer, and there to plant Gardens, that my men might haue victuals of their owne labours, which done, I would build a ſhallop, and ſend twentie men in her with them to fight againſt the* Caribes, *withall this they ſeemed wonderfull well content, and thereupon they promiſed* Indians *to helpe mee to build and to plant, and the chiefe Captaine promiſed himſelfe to goe vp with me. The next day being the third of May, I ſet ſayle from the mouth of* Caroleigh, *and caſt Anchor in a Bay vnder Mount* Oliphe, *where I purpoſed to plant, and make my habitation: but my men diſcomforted with the ſight of the Woodes which they were to fell, grew generally diſcontented, and omitted no practices to ouerthrow the Voyage, being ſuborned vnder hand, by my vnfaithfull Seruant, the Maſter, his lewd conſorts he brought with him, being the only publike maintayners of the mutenie. How I haue beene troubled with him and his conſorts, (who intending ſpoyle and purchaſe in the Weſt* Indies) *haue from the beginning ſought the ouerthrow of this Voyage, this Bearer can certifie you at large. And vndoubtedly hee made full account with his headſtrong companions at ſuch a time to haue commanded the ſhip at his pleaſure. To conclude, amongſt other their practices, they ſo conſumed the victuals which ſhould haue maynteined vs vntill the earth had yeelded ſupply as that in ſixe dayes, our Potatoes which ſhould haue laſted vs two moneths, were wholly ſpent hereupon being farre diſtant from the* Indians, *who inhabit at the mouth of the Riuer, fortie miles from the falls, and it being very doubtfull, how wee ſhould bee furniſhed with victuals from them in our extremitie, I gaue conſent that the ſhip ſhould returne to the mouth of the Riuer, with this conditions that after I had refurniſhed them with victuals and other things ſufficient that then they ſhould plant vpon Mount* Huntlay, *two leagues to the Weſt of* Caroleigh: *which being neere the* Indians, *and betweene them and their enemies they would be readie and willing to furniſh vs with victuals, vpon any extremitie, to which conditions they generally conſented, that place being firſt moſioned by ſome of them. The ſhippe being returned, they had then brought mutinie to ſuch a head, as that to my face, they ſtood in defiance of the Voyage, and told me plainly they would not ſtay doe what I would or could, I vrged them with their promiſe to plant on Mount* Huntly, *one of them who ſeemed moſt forward of all men to yeeld to that motion: anſwered that he promiſed in policie, to draw me from Mount* Oliphe. *But in the end it pleaſed God, what by faire meanes and what by foule, I brought them all to conſent to ſtay one whole yeere, therew all extremities, if it were poſſible to make a full triall both of people and Countrey, and to plant vpon Mount* Huntley, *according to their promiſe. This agreed vpon, I went aſhoare to the* Indians, *to prouide victuals, and other neceſſaries for our Plantation, who being exceeding glad of my returne; offered me to chooſe the beſt of their houſes and gardens, to dwell amongſt them. For they were very vnwilling that I ſhould goe to any other place, to conclude, iudging their offers by many likelihoods, to be without deceit, I reſolued to abide with them vpon this condition: that they ſhould ſend foure principall* Indians *for* England *as pledges, for our ſafetie with them whereunto they willingly condeſcended, and if I would, I might haue twentie. For they make daily ſuite to me to goe for* England. *Beeing in conference with an aſſembly of two or three hundred, purpoſely met to craue my abode amongſt them, and demanding of them vowes and proteſtations, according to the cuſtome of all people, for the more ſecuritie of our peace and amity: their anſwere was that they knew not how to make vowes and proteſtations, and therefore generally they deſired (ſundry of their Captaines ſpeaking it together, with a low and humble voice) that I would bring them men to teach them to pray. Which motion of theirs, proceeding from themſelues and in that humble manner, ſtrooke me I aſſure you into an admiration of ioy, to thinke that it hath pleaſed Almightie God after ſo many dangers heretofore, and troubles in the Voyage, to preſerue me to be a meanes to this ſimple-hearted people of the knowledge of Chriſt. Vndoubtedly, it was the wonderfull worke of Gods Spirit in them, whereat all Chriſtian hearts ought to reioyce. And I am perſwaded, the like inſtance hath neuer beene before by any people in the World: I beſeech Almightie God to giue a bleſſed end to this hopefull beginning.*

The

The foureteenth of Iune, concluding with the Indians vpon sundry conditions, I purchased of them the same day for a few Hatchets, Houses and Gardens planted with Cassuua, and Potatoes sufficient for all my company: the scituation of our Houses is in the pleasanteſt and most fruitfull place of all their habitations. And because it is a small Village of six or seuen houses; and the first place of our setled aboade I haue named it Principium: the Hill on which it standeth being part of the Mountaine on the West side of the entrance of the Riuer, I haue named Mount Howard, to honour the remembrance of my Lord Admirall, of whom heretofore I haue receiued many fauours: on the East side of the entrance of Caro Leigph, lieth the Riuer Oliuoleighe heretofore called Arrikowarye: and on the West side of Mount Howard runneth the Riuer Iotrameleighe, by the Indians called Wanarie. The commodities which this Countrie doth yeelde, and through industrie will abound in, are these; Sugar Canes, Cotten and fine Flaxe; also it would yeelde great store of long Pepper, if there might be vent for it in England: here is sundry sorts of Gummes, of Woods, and of Dies, which I hope will proue good commodities, of all which I haue sent you samples by Master Huntlie, especially one sort of Gumme, which I am perswaded will proue very rich. Also I haue sent vnto you a peece of a Stone taken out of a Manuate or Sea Cowe. I am giuen to vnderstand that a little thereof beaten into powder, and drunke in Wine or Ale, will in few houres cure any man that is troubled with the Stone, they say it dissolueth it instantly. I doubt not but to get a dosen of them before this time twelue moneths: my refiner hath made triall of sundrie Minerals, but cannot yet finde any Mettals. At my arriuall here I found a Dutch Shippe, and sithence here hath arriued another, they buye vp all the Flaxe they can get, and pay so deere that I can get none; they haue not gotten so little I thinke as ten tunnes of Flaxe within these two moneths.

I doubt not but I shall be able to returne a Shippe laden with Flaxe and other commodities the next yeare; the Flaxe yeeldeth a wonderfull encrease, and will grow any where, but especially in low moorish grounds: the Indians report that the Roote yeeldeth increase euery moneth, and euerie yeelde may be some foure ounces, by this accompt an acre of ground planted with these rootes, and distant three foote a sunder, will yeelde 17280.li. euerie yeare, which amounteth at sixe pence the pound to 432.li. I doubt this will not proue answerable to their reports, but I verily beleeue it will yeelde halfe the encrease they speake of. the Dutch men haue reported that it is worth in Holland but six pence the pound, but they confesse that Holland will vent 500. tunne thereof. Some of the Dutch men haue reported that it is worth in Holland sixteene pence the pound, which I rather beleeue, for my Weuers tell me that they will warrant it to dresse exceeding well, and then it must needes be excellent fine grounds for any stuffe; for Cotten here is little, not worth the speaking of, yet the Countrie will yeelde abundance, and in sixe weekes the seede will yeelde Cotten, and it beareth continually and plentifully. I pray you sir send me more Weauers, for I know not how to get any thing spunne for them, for the women here are put to that extreame labour, that they haue no time to spinne, for they onely fetch water, cut wood to burne, and bring it home vpon their backes, they gather all their rootes and bring them out of their Gardens, they make all their Bread which is verie labourſome, they dresse all the victuals, make all the drinke, attend vpon the men while they are at meate, and besides, they dresse vp their houses in their kinde, and nurse their owne children: so as they are alwayes toiled with labour, and haue little or no time to spinne. For Sugar Canes the world doth not yeelde better soyle for their encrease, and whereas in Barbarie it is fifteene or sixteene moneths before they come to perfection, here they grow vp in ten moneths. And in Barbarie they are planted onely in two Vallies, where they are watered euery weeke, but here they grow vpon the Mountaines, and neuer watered but with raine onely. A few yeares I doubt not will afford plentie of Sugars, if wee shall haue meanes to make them. My loose commodities, as Hatchets, Beades, Knines, Looking-glasses, &c. are almost all gone; a great part in buying of victuals, but the most part to stoppe the mouthes of my Mutiners and monstrous Sailours; to whom also I haue promised two third parts of my Iron.

Now for the prosecuting of this voyage, in such sort as that we be not preuented by the Spaniard nor any other Nation; I would entreate you with as much speede as possibly you can to send me a supply of one hundred men at least, to abide here, all labouring men and Gardners, for such are the fittest here for a time, with a few Carpenters; and with them three or foure good peeces of Ordnance with shot and powder; also fiftie Caliuers for the men that stay here: if you can send these men in two Shippes, I doubt not but to lade one of them backe in three moneths after arriuall, and the other which I wish may be the Oliue plant, I would keepe here and fit her for a Frigot to keepe and command the Riuer. I haue written to my brother Iohn Leighe to deliuer vnto you such monies as he hath receiued of Gifford, who I hope hath ere this time paid his debts. I hope you shall get store of voluntarie men to ease the charge of the Voyage, and looke what you shall disburse in my behalfe for the accomplishment of the Voyage, I will, God willing, see you honestly paid with aduantage; or else if it please you to put it in aduenture, it shall be accomplished in any sort to your owne desire. As I doubt not of your loue and forwardnesse, especially in so good an action, so also I make no question, but this Countrie will in few years yeelde you satisfaction beyond your expectation. If my wife haue not alreadie attained her suite of the Kings Maiestie, I hope she will the sooner speede vpon this newes, which if she doe, my desire is, that all shall be imployed vpon these proceedings; and to that effect I haue written to her. I haue written a Letter to the Kings Maiestie; another to the Lords of the Counsell, and one to my Lord Admirall.

The bearer hereof, Captaine Huntlie is the worthiest yong Gentleman that euer went to Sea, vpon any dangerous enterprize, he was neuer dismaid, neither with extreame dangers at Sea, nor with all the Mutinies

tinies aboord, which had beene able to haue discouraged an old experienced Souldier; besides, I found him alwaies a most true, faithfull, and loyall friend, and therefore I pray accompt him for a right honest man. I haue made him my Lieftenant generall of these Countries during life, and therefore I pray let him returne chiefe commander in the first supply. I would pray you also to procure to come with him some honest and discreete men whom I might relie vpon as trustie friends, and vse as companions both for aduise and societie, for I am now very vncomfortably matched, hauing no worldly strength to trust vpon but my selfe onely. I haue sent vnto you foure Indians, *principall men in their Countrie, which were deliuered vnto me as pledges of our safeties here, and they are to returne again the first, but I thinke some of them will be more willing to stay longer. The* English *man which was left here by Captaine* Lea, *is dead, I pray you procure Sir* Walter Rawleighes Indian *or my Lord Admirals, for I want an Interpreter exceedingly, here is but one, and he vnderstandeth but little to any purpose. I pray forget not to send Preachers, sober and discreete men, and such as are well perswaded of the Church gouernment in* England, *&c. From* Principium, *or Mount* Howard *this second of July* 1604.

Captaine Lea.

CHAP. XIII.

A true Relation of the traiterous massacre of the most part of threescore and seuen English *men, set on land out of a Ship of Sir* Oliph Leagh, *bound for* Guiana, *in* Santa Lucia *an Iland of the West* Indie, *the three and twentieth of August, written by*

IOHN NICOL.

SIr *Oliph Leagh*, a worshipfull Knight of *Kent*, sending a supply of good numbers of men in a Ship called the *Oliph blossome* to his brother Master *Charles Leigh*, which was planted in the Riuer of *Wiapogo*, within three degrees and an halfe Northward of the Equinoctiall line in the West *Indies*, which departed from *Wolwich* the foureteenth of Aprill 1605. vnder the conduct of Captaine *Catelins*, and Captaine *Nicholas Saintt Iohn*: I being desirous to see the world, comforted my selfe with that company. But by contrary windes and vnknowne currents of the Sea, and the vnskilfulnesse of our Master *Richard Chambers*, wee were put to leeward of our port, without any hope of recouering the same in any due time: And being not victualled, as it seemed for aboue foure or fiue moneths, after consultation had, we were faine to touch first at the Isle of *Barbudos*, and then at *Santa Lucia* in the West *Indies*. Where fearing to perish at Sea for hunger before we should be able being so many aboord to reach *England*; Captaine *Nicolas Saint Iohn*, with the rest of the passengers, which purposed to haue staied with Master *Charles Leagh* at *Wiapogo* in *Guiana*, resolued to stay and take their fortune in the aforesaid fruitfull Iland.

Saint *Barbudos*. *Santta Lucia*. Captaine *Nicholas Saint Iohn* staieth at Saint *Lucia* with 67. men.

Thus sixtie seuen of vs at our owne seeking were left on shore in the aforesaid Iland of *Santa Lucia* the three and twentieth of August 1605. with our Swords, Muskets, and Powder, and one Falcon, and one barill of Bisket onely for all our food. The next day our Ship departed from vs with some discontentment, because we had feased vpon her Boate to serue our turnes. After our Shippe was departed from vs, we liued very peaceably, daily trading with the *Indians* for victuals; which were Cassaui, Potatos, Plantans, Pinas, Popayes, Pompions, Calabassus, Tobacco, Pappies, Mammoyes, all very pleasant to eate. Also they brought vnto vs Hens and Gulls, and some Pelicanes, Woodcocks, and Snipes: we our selues did kill with our Peeces many of them likewise. And euery night we sate out fiue vpon the sands to seeke for Tortoyses, whereof we neuer missed night without one or two, and many times fiue, which was the greatest sustenance we found; for they are very large and great. I haue often taken out of one of them to the number of seuen hundred egges. Also the *Indians* had great store of *Roan* linnen cloathes, Serges, and other Stuffes, and *Spanish* wollen cloath: and iarres of Oyle which they tooke and saued at Sea with their *Periagnas*. For three *Spanish* Shippes had beene there cast away a little before our arriuall, if we had had a Pinnesse there we could haue laden her with many good commodities, which they had hid in their houses in the Woods. All which we could haue bought for Hatchets, Kniues, Beades, Thimbles, Fishhookes, and other such trifles.

Tortoises.

Thus for the space of fiue or sixe weekes wee went not much abroad, till our Captaine seeing certaine foure square Plates, which the *Indians* ware on the small of their armes, asked *Browne*, a Gold finer, his opinion, what he thought of them? who told him, that three parts thereof was Gold. And asking the *Indians* where they got them, they pointed vnto an high Mountaine on the North-west part of the Iland. This caused Captaine *Nicholas Saint Iohn*, and *Iohn Rogers*, who was our interpreter for the *Spanish* tongue, with as many of our chiefe men as could well goe in the Boate vpon a Munday to goe thither, promising his Brother *Alexander Saintt Iohn*, Master *Garret*, and Master *Tench*, whom he left to gouerne the rest at home, to returne the next Saturday.

Shew of Gold.

The

The Captaine and his men slaine.

Indian treacherie.

The *Indians* for three dayes after did not come vnto vs with victuals, for they perceiued when the Boate went, and as we thinke, they were then at the slaughter of our men at the Mountayne. Vpon Thursday morning we killed two Tortoyses on the sands: where wee found a great company of the *Indians* gathered together, for what purpose we knew not: And lest wee should suspect them of any bad intent towards vs, they willingly offered themselues to bring home our Tortoyses, which they tooke into their Periaguas, and brought them to our Houses.

All that forenoone wee kept good watch: for there were very many that came both by Sea and Land to the number of two or three hundred; and diuers of them were very merrie with vs, drinking of Tabacco and *Aquauita*, vntill ten of the clocke, and then they departed all saue one which was a Captaine of the Ile of Saint *Vincent*, called *Augramert*, and an old man which was his Father: who promised vs, if wee would goe to their houses, that wee should haue any thing that they had. For the day before I had beene at their houses with other two of my fellowes to haue bought victuals: yet they would not part with any, no not for any commoditie that wee had: and yet they had more store of victuals then euer I saw them haue before. But wee perceiued afterwad, that it was prouided for them, that came to take their parts against vs, whom they kept secret in the Woods. So we three returned, and trauelled farre into the Iland,

Faire gardens.

Great Trees of hard wood.

and passed through sixe or seuen Gardens very full of Cassabe, Potatoes, and many other rootes and fruits, and by the way saw many tall trees of so huge bignesse, that wee three could not at twice fathome one of them about; and they were so hard, that wee could not cut them with our Kniues, and the Barke of them was white like Ash. Then we returned to our Sconce againe.

Vpon Thursday after dinner, Master *Alexander Saint Iohns*, Master *Francis Kettleby* the elder, Master *William Tench*, my selfe, and diuers others, to the number of eighteene, went with *Augramert* and his father, hauing neither Bowe nor Arrow, onely his father had a Brasill sword. They went thus meanly armed lest wee should suspect them. *Augramert* also promised Master

Hamaca beds.

Alexander Saint Iohn, that he should see his wife, and we should haue *Hamaccos*, which are *Indian* beds of net-worke made of cotton yarne to lye in. So we trauelled along the Sands very securely, young *Saint Iohn* going a little space before playing and jesting with the *Indian* Captain, till they came within sight of their houses, where in the woods they had placed an ambush of

Treacherous ambush.

three hundred *Caribes*: when suddenly *Augramert* tooke hold of his Rapier with the one hand and of his Poniard with the other, and the old man his father with his Brasill sword strooke him downe to the ground. Then out of the woods came the Arrowes so thicke about our eares, that wee had not the time to put our matches in our cocks. And many of our companie had their match to light, which gaue a great encouragement vnto the enemie; insomuch that we discharged not sixe peeces against them, which caused diuers of our companie to flie into the Sea vp to their necks, and some along the sands as amazed, seeing such a huge companie against so small a number; vntill young *Saint Iohn* recouering againe, encouraged vs to make a stand at a point of Land which went corner wise into the Sea.

But all was in vaine: for before wee could make our peeces readie, there came another companie on the back of vs, and filled our bodies full with arrowes: and then wee betooke vs to our swords and so runne through them; but still they encreased out of the woods, shooting their arrowes in great abundance, not daring to come neere vs vntill they saw vs fall; and then with their great Brasill swords they strooke out our mens braines. I my selfe being all this time running with young *Saint Iohn*, and Master *Kettleby*, who behaued themselues most gallantly, hauing at the least one hundred arrowes apiece before they fell, came as the last into the entrance of a narrow path, where fiue of my fellowes were gotten before I came, and thinking to haue passed through, there was another ambush who killed them all. I onely with three arrowes in me, by running into the wood and swimming ouer a standing Lake escaped home, giuing them warning before they came to assault them: and vpon my comming they all came in sight vpon the Sands, whom we soone sent away by shooting off our great Peece, so they came not in three dayes after.

Vpon Monday there came so the number of thirteene or fourteene hundreth both by Sea and Land, and there beset vs round, wee hauing nothing but our Chists to defend vs from their arrowes: thus for the space of seuen or eight dayes we fought with them, and of nineteene men which were left of all our companie, twelue were sore wounded with their arrowes. And the first day at twelue a clocke they shot fire in their arrowes and burned our houses, thinking then to haue entred in vpon vs, but with our Falcon wee droue them backe with most horrible cryes. After that our houses were burned, and all our Chists which before were our Fort, wee fortified our selues with the remnants of the stakes and thatch which we had saued from burning, setting them in the ground slopewise, couering it with sand and earth, which saued vs euer after from their arrowes.

The next day after they all departed in their Periaguas. And the Lord seeing what need wee had of food, contrarie to our expectation, moued the hearts of our very enemies to bring vs food. For when all the rest were out of sight, one returned very well prouided of victuall, and three

three or foure comming out of their Piragua with asmuch as they were able to carry of Cassaui, Potatoes, and Plantans, cryed vnto vs to exchange with them, first holding vp their bowes and arrowes, and after laying them on the ground againe in signe of peace. Which wee perceiuing, sent out three likewise to bargaine without weapons, with Kniues and Beades, and other trifles: which traffick being done, they departed and we returned, giuing praise to God, for this miraculous feeding of vs. For we had no meanes of our selues to get any food: for they had bereft vs of our Net, with which we had wont to catch as much fish of many sorts as would suffice vs for a whole day. Thus they continued daily for the space of seuen dayes; and then our victuals began to faile againe, which caused vs to hold out a flagge of truce: which they perceiuing, came in peaceable manner vnto vs.

Then one *Francis Brace*, which could speake *French*, made them vnderstand that our desire was to giue them all that we had, if they would let vs haue a Piragua to carry vs away. Which one Captaine *Antonie* willingly consented vnto (contrarie to the will of his brother *Augramert*, Captaine of Saint *Vincent*) and the next day brought it, drawing it on shoare within the compasse of our Fort; for which we gaue them Hatchets, Kniues, and Beades, vntill they were contented: and to please them the more, we gaue them euery one a Shouell or a Spade, wherewith they were fully contented, and so departed. Then with all speede we went all to worke, some vpon the Saile, which we made of very good *Roan*-cloth, and some to make the Mast; and euery one did labour all he could to be readie against night. For Captaine *Antonie*, which was Captaine of *Santa Lucia*, told vs, that his brother *Augramert* would come the next day from Saint *Vincent* with twelue Periaguas all laden with arrowes; whose words we alwayes found true.

Thus on a thursday, the sixe and twentieth of September, at one of the clocke after midnight, hauing amongst vs all but one Barrico of fresh water to drinke, and one small Firkin of Rice, we embarked our selues being nineteene in the whole number, not one hauing skill in the Mariners art, and without Carde or Compasse to direct vs: wee sayled by the Sunne in the day-time, and by the Starres in the night, going alwayes betwixt South-west and by West. The victuals that wee had were not sufficient to serue that companie for three dayes. For wee had not aboue twentie Biscuits, three Cassaui cakes, a dosen Plantans, and some thirtie Potatoes, and some foure or fiue gallons of water, and a little barrell halfe-full of Rice. And as it pleased the Lord he had saued it vntill this our great necessitie, for the preseruation of our liues: for all our other victuall was gone in two dayes, and our water in three dayes. And then Master *Garret* gaue to euery two of vs a pottage dish of his Rice twice a day, which wee washed in salt water and so eate it raw. Thus we continued at Sea seeking for Land, for the space of ten dayes, where wee endured one great tempest, although to our great perill, looking alwayes when wee should be drenched. The raine which then fell, was vnto vs in the middest of our danger a great comfort: for we saued it with great ioy, and dranke it, thanking God for that good refreshing; who likewise did send the very Fowles of the aire to feed vs. For being wearie of their flight they would rest them vpon the side of our Boat, so that we tooke them and dryed them in the Sunne with a little gun-powder, and eate them. Our Boats brimme was so neere the water, that euery waue came ouer it, readie to sinke vs, but that foure of vs continually did lade the water forth by courses. Now, on the tenth day one *Thomas Morgan* dyed; not being able to liue of that small allowance, and at noone we threw him ouer board. Within an houre after it pleased God to glad vs (who were likewise readie to follow our fellow) with a ioyfull sight of Land; vnto the neerest part whereof we made as fast as we could.

Blind hungrie voyage.

A storme.

Thomas Morgan dyeth.

Land.

But the winde being calme we were benighted before we could come to it. And so wanting the light of the day, we were vpon the shoare before wee were aware, and there split our Boat to the middest, and all our men were turned out saue my selfe, which held the helme, thinking the next waue would set her off againe, not knowing her to be split. But the breach was so great that it turned me vnder, putting me in great danger to be grinded to pieces with her weight lying vpon me against the great Rocks; yet at the last wee all recouered our selues, some sitting vpon the Rocks, others on the rootes of great Trees, thinking there to saue our selues vntill the morning. *William Picks*, and my selfe, went and haled the Boat on shoare, which was split to the very middest, and so farre with our Swords we cut off, and put in an head in the middest, and fastened it with our Daggers, Kniues, and Bodkins; stopping all the leakes with our shirts, and sent fiue of our companie ouer to the mayne land; which were *Miles Pet*, *William Picks*, *Francis Brace*, *William Kettleby*, and *William Butcher*. They haled their Boat foure or fiue dayes along the shoare, crossing diuers Riuers with their Boat, being sometimes pursued by *Alligates* or Crocodiles, and Sharkes.

Boat split.

God pittying their poore estate, guided them to a place, where they found a great earthen Iarre full of wheat flower set in a little Caue, which they boyled in the Iarre with fresh water, and satisfied their hungrie appetites, with thanks vnto God for the same. And within two dayes after they met with three *Spaniards*, with halfe a dosen *Indians* and *Negroes*, trauelling from *Caracas* to *Coro*, driuing Horses and Mules laden with merchandise: who seeing their weakenesse for want of victuals, vnloded their Horses to feede on the grasse, while they refreshed

Three *Spaniards*.

our

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our hungrie men with plentie of their good cheere, and shewed themselues very courteous suffering them to ride, and went themselues on foot two or three dayes, till they came to a Towne of ciuill *Indians*, called *Tocoya*, where they stayed to refresh them, for they were very weake.

Miserable famine. And there they let the *Spaniards* know in what miserable case they left vs in a desolate Iland; where we endured the greatest miserie, that euer men did with life. For wee continued fifteene dayes hauing no kinde of meat but Wilks, salt Water, and Tabacco; which did nothing at all nourish vs, yet neuertheless it tooke away the desire of hunger, and saued vs from eating one another.

Vse of Tabacco.

Fiue died in the Iland. In those fifteene dayes fiue of our companie pined to death, because they could not take Tabacco; *Iohn Parkins, Edward Greene, Thomas Stubbes, Andrew Smith*, and an old man called *Iohn*. By noting two or three of our men to die, we knew by those tokens when we drew neere our death: which were these, first they would swell very bigge, and shortly after fall to the very bones, and wanting strength to hold vp their heads, they would fall downe, and droope into their bosomes, and in twelue houres after yeeld vp the Ghost.

At the fifteene dayes end, *Francis Brace* hauing more strength then the rest, guided the three *Spaniards* with sixe *Indians* to the Iland where we were, and they brought victuals with them:

Food almost kils aswell as penurie. which when we had eaten had almost killed vs, by reason of the weakenesse of our stomacks, being so farre spent that we could not digest it, although we fed thereof very sparingly. The next day they carried vs to the mayne land, where wee had horses brought vs to carry vs: and the goods wee had they tooke all to the King of *Spaines* vse, and so conueyed vs to *Tocoya*; where wee which were weake remayned fifteene dayes, and those which were strong went with the three *Spaniards* to *Coro*, which is some fiftie leagues from *Tocoya*: and at the fifteene dayes end,

Tocoya.

Coro.

Kind *Spaniards* one of the *Spaniards*, whose name was *Senior Corsinual*, came for vs with horses, who shewed himselfe as carefull of vs, as if we had beene his owne Countrimen and friends, and brought vs to *Coro* to our fellowes: where we were brought before the Gouernour; and by a *Flemming* which

Good *Flemming.* could speake a little *English*, which had beene a prisoner there sixteene yeeres, we were examined of the cause of our comming thither; who excused vs very well. For hee knew, that if we had confessed whether we were determined to goe, they would haue either put vs to death, or condemned vs to the Gallies. But he told them, that we neuer purposed to come thither, but were by misfortune and tempest of winde and weather driuen on that Coast, and told them of all the dangers which we had endured, which draue them into such great admiration, that some said, verily wee were Deuils and not Men: others, that we deserued to bee canonized, but that wee were *Lutherans*.

All the chiefe *Seniors* of the Towne beeing there, euery man was desirous to take one of vs. After we were deuided among them, they did not vse vs like prisoners, but were as carefull of vs

Spanish gentlenesse. as of their owne children, not suffering vs to want any thing necessarie for the procuring of our healths. My lot fell out to bee entertained by one whose name was *Senior Francisco Lopez*: and being extreamely sicke of a Calenture, or hot Feuer, one Captaine *Peroso* which had married his daughter hauing good skill in Phisicke, came daily to my Chamber, and there let me bloud, dieted me, and purged me, giuing his owne Wife in charge, not to let me want any thing that was there to be had. Thus by the will of God, and their tender care ouer vs, wee recouered our healths and strengths againe; only two dyed there, which were *Thomas Fletcher*, and *Fulke Iones* a shoomaker. In *Coro* eleuen of vs remayned aliue (being all that were left of sixtie seuen, which

Two more die. were put on shore in the Iland of *Santa Luzia*) for the space of fiue moneths, euery day going to one another when wee pleased: and wee rid often into the Countrey, where the *Indians* tooke great delight in our company. For against our comming, they would prouide all kind of delicious fruits: which were in most abundance in that Countrey, and would kill Deere and wild Hogs for

Commodities of the Countrey. vs; and would bring vs Apes, Monkeyes, Parrots, and any thing that they thought wee delighted in.

The Countrey about *Coro* doth yeeld abundance of Sugar, Honey, Ginger, and Pitch. Also they haue very good Wheate growing there: but the bread is for the most part made of Maiz, whereof they haue great plentie, for they reape it three times in one yeere. This Maiz they do mingle with the iuyce of the Sugar-cane, which maketh an excellent kinde of bread, and it will

Drinke made of Maiz. keepe like Bisket. Also they make their drinke of this Maiz and of Potatoes; which is very sweet and strong: for the *Indians* will be quickly drunke with it. While we were there, a *Spaniard* rode to a Farme of his in the Countrey with his brother, where he had many *Indians* dwelling to make Tabacco. One of his chiefe *Indians*, which vsed to be familiar with him, tooke vp

The treason of the *Indians.* a new Hatchet, which his Master had brought him, asking him what it cost, and suddenly cloue his head therewith: which his brother perceiuing ranne for his Rapier: but the *Indian* women had stolne it away before; and so they killed him also with their Bowes and Arrowes, and three or foure *Negroes*, which seemed to resist them, and thereupon fled to the Mountaines, gathering a great company vnto him, promising them, that if they would aide him against the *Spaniards* in *Coro*, he would giue them the *Spaniards* wiues and daughters in marriage. But before they put this conspieacie in practise, Captaine *Peroso* by a Policie tooke him feasting among his fellowe and women, and tooke thirtie with him, and brought them all to *Coro*; where they were to suf-

fer

fer death with great torments, to terrifie the rest. And of some they cut off the thumbes, and cut the sinewes of their two fore-fingers, whereby they wanted the benefit of shooting.

Our entertainment there was such, that we could not desire to part from them to come into our owne Countrey without offending them. For a Frigat being readie at *Coro* to goe for *Carthagena*, foure of vs made intreatie for passage, which were *Philip Glasstocke*, *Richard Garret*, *William Picks*, and my selfe, *(Iohn Nicols)* for all the rest were in the Countrey vpon pleasure, some in one place, and some in another. And when the ship was readie to depart, they perswaded the Gouernour not to let vs goe. For they told him that there were many ships of *Holland* vpon the Coast; and that if we went all in the Frigate, we would betray it vnto them, causing the Fathers of their Churches to tell vs, That if we would stay, wee should be as themselues, and they would willingly bestow both their daughters and their goods vpon vs. Yet notwithstanding all their allurements, our desire was for our owne Countrey; and so three of vs procured meanes for to goe, and *William Picks* was stayed, by meanes his Master told the Gouernour, that foure were to many to venter in the Frigat. Thus we departed from *Coro* about the twentieth of Aprill, leauing all those with whom wee dwelt very sorrowfull for our departure: who gaue vs great store of prouision for our Voyage. They were very loth to let vs go to *Carthagena*, for feare we should be put into the Gallies: And the Gouernour of *Coro* himselfe, wrote vnto the chiefe men of *Carthagena* in our commendation, as to *Don Pedro de Barres*, who was his Sonne in Law; but it tooke small effect. By the way wee touched at *Santa Marta*, and watered there.

Within three dayes after we arriued at *Carthagena*, we were committed to Prison by the *Teniente*, for the Gouernour was dead not three dayes before we came in. Yet we brought out Letter from *Coro*, from one *Sennor Gasper Sanchez Contador*, or in our behalfe to one *Sennor Antonio Cambero*, who prooued a speciall good friend vnto vs. For we had not beene an houre in Prison, but hee came to vs and comforted vs, and bade vs not to feare, for wee should not want any thing. So he went to the *Teniente*, and proffered three of his *Negroes* to set vs at libertie, and if we made an escape, he should haue those *Negroes* for his owne vse. (The worst of those *Negroes* was worth three hundred Duckets.) But hee would not, neither would he allow vs any victuals. But this *Cambero* sent vs euery day at noone one very good meales meate. Also there were three *Englishmen*, who serued as Mariners in one of the King of *Spaines* Gallions which carrie his Treasure: which after that they were at Sea were by forcible tempest driuen back againe to *Carthagena*, in great danger to be sunk: for she had twelue foot water in her. Some escaped to *Hauana*, and fiue of the richest ships were sunke on the shoalds betwixt *Carthagena* and *Hauana*. These three *Englishmen* did allow vs twelue pence a day so long as wee remayned in Prison. Euery Saturday, the *Teniente* with his *Alcaldes* doe sit in iudgement within the Prison where the *Teniente* commanded that we should be sent to the Gallies. Then one *Alcaldie*, who was alwayes found to bee a fauourer of *Englishmen*, whose name was *Sennor Francisco Lopez de Meralie*, called for our Examination: which when hee had perused, hee told him, that hee could not with Iustice commit vs. Who answered againe, Then let them remayne in Prison vntill the Gallions come from *Spaine*, for the treasure.

Within two moneths after a Deputie Gouernour was chosen: vnto whom we framed a Petition; which was deliuered by *Iohn Frendgam*; whose answere was to him, that if wee could procure any *Spaniards* to bayle vs for our forth comming, we should be at libertie. Which *Sennor Francisco Lopez* and *Antonio Cambero* no sooner heard, but they entred into bond of a thousand Duckets for our forth comming. And at our deliuery, the *Teniente* told vs, that although by order of Law, they could iustly haue put vs to death; yet seeing God had so miraculously saued vs, and that we had endured so many miseries to saue our liues, and that we came to them for succour and reliefe, they were content to set vs at libertie. So *Francisco Lopez* brought a discharge from the Gouernour to the Iaylour for our deliuery out of Prison, and brought vs all three to his owne house: where was prouided for euery one of vs a seuerall bed: For the Country is so hot, that we cannot lie but one in a bed. Our entertainment was very great, and all our seruices in plate, with great varietie of meates, and of all the most delicious *Indian* fruits: and yet he thought we neuer fared well enough, without hee sent vs one extraordinary dish or other from his owne Table. Also many Gallants resorted to his house to play at Cards, who would bee very liberall vnto vs at their winning, and would giue vs sixe or seuen pieces of Eight at a time.

There we continued vntill the Gallions were readie to goe for *Spaine* with the treasure: then hee procured vs passage euery one in a seuerall ship. * And the day before wee embarked which was about the first of August, there came two more of our company from *Coro*, which were *Miles Pet*, and *Richard Ferne*, who were both placed with *Philip Glasstocke*, in the shippe called Saint *Bartholomew*, *Richard Garret* went in the ship called *La Madre de Dios*, and my selfe in the *Santa Cruz*. So we were a moneth in sayling to *Hauana*, where wee stayed another moneth to trimme the ships. The Gouernour there was *Don Pedro de Valdes*, Prisoner in *England* 1588. So we liued all on shoare with eighteene pence a day for our diet, and about the end of September departed, leauing that shippe, wherein *Philip Glasstocke*, *Miles Pet*, and *Richard Ferne* were, with another ship called the Saint *Vincent* for want of prouision of bread.

* The cause why *Francisco Lopez* did vse vs so kindly was because Sir *Fr. Drake* when he tooke *Cartagena* did saue all his fathers goods and his life withall.

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We shot the channell of *Florida*, in eight dayes against the winde, and came along by the Ile of *Bermuda*, and were nine weekes in sayling betweene *Hauana* and the Coast of *Spaine*. The tempests and stormes which we had, were wonderfull great. Insomuch that all the fleete were dispersed, and not aboue two ships did hold company together. Which put them in great feare lest they should haue met with the *Hollanders*; who might with three good ships haue taken all their treasure with small adoe for euery little Caruell did put them in feare, thinking her to be a man of Warre.

Vpon the second day of Februarie 1606. Master *Barwicke* landed safely, thanked bee God, at *Downes* in *Kent*, and gaue me money to bring me to *London*.

CHAP. XIIII.

The Relation of Master IOHN WILSON *of* Wansteed *in* Essex, *one of the last ten that returned into* England *from* Wiapoco *in* Guiana 1606.

They arriue at *Wiapoco*.

CAptaine *Charles Leigh* and his Brother Sir *Olaue Leigh*, did furnish to Sea the good ship called the *Phenix* with Commodities for the Countrey of *Guiana*; and necessaries for the Voyage, with fiftie persons to inhabit *Wiapoco*, of sundry Trades who directing their course towards *Wiapoco*, on the Coast of *Guiana*, which the *Spaniards* call the Riuer of *Canoas*, arriued on the twentieth of May following, where he found a ship of *Amsterdam*, trading with the *Indians*. They perswaded the *Indians*, that our Nation came to inhabit among them, only to oppresse them as the *Spaniards* doe in other parts of the *Indies*, which the *Indians* themselues confessed vnto Captaine *Leigh* notwithstanding they offered our Nation no vnkindnesse, but vsed them in all the kind manner they could. For they prouided whatsoeuer our Company wanted which they could get them. Insomuch the Gentleman was like to haue done right wel, if it had not happened that his Company had not mutined, which did partly arise because of the climate, which is much hotter then ours. And for that they were vnprouided of victuals or other necessaries, therefore constrained to liue in such manner as the *Indians* themselues doe; for that they did see at their landing only Mountaynes and Hils couered with Woods. And for that the most part of them had beene housholders in *England*, not accustomed vnto such a strange Countrey or Nation, nor such a diet; for which causes they were so much discontented, that they cried to their Captaine, *home, home*. Thus the Captaine and his whole company was discontented, and also the Master of his ship called *Martin Prinx*, who shipped himselfe shortly after their arriuall into the *Amsterdamer*, which they found there, whereupon the Captaine placed his Mate *Richard Pots* of *Weymouth*, to bee Master of the *Phenix*, furnishing him with such victuals as the Countrey affoorded, as Cassaui for their bread, and Potatoe Roots, with fish, water, and such prouision as they had of their owne aboord, appointing *Edward Huntly* to be their Captaine, to goe for *England*, who departed from *Wiapoco* about the first of Iuly 1605. by whom Captaine *Leigh* aduertized his Brother Sir *Olaue Leigh*.

Causes of their mutinie.

Second voiage of the *Phenix*.

After whose arriuall Sir *Olaue Leigh*, hee with all speed furnished the aforesaid ship, called the *Phenix* to Sea, with Commodities for the Countrey and other necessaries, with thirtie men of sundry Trades, appointing the aforenamed *Richard Pots* to be Master, and *Edward Huntly* to bee Captaine, they departed from *Woollage*, one the towards *Wiapoco*, who arriued at their Port one the fifteenth of Ianuary following, who expected with the rest of their company aboord, to haue found the Generall and his company on Land, to haue beene in farre better case then they were, for that they found them for the most part extreame sicke, and some of them dead: and presently after their arriuall three or foure men of them died, and the Generall himselfe was very weake and much changed, which partly proceeded by reason of their great want of victuals, for that the *Indians* could not at all times prouide them that they wanted. And chiefly for that the company were perswaded that the ship would neuer haue returned vnto them againe, which plainly appeared amongst them, for that at the arriuall of our ship, some of them which had not in three monethes time beene a stones cast from their houses, came aboord of vs, a mile and more from their houses in weake estate, which caused very much discontent amongst our fresh water Souldiers aboord, and they were the more discontented, because they could not aduertize them of any commodities the Country yeelded which would affoord them present benefit, insomuch that they wished themselues in *England* again. During which parley, our Generall came not aboord of vs, for that he was at his house called Mount *Howard*, a mile and more vp into the Land, which stood on a hil very pleasantly situated, but according to the Country manner, by reason that their enemies should not wel find their houses nor suddenly assaule them, haue therefore very rough passages vnto them, inuironed all with Mountaines, Woods, and Hils. Wherefore the Generall sent one *Sidney Harrington* vnto Captaine *Huntly*, M. *Tederington* Preacher and

Captain *Leighs* weakneſſe.

Deiected minds.

Mount *Howard*

to

to the Master of the ship to land their company in *Possession Bay*, a place which the *Indians* gaue vnto our Generall, and therefore by him so named. *Possession Bay.*

At whose landing according vnto the Generall his Commission, they were all sworne vnto certaine Articles, as that they should acknowledge Captaine *Charles Leigh* to bee their chiefe Generall of *Guiana*, vnder King *Iames* our King of Great *Britaine*, and that they should not be hurtfull vnto the said Generall his proceedings, but to ayde and assist him to their vttermost powers. Which being effected, our Generall came vnto vs, and after kinde salutations, hauing taken order for our Lodgings, for that time hee departed from vs. The *Indians* in like manner after their Countrey fashons kindly entertained vs, and after further conference had with our Generall, hee related at large vnto vs what had happened vnto him and his company in their absence; that by reason of his company their discontent and sickneſſe, they had not trauelled vp into the mayne Land; and therfore of his owne knowledge hee could not certifie them of any other commoditie the Countrey did yeeld, then such as hee knew of before their departure, but the *Indians* had informed them, that there was vp in the Mayne very rich commodities, as also Gold, and siluer, and especially in the Riuer of *Caliaue*, where the *Caribes* inhabit, who are enemies vnto our *Indians* of *Wiapoco*, and so called by them. Vpon which information our Generall thought it would haue beene best to haue peaceably traded with the *Caribes*: But our company misliked thereof, insomuch that the Generall altered his determination, and agreed to ioyne with their friend *Indians* against the *Caribes* their enemies. Whereof hauing aduertized the chiefest of them, they most kindly embraced their offer presently made eight of their Canoas in a readinesse, furnishing them with Bread and Drinke, and Victuals, which for the most part are Crabbes and Fish, with some hundred of themselues all naked in their Canoas, whome our Generall accompanied with some eight and thirtie of our company, leauing the rest to keepe our Shippe and Houses, shipping the most part of them in a Pinnasse that was built by one named *Howard*, the Keele whereof hee made of a Canoa, which prooued a very fitting Pinnasse for those parts and Riuers. This Pinnasse after our Generals death the *Indians* did breake a pieces because they thought wee would haue stolne away from them in her vnto the *Spaniards*. And the rest of our company were placed in their Canoas, all of vs furnished with our Caleeuers: and so wee departed on our Iourney and Voyage on the sixe and twentieth of February, on which day at night wee came to a place which wee named Mount *Huntly*, where wee lodged in the Woods that night, our Generall commanding vs to keepe a good watch; which wee need not to haue done, for the *Indians* themselues were very watchfull, and wonderfull carefull of our Caleeuers, and for to keepe our Powder drie, after we had beene acquainted with them, and very diligent for to please vs.

Gold & siluer. R. *Caliaue.*

Expedition against the *Caribes.*

Mount *Huntly.*

The next day at night we came to a place called the *Con*, and there wee lodged, and the next day following we came into the Riuer of *Wia*; and there we found two or three of the *Caribes* Canoas, but all their men were runne vp into the Woodes, and from thence our Generall went vp farther into the Riuer, where wee burned certaine of their houses, not finding any people in them. From whence our Generall purposed to haue gone farther into the Riuer of *Caliaue*. But the *Indians* did aduertize him, that there was an *English* ship there, whom the Generall knew to bee one *Iohnson* of *Plimmouth*, that had beene some fourteene dayes before at *Wiapoco*, and came thither in the way of Trade. But our Generall would not suffer him so to doe, for that he would not hinder himselfe and his company, which our Generall at that time called to minde, and therefore thought it not good to proceed in the Riuer, because hee doubted that there would haue risen contention betwixt his company and *Iohnsons*, and for that hee also misdoubted wee should haue wanted Bread and Drinke if hee should haue proceeded in his iourney, and therefore returned to *Wiapoco*, where we arriued all, except one Canoa. About the fourteenth day of March.

Con. R. *Wia.*

English ship.

Our Generall sent with foure of our Nation named *Blake*, *Owen Goldwell*, *William Crandall*, and *Henry Powell*, with commodities vp into the Countrey, some thirtie leagues to a place called *Vrake* to the Inhabitants there named *Arwakes*, to trade with them. And after our iourney by reason of such Raine and foule weather as wee had in the same, most of our company fell sicke, and for that they had no comfortable drinkes, nor any comforts that sicke persons doe want, diuers of them died of the Fluxe; which the *Indians* (as also the Disease called the Calenture) know right well for to cure, yet concealed it from our Generall. But vnto vs after his death they did reueale, which sickneſſe amongst the company caused no small griefe vnto our Generall, and chiefly to see such wants amongst them; wherefore hee resolued with himselfe to goe for *England*, which hee acquainted the company with, promising them to returne as speedily as hee could with prouision.

Vrake. *Arwakes.* Mortalitie.

Presently after he had shipped his prouision, and such Commodities as hee had gathered together in the Countrey, and was in a readinesse to depart for *England*, he sicknes of the Fluxe, and died aboord his ship, and was by Captaine *Huntly* secretly buried on the Land, the twentieth of March, whose death was so secretly kept by the Captaine, and the Master of the ship, that

The Captains sickneſſe and death.

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moſt of the company knew not thereof. The reaſon was, becauſe there was prouiſion too little for them which were ſhipped, and others of the company, if they had knowne thereof, would
M. *Tederington.* haue preſſed to haue come with them. Wherefore Captaine *Huntly* with Maſter *Tederington* our Preacher and others ſet ſaile from *Wiapoco* towards *England*, on the ſecond of Aprill 1605. promiſing a ſhip to returne vnto vs within ſeuen moneths, God not hindering their intents, which had happened, for Sir *Olaus Leigh* to his great charge had prouided a great Fly-boat of the burthen of one hundred and ſeuenty tunnes furniſhed for to haue come for *Wiapoco*, as I haue heard
35. perſons left since my being here in *London*, before Captaine *Huntly* his arriuall in *England*, but it pleaſed God that ſhe neuer came to *Wiapoco*, ſo that we had no comfort of her, being in number, left at Captaine *Huntlies* departure out of the Countrey thirtie fiue perſons, of whom one named *Richard Sackſie* was by Captaine *Leigh* in his life time, apppointed to bee chiefe amongſt vs, who
25. depart. ſhipped himſelfe into a ſhip of *Middleborough*, who came into the Riuer about the firſt of May 1605. and fourteene more of our company with him, and more that *Zelander* would haue carried if *Sackſie* would haue ſuffered him, ſuch was his kindneſſe towards our Nation. Hee gaue
Kindneſſe of a *Dutchman.* vnto vs ſuch wine and other comforts as he had, vnto our great reliefes. His comming vnto vs to *Wiapoco*, was to haue ſold vnto our Generall *Negroes*, whoſe kindneſſe we did requite in helping him to ſuch commodities as wee had, and did get the *Indians* to prouide *Caſſani* and *Guinea* Wheate for bread, with Potato Roots for his *Negroes* to eat, who departed on the one and twentieth of May (after he had bin ſome three weekes in the Riuer of *Wiapoco*) for Point *de Ray*, where he ſhipped of our company into his Countrimens ſhips, ſome in one ſhip and ſome into others for
Holland, of which ſhips we heard that ſome of them were taken by the *Spaniards*, and they were caſt ouer-boord with the *Hollanders*.

French ſhip. The ſame day the *Hollander* departed, which was the one and twentieth of May, came vnto vs a *French* ſhip of Saint *Mallors*, who dealt very kindly with vs, wherefore wee did ſuffer him
Ten more de- to trade with the *Indians*, who did remayne there ſome two moneths, vnto whom many ſtrange
parr. *Indians* did bring their commodities, and at his departure hee ſhipped ten of our men; hee tooke Powder, and other commodities of vs which we had, for their paſſage into *France*, leauing tenne of vs behind him, of which two died before the ſhip was out of ken of vs, *Nicholas Wilkins* and *Andrew Vnderhill*. But within ſome fourteene dayes after, two of thoſe foure which our Gene-
Two returne rall had ſent to trade vnto *Vrake*, came vnto vs not expecting euer to haue ſeene them; the o-
out of the Countrey to them. ther two were drowned by the way. Theſe two named *Owen Goldwell*, and *William Candall*, which came to vs, reported they had beene ſome fortie miles vp into the Land, in a very plaine
They plant pleaſant Countrey, and brought commodities hereafter written of.
Flaxe, &c. About the middle of Iuly, our number of ten were all in good health, ſpending our time in planting of *Carow* called Flaxe, whereof we planted about twentie *Engliſh* Acres of Land, and ſome Tabacco, obſeruing the manners and conditions of the people, the nature of the Land and what commodities it yeeldeth, and what commodities of ours are in moſt requeſt with them. About the third of October, the *Indians* did requeſt vs for to accompany them in their warres againſt the *Caribes*, whereunto wee willingly did agree. They prouided ſeuen Canoas furniſhing them with men, and bread and drinke, and their victuals (for the moſt part Crabs, and fiſh of diuers ſorts, which they take euery day freſh and freſh as they trauell in the Riuers.) We went into the Riuer of *Caliane*, which is ſome thirtie leagues from *Wiapoco*, where wee rowed vp and downe, but we could not find any of the *Caribes* in the Riuer, we perſwaded them to land which they did, and marched vp ſome two miles vnto the *Caribes* houſes, as wee marched to their houſes, the *Caribes* came to the water ſide where our Canoas did lye, but finding my ſelfe there with my Caliuer, they had no great deſire to come very neere vnto vs; and ſo after wee had burned
Surgerie. ſome of their houſes, and killed diuers of them, our company returned to our Canoas, hauing loſt one of the *Indian* Captaines named *Macato*, others of the *Indians* were ſhot with three of our company, whom they healed as they did themſelues, with a leafe, very ſpeedily.

They are armed in their warres with naked skins, and their Artillery are Bowes and Arrowes,
Indian Armes. their Weapons woodden Swords and Bucklers. They chooſe their Captaines at their drunken
Mad choice of Feaſts; he is placed in the middeſt of the whole company, holding his hands on his head. After
a patient Cap- they haue made an Oration vnto him to be valiant, and not to be treacherous vnto them, with
taine. ſuch like ſpeeches; they whip him with a Whip which maketh the bloud ſpring out of his bodie at euery ſtroke, and he neuer once moueth thereat. By theſe meanes they try his patience and
R. *Caliane* ſear- courage. After we had ſhipped our ſelues into our *Canoas*, wee rowed vp and downe the riuer of
ched. *Caliane*, ſome eight or ten dayes, which wee noted for to be a very faire Riuer and nauigable. It runneth diuers wayes from the mayne Land; and great ſtore of ſuch commodities hereafter ſpecified, which the Countrey yeeldeth is to be had in the ſaid Riuer. We returned vnto our houſes at *Wiapoco*, about the firſt of Nouember. In this Iourney we were kindly vſed of our conſorts our *Indians*, and highly reſpected of them for our ſeruice which we did.

Three ſhips in After a few dayes reſt at *Wiapoco*, the *Indians* aduertiſed vs of three Ships which were in the
R. of *Amazons.* Riuer of *Amaſons*, and that one of them would come vnto vs to the Riuer of *Wiapoco* ſome two moneths after, which proued to be true, but by what meanes they knew it I could not imagine,

except

except it were by their diuels meanes, which they call their *Peyar*, with whom the men haue often conference, and it will answere them, but the women neuer that I could perceiue; when the men will conferre with their *Peyar*, they suffer not a childe to be in the house; and when any of them are sicke, they know by him whether they shall liue or dye; if he saith they shall dye, they will giue the sicke person no physicke; but if he say that he shall liue, then they will giue him any thing they haue for his comfort. After our company was aduertised of a Shippes coming vnto vs, we went with the *Indians* in their *Canoas*, some into the Riuer of *Wiapoco*, and some into the Riuer of *Aracow*, to make away such commodities as we had left which were not many, reseruing some of them to giue to our *Indians* for our victuals, although their kindenesse towards vs was such, that if we had not had any commodities, they would not haue suffered vs to haue wanted. In which our iourney we noted the Riuer of *Aracow* to be a very pleasant Riuer, and yeeldeth such commodities as other Riuers doe; also the Riuer of *Wiapoco* is a very faire Riuer, and nauigable, which entreth the maine more then fortie miles. And at the end thereof there is a very great fall of water which commeth ouer great hils and mountaines; some of out company were on the tops of them, for some moneths in the yeare the Mountaines are drie; and we were informed that on the other side of those great hils, there is a Riuet which is inhabited with many *Indians*, and hath the like commodities that *Wiapoco* hath, and that there is Gold in that place, which the *Indians* calleth *Carocoret*, but we neuer went to see the same Riuer, by reason we had very small store of commodities.

Peyar-diuining

Riuer of *Aracow*.

Fall.

At our returne to *Wyapoco* we gaue to the *Indians* for their paines, and prouiding of vs victuals in our iourney an Axe, for which they would haue trauelled with vs two or three moneths time if occasion had required. And for an Axe they found vs victuals two moneths time at our houses, as Bread, and Drinke, and Crabbes, and Fish, and all such kinde of flesh as they killed for themselues, for the same price: but if we desired any Hennes or Cockes of them, then we were to haue giuen them some small trifles, as Beades; so likewise if they brought vs in our trauell to any of their friend *Indians* houses, we must doe the like as at our departure, to giue them some trifles, as Kniues and Beades. So that we liued very good cheape.

Three Nations.

There are of the *Indians* three sorts which inhabit at *Wyapoco* with whom wee were, whose houses be scituated as neere the Riuers mouth as they well may be, they are named the *Tayes*, the *Arwakes*, and the *Sappayes*. The *Tayes* are a people very proud, and vse much flouting and mocking of others, much giuen vnto dansing, and are full of merriment, very ingenious, and very kinde of nature. The *Arwakes* are a people of better carriage, and did vse our company with better respect then the *Tayes*. These two kindes of *Indians* come out of the West, wherefore they doe know all those Coasts, and they hate the *Spaniards* as deadly as they doe the *Caribes*. The *Sappayes* are a people more craftie in their dealings, for they will not part with any thing, but will haue commodities for commodities. They are not many of them, and wee could not learne from whence they are come. The men and women goe all naked, without any couerture at all; they are very well limmed and proportioned of body. They neuer company together all the day time, but as the women doe bring them their victuals, they doe eate viually euery day; they haue doores at each end of their houses, the men remaine at the one end of the house, & the women at the other. The women are very neate in making of their Bread, which they call *Aripo*, and their drinke *Possho*: they make their Bread and Drinke of a roote which they call *Cassani*, which maketh good Bread, and very strong drink, very pleasant to drinke after one is vsed to it.

The *Tayes*.

The *Arwakes*.

Sappayes.

Nakednesse.

Men and women how they liue.

Their houses.

Their houses are built after the manner of our barnes in *England*, but much longer, for we haue measured some of them which were one hundred and fiftie paces long, and some twenty paces broad, one hundred persons keepe together in one of those houses; they are most artificially builded and thetched, so that no raine commeth into them: although in Aprill, May, and Iune, and most of Iuly very extreame raine doth fall there. Also they make Pots of earth, which shew as if they were guilded, and some of them will hold thirtie or fortie gallons of liquor, they are very faire to behold, and very sweete to keepe any thing in. They make Baskets of diuers sorts most artificially, and their beds which they call *Hamakes*; they are some of them made of Cotten wooll, and some of barkes of trees, they vse to lye in them hanging. They haue a great delight to paint themselues both men and women, and especially when they goe to any Feast.

Faire earthen Pots.

Baskets.

Hamakes.

Painting.

The women against their day of trauell in childe bearth, make for that time a roome apart in the house, whereunto they goe all alone, and are deliuered without any helpe at all; and presently after the childe is borne, she calleth for her husband, and deliuereth him the childe, who presently washeth it in a pot of water, and painteth it with sundry colours, which seemed very strange vnto me, that I did not heare the women, once so much as to groane, or to make any moane at all in all her time of her trauell: if any one of them dieth they doe vse to make great moane for them some ten or twelue daies together after his death or longer, according as the partie was beloued in his life time.

Childebirth.

Funerals.

And touching such kinde of Beasts as are in the woods as well about *Wiapoco* as in other places of the Countrie. There are great store of Deere, Hares and Conies, Hogges and many Monkies great and small, blacke and greene, which sorts are called *Marmosites*, and great red ones as

Beasts of those parts.

bigge as Baboones (those the *Indians* doe kill and eate) and there are Leopards, and Porcupines, and Lyons; for in one place we did see a Lyon which the *Indians* had killed; they brought all their boyes they had, and did lay them on the Lyons backe, and with a whip did giue euery of them three lashes, wherefore they did so we could not learne, but imagined it was because they should remember the place where the Lyon was killed: also there are great store of Otters, and a beast which is called an Aligator, he hath a cod that smelleth like the Muske cod.

Fowles. Of Foules, I haue seene Cockes, Hennes, Duckes, and Geese; Partridges, Wood-doues, Hernshaws, Shouellers, and a foule of a crimson colour, called *Passeray Flemingo*, & great store of white foules, which the *Indians* call *Wakerouses*, & great store of Parrats, and Parrakeits, which flye there in sholes like Starlings here in *England*: also there is a Parrat there as bigge as a great Hen, blew and red, very beautifull to behold, and multitudes of foules of other sorts, and Hawkes of diuers sorts in the woods and Riuers.

Fishes and fishing as before. And of fish there are great abundance of all sorts both of fresh water fish, and Sea fish, and Crabbes great store; and the *Indians* take their fish with a kinde of wood which they beate against some stone or other tree, vntill one end thereof be all bruised, and putting that into the Riuer, presently the fish become drunke, and run themselues on the shoare, and swim aboue water, as our Haddockes doe in *England*.

Fruites. There are store of good Rootes and Plants with Fruites, as the Pina and Plantine, Potatoes, Nappoyes, and a fruite called of the *Indians Poppoyes*, it is bigger then an Apple and very pleasant to eate, and sundry sorts of Plums, and other sorts of fruites whereof they make drinke very pleasant to be drunke.

Dying woods & other commodities of the Countrie. There are these commodities at *Wiapocco*, and in other places of the Countrie where I haue trauelled, Woods of blacke, red and yellow colours, Tobacco, *Guinie* pepper, Cotten wooll, *Carow* (of vs called Flaxe) *Anoto*, Berries which dye a very faire Stammell colour, *Spiguard*, whereof a precious Oyle may be made, Gummes of diuers sorts, Bee-waxe, Feathers of the best sorts, such as Ladies doe weare in their hats, and other Feathers abundance. There grow naturally in many places Sugar Canes, and great abundance of *Carow* of it selfe, called of vs Flaxe, and of the *Spaniard Pero*. Also they make Oyle which they paint themselues with of a kinde of Nut bigger then a Chestnut, whereof are great abundance growing; and the Maney stone is to be had in the *Aracores* Countrie, and in no other place of the *Indies* that I haue heard of. These things I noted, but if so we had expected certainely for to haue had a Ship of our owne Nation to haue come vnto vs, I my selfe, and the rest of vs should haue beene encouraged to haue obserued more then I haue done. Neither had we any store of commodities to trade vp in the Maine, as the two *Hollanders* hath which are there, and were left there at our comming from thence by *Iohn Sims*, Master of a Ship called the *Hope* of *Amsterdam*, of the burthen of one hundred tuns Fraughted by the Merchants of *Amsterdam*, and by their Charter partie was bound to lye in the Riuer of *Wiapoco*, and of *Caliane* six moneths time, which he did, for he lay with vs at *Wyapoco* from the twentieth of December vnto the twentieth of May following, trading with the *Indians*, and sought most after the *Manito* stone and *Carow*, which we call Flaxe. They furnished there two Factors very well with Commodities, which they left at *Wyapoco*. They dealt very kindely with vs, for he shipped all our whole company, which were nine of vs.

Their returne. Taking our leaues of the *Indians* (who were as vnwilling to part from our companies, as we were willing to goe into our owne Countrie, saying vnto vs, that if any of vs euer came to them againe to trade with them; No other Nation should trade there but we. And after they knew of our departure; whilest we remained amongst them, they brought their children vnto vs for to name after our great mens names of *England*, which we did. They had often speech of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and one came farre out of the Maine from *Orenoque* to enquire of vs of him, saying he promised to haue returned to them before that time, After we had prouided our necessaries, and such commodities as we had, and had giuen the *Indians* great charge of the *Hollanders* Factors, we shipped our selues and departed from *Wiapoco* on the last of May 1606. And from thence we went into the Riuer of *Caliane*, where our Master *Iohn Sims* traded some thirtie dayes with the *Caribes*, and other of the *Indians*. This *Sims* was Masters mate of the *Holland* Shippe which Captaine *Lee* found in the Riuer of *Wiapoco* at his first arriuall there: also he was Master of the Ship which the *Indians* aduertised vs was in the Riuer of *Amazons*, and according to their saying, God be thanked he came to vs to our Comforts.

Sir *Walter Rawleigh*.

Trinidada. After his departure out of the Riuer of *Caliane*, he sailed vnto *Trinidado*, where the *Spaniards* entertained him and his companie very kindely, for they gaue them Tobacco for all such commodities as they had, and suffered them to lade Pitch which goeth out of the ground there, for that our Master durst not goe to Point *de Ree* to lade Sault there as he determined, because hee heard that the *Spaniard* did lye there with their men of warre, and had taken certaine *Holland* Shippes, and had flung ouer boord all the men that were in them: our Master tooke his course from *Trinidado* to *Amsterdam*, where he arriued on the of and were in number of vs eight besides my selfe, named *Owen Gouldwell*, *Robert Gardner*, *William Crandall*, *Robert Becke*, *Richard Pren*, *William Frier*, *Gilbert Browne*, and *Richard Bonecke*. Since my being here I vnder-

Fountaine of Pitch.

stand

ſtand that one of our company which we left at *Vliſhinge*, named *William Crandall* is gone in a Shippe of *Holland* for *Wyapoco*, which voyage they would haue hired my ſelfe and others to haue gone with them, by reaſon we haue the *Indians* languages: ſuch is the diligence of that Nation, vnto whom I wiſh well for the great kindeneſſe they ſhewed my ſelfe and others of our Nation.

CHAP. XV.

Part of a Treatiſe written by Maſter WILLIAM TVRNER, *Sonne to Doctor* TVRNER *of* London *a Phiſitian, touching the former Voyage.*

THE foureteenth of Auguſt,* about two in the afternoone, we had ſight of the *Barbados*, which bore of vs South South-weſt. The Land hath two points bearing Eaſt and Weſt one from another; and from the middle of it, it riſeth like *Teneriffe*, and is tenne leagues broad, and is barbarous without any inhabitants, hauing great ſtore of Hogges, Piggeons, and Parrats. We bore for the Weſtermoſt part of this Iland, and ſo wee ſteered away Weſt North-weſt, and North-weſt and by Weſt amongſt for Saint *Lucia*.

* The large Iournall of their voiage to this place, is for breuity omitted, as alſo their courſe homewards.

The fifteenth day, being thurſday, we had ſight of Saint *Lucia*, bearing Weſt North-weſt of vs. This Iland of Saint *Lucia* is a very fertile Ile, bearing many ſorts of fruites, as Plantons, Potatoes, Pinos, * Guanos, Pompins, Caſſado, and many other fruites. It hath alſo great ſtore of Cotten wooll, and Tobacco, but their Tobacco is not very good. It hath alſo many wilde Beaſts in it, as Tygars, Guanes, Alagartos, and other Beaſts, which time would not permit vs to ſee. It hath alſo great ſtore of Pigeons, Parrats, Pellicans, Cats, and Dogges. The people goe naked, hauing very long haire, and are very honeſt, kinde hearted people. In this Iland wee ſet our paſſengers aſhoare, and furniſhed them with all things neceſſary that our diſtreſſed Shippe could afford them. But they like treacherous idle diſpoſed people, not regarding our kindeneſſe, nor pittying our neceſſitie, betraied our Boate from vs, one morning as wee went aſhoare, my ſelfe and three or foure other Gentlemen being in her; and then they detained three Saylers which were drawing in the Boate keeping them for their owne vſe, and afterward ſent vs aboord in a *Canoa*, which we were faine to buy of them for Kniues. The Maſter and the Captaine ſeeing this their treacherous dealing, and being out of all hope to get their Boate againe, about thurſday in the euening, being the three and twentieth of Auguſt, gaue them a Peece of Ordnance with intent to beate downe their houſes. We had no ſooner let flye at them, but preſently they ſhot at vs againe, the bullet whereof came betweene our maine Maſt and our Poope, but it hurt no body. So that night we waied, and went to a Baye ſome two leagues to leeward of this roade where we firſt ankored. In this Bay there are halfe a doſen of *Indian* houſes very pleaſantly ſcituated vpon the top of a hill, with a freſh water Riuer at the foote of the ſame hill; and in this Baye we had very good traffick of linnen cloath, and many pleaſant fruites, for our Hatchets and Kniues. After we had roade here ſome ſixe houres, we might plainly diſcerne our Boate vnder ſaile, whereupon we preſently fitted our ſmall ſhot, hoping that their intent was to come aboord, and betray our Shippe, but they tacked in, and rowed alongſt the ſhoare, till they came to the very Bay where we roade, and there they ſtopped, and we were in good hope to recouer our Boate againe, but they tarried there trading for their commodities in the face of our Ordnance: whereupon we ſeeing their daring boldneſſe to be ſo great that they preſumed to trafficke in our owne Boate before our noſes, and to goe about as it were to ſtop vs from trafficke; we let flye at them ſixe peeces of Ordnance, and a vallie of ſmall ſhot, but what harme we did amongſt them, we know not, for they rowed away, and got out of ſight of vs. We tearmed the Baye where we put theſe men a ſhoare *Rogues Baye*, & the Cape we called *Cape Knaue*, and the Riuer, *Riuer of Raſcols*.

* The vertue of the *Guanes* a thing worthy the noting, for their nature is, if one eat a ripe one, it ſets one a ſcouring, and eate a greene one, it will ſtay a ſcouring. *Probatum.*

In quo diſcordia Ciues Perduxit miſeros.

Roagues Bay.
Cape Knaue.
Riuer of Raſcalls.

This very ſame day being the foure and twentieth of Auguſt, we waied anchor, and ſteered away South South-eaſt, and South-eaſt and by South amongſt for Saint *Vincents*. And vpon Saturday, the fiue and twentieth day, in the afternoone we arriued at the Iland of Saint *Vincents*, where we came within a Ships length very nigh the ſhoare, which put vs all in great feare, for if God had not ſent vs a gale from the ſhoare, we had runne a ground, and we had had all our throates cut by the *Indians* of that Iland. So that night we tried it off at Sea with our fore-top-ſaile, and fore-ſaile, intending next day, being Sunday, to ſtand it in againe for the ſhoare (becauſe we had good hope of good trafficke there.) But the current had driuen vs ſo farre off at Sea by the next morning, and the winde blew ſo vehemently from the ſhoare, that we could by no meanes fetch the land; whereupon being foure leaues from the ſhoare of Saint *Vincents*, we ſteered away South South-weſt, and South-weſt and by South amongſt for the *Teſtigoes*. And the next morning being monday, we had ſight of the *Granades*, bearing of vs South-eaſt, but we could not fetch the

Saint *Vincents.*

Teſtigos.
Granades.

Teſtigos

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Testigos. The nine and twentieth being Wednesday morning, we had sight of fiue small Rocks, which bore of vs West and by North some fiue leagues off: wee had also sight of the Iland of *Blanco*, whereby wee found that the Current had set vs, and doth set to the North-east, and therefore your best course to goe from the *Granades* to the *Testigos*, is to steere away South-west.

Current.

Margarita. The first of September being Friday morning wee had sight of *Margarita*, and at night wee cast anchor at the Westermost Point of this Iland, called *Point Macanao*. The second day the next morning wee went ashoare with our Canoa, to see if wee could meete with any *Spaniards*, with whom wee might bargaine for some Beeues. But wee could neither see *Spaniards*, Beeues, nor fresh-water, onely we found the dung of Beeues. In this Iland of *Margarita* also there are great store of Pelicans. This morning wee weighed; and as soone as wee had doubled the Point of *Macanao*, we had sight of the *Rangeria*, which is as it were a little towne, contayning in it some fortie or fiftie houses. Here wee did not land because wee saw no people, but stood it away South South-east and South and by East amongst for the *Burdones*. About mid-night wee came close aboard the shoare by an Iland, called *Tobacco*, and then wee sounded, and had ground at fortie fathome.

The third day being Monday morning, wee were becalmed, some three leagues off from the mayne. About twelue at noone the same day, wee had sight of *Point de Ray*. The winde and breeses blew so strongly of the shoare, that we could not come to anchor that night to the *Burdones*. These *Burdones* are no Towne, nor hath any houses, but belongeth to the Towne of *Comana*.

The fourth day being Wednesday, at foure in the afternoone, wee came to an anchor at the *Burdones*; so that wee were three dayes in getting to the shoare, being in sight of it all the while. About twelue at mid-night the same day, wee put out our sayne-Net into the Sea for to

Sword-fish. catch some fish. And about foure in the morning wee found a great Sword-fish shut into the Net, which was fourteene foot long, and he had a sword some three foot long. The sword is square, and blunt at the end, hauing great prickles vpon each side, of the bignesse of a wilde Bores tuske. We sent our Canoa ashoare here, to parley with them hauing a flagge of truce. The Gouernour of *Comana* perceiuing our Canoa comming ashoare, sent a *Molato* to parley with our men, who saluted them very kindly, inquiring of vs, what newes in *England*, and whether the Constable of *Spaine* were gone home into *Spaine* or no; we told him he was gone into *Spaine*, before we set out of *England*: we asked of him what newes in *Comana* of any *English* men, and when any had beene here; hee told them about a moneth agoe, and that one of them had like to haue beene taken by a *French* Pirat, if a *Flemming* had not tooke his part. This night there came foure *Spaniards* aboard our ship from a Caruell which was at an anchor halfe a league from vs. These *Spaniards* burged with vs some Tabacco, and told vs, that Captaine *Lee* had a Towne built for himselfe, and that the Pinnasse had beene here a moneth agoe.

The seuenth of September in the afternoone, there came the *Aide* of Master *Eldreds* to an anchor in the road where we rode, and then we welcommed them with a shot, and they gaue vs three for one: after these our salutations, the Captaine of the *Aide*, called *Squire*, came aboard vs, and told vs, that Sir *Oliph Lee* his Pinnasse was come home, before they set out of *England*,

Cap. *Leighs* death. and that Captaine *Lee* dyed in the Pinnasse comming into *England*: others of his companie said, that they heard he was betrayed, and killed in his *Hamaca* in *Wapoco*. He also told vs, that he had left some thirtie men behind him which were in great miserie and extremitie, both for lacke of health and scarcitie of victuals.

The nineteenth of September, Captaine *Squire* weighed, and left vs going for *Comonagota*. The *Spaniards* dare not trucke with vs for any thing, but when that they steale aboard in the night; for if that they should be espyed they should be hanged: Cloth of Tissue and Gold, cloth of Siluer, Veluet, Sattins, Silkes, fine woollen cloth and linnen, as Cambrick, Lawne, Holland; new Trunkes, Pistols, Fowling peeces, and Muskets, are very good commodities to truck with the *Spaniards*, and all other places in the *Indies*. I noted one thing amongst many things, concerning the nature of that climate of *Comana*. It is monstrous hot all the day long till it be noone, and then there blowes a coole breese: and at noone you shall alwayes haue thundering

Comana. and lightning without any raine for the most part. The towne of *Comana* stands two miles from the Sea-side, and cannot be seene by reason of the trees which couer the sight of it, but you may see the Gouernours house, for it stands vpon the top of a Hill, looking ouer the trees, which couer the towne.

Seuen saile of *Hollanders.* The eight and twentieth of September being Saturday, wee espyed seuen saile of *Flemmings* bound for *Ponitra*. The thirtieth day being Monday, we weighed for *Loyntra*; and wee steered away North and North and by West for *Ponitra* from *Comana*; and about sixe of the clocke in the morning we arriued there safely.

The fourteenth of October, Captaine *Catlin* and two other Gentlemen, went out of our ship vpon some discontentments, misliking of the Master of our ships vsage towards them, and had their passage in two *Hollanders*, that were riding at *Ponitra*. The fiue and twentieth, about eight a clocke at night wee weighed at *Ponitra*, hauing two *Flemmish* ships our consorts with vs. On

the

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the thirtieth we had sight of the Westermost end of *Porto Rico*, called Cape *Roxo*, and of a little Iland some foure leagues off, called *Echro*. Here we stayed till Friday and Saturday, hoping for to haue gotten the shoare for fresh water, and Oranges; but we had no winde at all to serue our turnes. About Saturday at noone, there came vnto vs a *Flemmish* boat with a dozen men in it; these men told vs, that vpon Sunday the seuen and twentieth day of this moneth, there came nineteene saile of *Spaniards*, and that they had taken all the ships which we left behinde vs, in number ten, sauing two ships of Captaine *Mogerownes*, which scaped by their swift sayling, and that they themselues being ashoare with their Boat made an escape from *Penitra*, and so came to vs at *Porto Rico*, which is one hundred and threescore leagues, where wee refreshed our selues with fresh water and Oranges.

The ninth of Nouember being Saturday, wee disembogued from *Porto Rico*. The two and twentieth of December we saw *Flores*, one of the Ilands of the *Asores*.

CHAP. XVI.

A Relation of a voyage to Guiana *performed by* ROBERT HARCOVRT *of* Stanton Harcourt *in the Countie of* Oxford *Esquire. To Prince* CHARLES.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1608. and the 23. of March, when I had furnished my selfe with one ship of fourscore tunnes, called the *Rose*; a Pinnasse of sixe and thirtie tunnes, called the *Patience*; and a Shallop of nine tunnes, called the *Lilly*, which I built at *Dartmouth*; and had finished my other businesse there, and prepared all things in readinesse to begin my voyage, the winde reasonably seruing, I then imbarked my compania; as followeth. 23. March, 1608.

In the *Rose*, I was accompanied with Captaine *Edward Fisher*, Captaine *Edward Harney*, Master *Edward Gifford*, and my Cousin *Thomas Harcourt*: and besides them, I had of Gentlemen and others one and thirtie Land-men, two *Indians*, and three and twentie Mariners and Saylers. The *Rose*.

In the *Patience*, my brother Captaine *Michael Harcourt*, had with him of Gentlemen and others twentie Land-men, and eleuen Mariners and Saylers. The *Patience*.

In the *Lilly*, *Iasper Lilly* the Master, had one Land-man, and two Saylers: so that my iust number (too great for so few ships of no greater burden) was in all fourscore and seuenteene, whereof threescore were Land-men. The *Lilly*. Land-men sixtie.

Being thus imbarked, wee set saile from the Rainge at *Dartmouth* the said three and twentieth of March; but the winde altering vpon a sudden, put vs backe againe that euening; and about two of the clocke the next morning (it comming better for vs) we weighed anchor, and put to Sea: the euening following we lost sight of the Lizzard, and steered away for the *Canaries*. They set saile the 23. of March.

The seuenth day of Aprill we fell with *Alegranza* and *Lancerote*, two Ilands of the *Canaries*: we stood in with *Alegranza* and came to anchor on the South-west side thereof; that euening and the next day I landed my compania to exercise their limmes on shoare: in this Iland wee found no Inhabitants, nor fresh water, neither fruitfull Tree, Plant, Herbe, Grasse, nor any thing growing that was good, onely an abundance of vnwholsome Sea-fowle, which after one meale were vnsauourie and distastefull, and a few wilde Capritos, or wilde Goats, which the craggy Rocks defended from our hands, and hungrie mouthes. They arriue at *Alegranza*.

The eighth of Aprill we departed from *Alegranza*, and directed our course for *Teneriffe*, another of the Ilands. The eleuenth day I sent the Pinnasse, and the Shallop to water at the Calmes, and there to attend my comming; but with my ship I held my course for *Orotana*, a Towne on the other side of the Iland, in hope to get some wine amongst the Merchants there; but not being able (by reason of a contrarie winde) to double *Punta de Nega*, wee altered our course from Wine to Water. And the twelfth day wee passed by *Santa Cruc*, and watered that euening at the Calmes. *Teneriffe*.

This watering place is very conuenient for all such as passe by those Ilands, and is thus to bee found; there is a woodden Crosse neere vnto it, the high *Pike* of *Teneriffe* beareth due North from it. There is also a ledge of Rocks to the Eastward of the landing place, which is a short Sandie Bay. When you are landed, you shall finde the place about fortie or fiftie yards from the Sea side. An excellent watering place.

Then we stood on our course for the Riuer of *Wiapoco* in *Guiana*, hauing a prosperous winde, faire weather, and a smooth Sea. The ninth day of May, wee fell into the Current of the great and famous Riuer of *Amazones*, which putteth out into the Sea such a violent and mightie streame of fresh water, that being thirtie leagues from land, we drunke thereof, and found it as fresh and good as in a Spring or Poole. The Riuer of *Amazones*. Fresh water in the Sea 30. leagues from land. *Ioseph Acosta.* *Hieron. Giraud Tarraconensis.*

This Riuer for the great and wonderfull breadth (contayning at the mouth neere sixtie leagues) is rightly termed by *Iosephus Acosta* the Empresse and Queene of all Flouds; and by *Hieronymus Giraud Tarraconensis*: it is said to bee the greatest not onely of all *India*, but also of the

the whole world; and for the greatneſſe, is called of many the Sweet Sea. It riſeth and floweth from the Mountaines of *Peru*, and draweth out her ſtreames in many windings and turnings vnder the Equinoctiall, for the ſpace of one thouſand and fiue hundred leagues and more: although from her Fountaines and Springs vnto the Sea it is but ſixe hundred. When we entred into the aforeſaid Current, we ſounded, and had fortie foure fathome water, ſandie ſounding. The tenth day the colour of the water changed, and became muddie, whitiſh, and thicke; then we ſounded againe at noone, and had thirtie fathome; and ſeuenteene at foure in the afternoone. The eleuenth day at eight of the clocke in the morning wee made land, the vttermoſt Point thereof bearing Weſt from vs, and came to anchor in fiue fathom water.

The eleuenth of May they made land in *Guiana*.

At night the *Patience* putting in to neere the ſhoare, came to anchor in two fathome and a halfe water vpon the floud which fell from her vpon the ebbe, and left her drie vpon the Oaze, and the next floud comming in, did ſo ſhake and beate her againſt the ground, that before ſhee could get off, her rudder was beaten away, and her ribs ſo rent and craſed, that if Almightie God had not preſerued her, ſhee had beene wrackt: but (God be thanked) with much adoe ſhee came off into deeper water, and mended her Rudder, as well as the time and place would afford means. Then we followed on our courſe, coaſting along to the North North-weſt, the Land ſo trending. It is very ſhoale all along this Coaſt, the ground ſoft oaze, but no danger to be feared, keeping our ſhip in fiue fathom water.

The *Patience* in danger of wrack.

When we came to the latitude of two degrees and a halfe, wee anchored in a goodly Bay, by certaine Ilands, called *Carripapoory*, I did at that time forbeare to make particular diſcouerie of this Coaſt, intending (if God ſpare me life) to make a perfect diſcouerie of the famous Riuer of *Amazones*, and of her ſeuerall branches, and Countries bordering vpon it, and of all this tract of land from the *Amazones*, vnto the Riuer of *Wiapoco*, which containeth many goodly Prouinces, and Signiories, which are in this diſcourſe, but briefly mentioned: For at this time I purpoſed onely to proſecute my firſt proiect, which haſtened me vnto another place.

Ilands called *Carripapoory*.

From hence I ſtood along the Coaſt, and the ſeuenteenth of May, I came to anchor in the Bay of *Wiapoco*: where the *Indians* came off vnto vs in two or three Canoes, as well to learne of what Nation we were, as alſo to trade with vs; who vnderſtanding that we were *Engliſh* men boldly came aboard vs, one of them could ſpeake our language well, and was knowne to ſome of my companie to be an *Indian*, that ſometime had beene in *England*, and ſerued Sir *Iohn Gilbert* many yeeres: they brought with them ſuch dainties as their Countrie yeeldeth; as Hens, Fiſh, Pinas, Platanaes, Potatoes, bread of Caſſaui, and ſuch like cates, which were heartily welcome to my hungrie companie: In recompence whereof, I gaue them Kniues, Beades, *Iewes* trumps, and ſuch toyes, which well contented them. But when I had awhile entertayned them, and made known vnto them the rerurne of the *Indian*, *Martin*, their Countriman, whom I brought with mee out of *England*, they ſeemed exceeding ioyfull, ſuppoſing that he had beene dead, being aboue foure yeeres ſince he departed from them.

The Bay of *Wiapoco*.

Indian boats.

The *Indian* before mentioned to haue ſerued Sir *Iohn Gilbert* (whoſe name was *Iohn*) whileſt he liued (for he is now dead, and dyed a Chriſtian) was a great helpe vnto vs, becauſe hee ſpake our language much better then either of thoſe that I brought with mee, and was euer firme and faithfull to vs, vntill his death. By him I vnderſtood that their Towne was ſituate vpon the Eaſt ſide of the Hill in the mouth of *Wiapoco*, and was called *Caripo*: that the *Indian*, *Martin*, was Lord thereof, and that in his abſence his brother was chiefe. Moreouer, hee certified mee that the principall *Indian* of that Riuer was called *Caraſana* (who by good fortune) was then at *Caripo*, and ſo hauing ſpent ſome time in other conference and friendly entertainment, they tooke their leaue, and departed for that time. I ſent one of my companie with them to giue notice to *Caraſana*, and the reſt of the *Indians* of *Caripo*, that I had brought home their Countryman *Martin*, whom they all thought to bee dead, and another of their Nation alſo, who had kindred and friends amongſt them: to deſire him to come aboard my ſhip, and to bring with him the principall *Indians* of *Caripo*, that I might declare vnto them the cauſe of my comming into their Countrie, and conferre with them of other matters intended for their good. The next day I came into the Riuer of *Wiapoco*, and anchored ouer againſt the *Sandy Bay*.

A village called *Caripo*.

A meſſenger ſent to the *Indians*.

The day following the *Indians* came aboard as I had deſired, and brought vs good ſtore of their Countrie prouiſion: *Caraſana*, and one or two more of them were attyred in old clothes, which they had gotten of certaine *Engliſh* men, who (by the direction of Sir *Walter Raleigh*) had traded there the yeere before; the reſt were all naked, both men and women; and this I obſerued amongſt them, that although the better ſort of men (eſpecially the *Taios*) doe couer their priuities, by wearing ouer them a little peece of cotton cloth, pretily wouen after their manner; yet did I neuer ſee any of their women couered in any part, either aboue or beneath the waſte, albeit they daily conuerſed amongſt vs, but were all (as the plaine prouerb is) euen ſtarke belly naked.

The *Indians* came aboard.

The chief men of the Nation of the *Taios* couer their priuities.

The women generally goe all naked.

At their comming aboard my ſhip, firſt *Caraſana* as the principall amongſt them, and after him the reſt, ſaluted and welcommed vs after their rude manner. I vſed them with all curteſie, and entertayned them as well as the ſtraight roome would giue me leaue, giuing them good ſtore

of

of *Aquauita*, which they loue exceedingly: I presented to their view their two Countrimen; *Martin* the Lord of their Towne, and *Anthonie Canabre*, who was a Christian, and had liued in *England* fourteene yeers, both which I had brought home vnto them: when they beheld them, and after salutations, and some conference, knew to bee the same persons, whom they supposed had beene long since dead, they expressed much ioy and contentment: and vnderstanding (from their owne mouthes) how well I had vsed them, they seemed to be better pleased with our comming: and when their rude salutations to their new-come Countrimen were ended, I tooke them apart, and thus declared the cause of my comming.

Their conference with the *Indians*.

First, I brought to their remembrance the exploits performed by Sir *Walter Raleigh* in their Countrie, in the reigne of our late Soueraigne Queene *Elizabeth*, when (to free them from seruitude) he most worthily vanquished the *Spaniards* at *Trinidado*: burned their Towne, tooke their Gouernour *Don Anthonio de Berreo* prisoner; deliuered fiue of the *Indian* Kings imprisoned, and bound by the necke with collers of Iron; and with great labour and perill discouered the Riuer of *Orenoque*, and the Countries adioyning, as farre as the Prouince of *Aromaya*, the Countrie of *Tepiawary*, and the Riuer of *Caroli* beyond it: And that their Countrimen called the *Orenoqueponi* (who are the borderers of *Orenoque*) did then most willingly submit and render themselues vnder the subiection of the late Queene; all which they well remembred, and said, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* promised to haue returned againe vnto them long since.

Sir *W. Raleighs* acts in these parts. See *Hak. to. 3.*

The *Orenoqueponi* rendred themselues subiects to Queen *Elizabeth*.

Then I excused his not returning according to his promise, by reason of other imployments of great importance imposed vpon him by the late Queene: shewing them moreouer, that when he could not (for that cause) returne himselfe, hee sent Captaine *Keymis* to visit them, and to bring him true intelligence of their estate (supposing that hee had left no *Spaniards* behinde him at *Trinidado* of power to molest them) to the end that reliefe and aide might bee prepared for them, according to their necessities, and oppression of their enemies. Then I told them of the death of the late Queene, whereby that businesse of theirs was againe hindered.

Cap. *Keymis* his voyage to *Guiana*.

Moreouer, I declared vnto them, that our gracious Soueraigne Lord King *Iames*, who now reigneth ouer vs (being the onely right and lawfull Heire, and Successor, to the Crowne and Dignitie of the Realme of *England*, after the death of the late Queene) was throughout the whole Land proclaymed King of *England*; and so comming to reigne ouer vs, hath beene euer since busied in ordering the State and affaires of the Kingdome, which being (by his great wisedome) setled in tranquillitie and peace, like a good, gracious, and worthy King, doth now permit his Subiects to trauell abroad into forraine Countries, and Nations, to aide and assist all such as are vniustly molested by their enemies. Whereupon, I and the rest of these worthy Gentlemen my associates and friends, hauing intelligence by some that had beene followers of Captaine *Charles Lee* (who was a man well knowne amongst them, and heretofore had taken possession of their Countrie to his Majesties vse, and was planted diuers yeeres in *Wiapoco*, where hee lyeth buried) of the great variance and discord depending betweene them the allied Nations, the *Taios*, *Arwacens*, *Sappios*, and *Paragotes*; and their enemies the *Charibes* (all inhabiting betweene the Riuers of *Amazones*, and *Dessequebo*) haue made a long and dangerous voyage into those parts, to appease their dissentions, and defend them against the *Charibes*, or other enemies that shall molest or oppresse them: and now being there arriued, doe intend to make search in those Countries for conuenient places, where such of our Nation, as shall hereafter come to defend them, may be fitly seated to dwell amongst them; that if any of those Nations shall attempt at any time to disturbe the quiet liuing of their Neighbours, they may haue store of *English* friends at hand and amongst them, that will not spare their paines to appease their discords, nor their liues to defend them from harme.

Possession of the Countrie taken at *Wiapoco*, by Captaine *Lee* to his Maiesties vse.

When I had thus declared vnto them the cause of my comming, they made this answere; that with our comming they were well pleased; but our number of men they thought too great, that they wanted meanes to prouide vs bread sufficient for them all, hauing but a small Towne, few Gardens, and slender prouision for their owne companies, because since Captaine *Lee* his death, and his mens departure from them, they neuer made prouision for any strangers.

I replyed, that albeit their Towne was small, and their Gardens few (for the grounds wherein they plant their Cassaui, whereof they make their bread, they call their Gardens) yet their Countrie was full of Inhabitants, and had store of Gardens to supply our wants of bread, and was plentifully stored with other prouisions sufficient for a greater number, which I desired might bee weekely brought vnto vs, as neede required, for that I meant not to take it without recompence, but would giue them for it such commodities as should well please them, which they wanted: as Axes, Hatchets, Kniues, Beades, Looking-glasses, *Iewes* trumps, and such like things wherein they most delight.

The *Indians* go to counsell.

Then they desired to consult amongst themselues, which I permitted, and expected their answere aboue two houres, which time they spent in debating the matter after their manner, and drinking *Aquauita*, and in the end desired my presence, and made me this answere.

Their answer.

That they were contented and well pleased we should liue amongst them; that they would furnish vs with houses to lodge in, and prouide all necessaries for vs in the best manner they could,

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could. But whereas I ſaid our King would permit his people to liue and abide amongſt them, and defend them againſt their enemies: they anſwered, it was a thing they greatly deſired, and had expected long, and now they made much doubt thereof, and ſaid they were but words, hauing heretofore beene * promiſed the like, but nothing performed. To reſolue that doubt, and make good my ſpeeches, I told them what I had ſpoken ſhould certainely be performed, and to that end I would leaue my brother in their Country, and ſome of my company with him, to dwell amongſt them, vntill a greater ſupply might be ſent from *England* for their better defence. Then they ſeemed to giue credit to my words: And ſo after much talke, and many complements to pleaſe the naked people, I gaue to *Caraſana* a Sword, and to the reſt ſome other things, which pleaſed them well: and then after their manner taking their leaue, they departed. The next day the *Indian Martyn* went aſhoare, and ſeemed ioyfull that he had againe recouered his owne home.

* By Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and Captaine *Lee*.

The *Indian Martyn* goeth aſhoare.

The day following I tooke land, with my companies in armes and colours diſplayed, and went vp vnto the Towne, where I found all the women and children ſtanding at their doores to behold vs. The principall *Indians* came out vnto me, and inuited me into the Captaines houſe, which vntill the returne of *Martyn* belonged vnto his brother, as chiefe Lord in his abſence: I went vp with them and was friendly feaſted with many kindes of their Countrie cates: when I had well eaten and refreſhed my ſelfe, *Martyn* tooke me by the hand and ſaid, that he had not any thing wherewith to requite my kindeneſſe towards him, in ſuch manner as he deſired; neither had he ſuch delicate fare, and good lodging for vs, as in *England* heretofore we had beene vſed vnto: but humbly intreated me to accept of his houſe in good part for my ſelfe, and the Gentlemen of my company; and the reſt ſhould be lodged in other *Indian* houſes adioyning: and that ſuch prouiſion as the Country yeeldeth, ſhould be prouided for vs. His ſpeech was approued by the reſt of the *Indians* preſent, who tooke me by the hand one after another, and after their manner bad me welcome. I gaue them many thankes, and ſome rewards for their kinde entertainment; and then diſpoſed my company in conuenient lodgings: but yet I kept a continuall guard, as in time of warre.

The *Engliſh* take land.

The *Engliſh* feaſted by the *Indians*.

The gratefull offer of *Martyn*.

When I had thus ſetled my company at this village, I went out to view the ſcituation of the place, and the aduantages for defence thereof. It is a great rockie Mountaine, not acceſſable by reaſon of faſt woods, and ſteepe rockes, but onely in certaine places, which are narrow foote-paths, very ſteepe and eaſie to be defended: whereby we were lodged as in a Fort, and moſt conueniently in reſpect the harbour was ſo neere, for our Ships did ride at anchor vnderneath vs, ouer againſt the foote of the hill.

The *Engliſh* ſetled at *Caripo* in *Wiapoco*.

The ſtrength of the place.

Being thus arriued vpon the Coaſt, I found the time of the yeare ſo vnſeaſonable for our purpoſe, that (by reaſon of continuall raines) we were conſtrained to lye ſtill and doe nothing for the ſpace of three weekes, or a moneth: in which idle time I conferred with the *Indians*, ſometime with one, ſometime with another; and by helpe of my *Indian Anthony Canabre*, and the *Indian Iohn* aboue mentioned (whom I vſed for my interpreters) I gathered from them as well as I could, the State of their Countrie; the manner of their gouernment and liuing; how they ſtood with their neighbours in tearmes of peace, and warre; and of what power and ſtrength they were. I inquired alſo of the ſeaſons of the yeare in thoſe parts: of their diuiſion, and account of times, and numbers; of the prouiſions of their Countrie for victuals, and other neceſſaries: and made a diligent inquiry of all the commodities their Country yeeldeth, and what things were of moſt eſtimation amongſt them: all which I haue briefely declared vnto your Highneſſe in this following diſcourſe.

continuall raines.

THis goodly Countrie, and ſpacious Empire, is on the North part bounded with the Sea, and the great Riuer of *Orenoque*, wherein Sir *Walter Raleigh* performed his worthy and memorable diſcouery, on the Eaſt and South parts, with the famous Riuer of *Amazones*: and on the Weſt part with the Mountaines of *Peru*.

The bounds and limits of *Guiana*.

The weſtermoſt branch of the Riuer of *Amazones* that falleth into the Sea, is called *Arrapoco*: vpon which Riuer are ſeated many goodly Signiories well deſeruing a particular diſcouery, which ſhall (by Gods permiſſion) be performed hereafter. To the North of *Arrapoco* is the Riuer of *Arraway*, which is a goodly Riuer, diſcouering a gallant Countrie. From *Arraway* vnto the Riuer of *Caſſipurogh* extendeth the Prouince of *Arricay*; containing the Signiories of *Arraway*, *Maicary*, and *Cooſhebery*; of which *Anakyury* is principall, who by Nation is a *Yaio*, and fled from the borders of *Orenoque* for feare of the *Spaniards*, to whom he is a mortall enemy. He hath ſeated himſelfe in the Prouince of *Arricay*, and now dwelleth at *Moroega* in the Signiory of *Maicari*. To the North North-weſt of which, there falleth into the Sea a Riuer called *Conawini*, whereupon the Signiory of *Cooſhebery* bordereth; whereof an *Indian* named *Leonard Rapago* is Chiefe, vnder the ſubiection of *Anaki-v-ry*. This *Indian* is chriſtened, and hath beene heretofore in *England* with Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to whom he beareth great affection: he can a little vnderſtand and ſpeake our language, and loueth our Nation with all his heart. During my aboad at *Wiapoco*, hauing intelligence of him, and of his Country, and that certaine ſtones were found

Arrapoco a branch of *Amazones*.

Arraway.

Maicary.

Anaky-v-ry chiefe of the *Yaios*.

Moroega.

Conawini.

Cooſhebery.

Leonard Rapago Lord of *Cooſhebery*.

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found therein, ſuppoſed to be Diamonds: I ſent my Cozen, Captaine *Fiſher* to diſcouer the ſame, and fetch ſome of thoſe ſtones, to be reſolued of the truth.

At his comming thither, *Leonard* entertained him with all kindeneſſe, not after the ordinary rude manner of the *Indians*, but in more ciuill faſhion, and with much reſpect and loue, he furniſhed him with guides to conduct him through the Country to the place where the Stones were found, being fifty miles Southward vp into the Land: beyond which place there is an high Mountaine appearing in ſight, called *Cowob*, and on the top thereof (as the *Indians* report) a great Lake or Poole, full of excellent fiſh of diuers kindes. The Countrey was as pleaſant and delightfull, as euer any man beheld; but the Stones not *Diamonds*: yet they were *Topaſes*, which being well cut, and ſet in Gold by a cunning workman, doe make as faire a ſhew, and giue as good a luſtre as any *Diamond* whatſoeuer: which yeelde good hopes of better to be found hereafter: For where the *Topas* is found on the Mountaines of *Tenaſſeren*, in the Eaſt *Indies*, the greateſt ſtore of *Diamonds* are alſo found.

A Mountaine called *Cowob*.

Topaſes in *Cooſhebery*.

When my kinſman returned, Daptaine *Leonard* came with him to *Wiapoco* (being aboue an hundred miles from his owne Country) onely to viſite me and my company; for the great loue he did beare to Sir *Walter Raloigh*, and our Nation. I much maruelled to ſee him, for aſſuredly he is the braueſt *Indian* of all thoſe parts. After he had beene with me a day or two, he earneſtly requeſted me to ſend ſome of my company into his Countrey, which he greatly commended for the wholeſome ayre, and plenty of victuals, alleading that the place where then wee liued (by his owne experience) was very vnhealthfull, that our men would there be ſubiect to ſickeneſſe and die: and for an inſtance he named Captaine *Lee*, and his company, who formerly were planted there, and almoſt all dyed by ſickneſſe in the ſame place: But he aſſured me that his own Country *Cooſhebery* was of a good ayre, pleaſant, and healthfull; that there they might haue roome ſufficient to build *Engliſh* houſes in (for thoſe were the words hee vſed) that thither they ſhould be welcome and ſhould want nothing. Much he perſwaded to draw me to his deſire, which by his importunity I granted, and accordingly performed it; finding his Country anſwerable to his report; being for the moſt part champian ground, naturally intermixt of plaine fields, fruitefull meadowes, and goodly woods, in ſuch admirable order, as if they had beene planted artificially by handy labour. The fields appearing aboue the meadowes in pleaſant and delightfull manner, preſenting here and there vnto the eye, from ſtately Mounts, moſt beautifull and liuely proſpects: the meadowes bordering on euery ſide betweene the fields and woods, the woods growing in the loweſt valleys betwixt the meadowes, and commonly are watered with ſweete and pleaſant freſh ſtreames running through them: which ſtrange and rare mixture of Mounts, Valleyes, Meadowes, Fields, and Woods, afford as excellent and healthfull habitations as can be wiſhed or deſired, but is not greatly peopled.

The quality of the Prouince of *Cooſhebery*.

From the Riuer of *Caſſipuroph* N. Weſtward to the Riuer of *Arracow*, and vp further into the Land towards the Weſt, and South-weſt, as farre as the Riuer of *Arwy* (which falleth into *Wiapoco* aboue the ouerfalles) extend the Prouinces of *Arracoory*, and *Morownia*, which alſo to the landward (by the relation of my Brother, Captaine *Michael Harcourt*, and Captaine *Harvey*, who haue trauelled and diſcouered thoſe parts) are pleaſant and delightfull plaine Countries, like vnto *Cooſhebery*. The *Arracoory* Countrie is well peopled, and their chiefe Captaine is called *Ipero*. Betwixt the *Wiapocoories* and *Arracoories* there is no hearty loue and friendſhip, yet in outward ſhew they hold good quarter. In *Morrownia*, there is alſo ſtore of people, which are friendly *Indians*. In that Prouince there is a very high Hill called *Callipuny*, faſhioned like a Sugerloafe, or a *Pyramis*, which ouerlooketh and diſcouereth all the Territories adioyning aboue an hundred miles.

Arracoory and *Morrownia*.

An exceeding high Hill called *Callipuny*.

Beyond the Country of *Morrowni* to the Southward bordering the Riuer of *Arwy*, is the Prouince of *Norrak*: the people thereof are *Charibes*, and enemies both to the *Morrowinnes*, the inhabitants of *Morrownia*, and to the *Wiapopoories*; who are alſo vnder the ſubiection of *Anaky-ury*, the principall and greateſt Lord, or *Caſſique* of all the *Yaios* in thoſe Prouinces, bordering vpon the Sea betwixt the *Amazones*, South-eaſtward, and *Deſſequebe* North-weſtward.

Norrak.

Anaki-ury.

From the Riuer of *Amazones* to the Bay of *Wiapoco*, there fall into the Sea theſe Riuers following: *Arrapoco* (a branch of *Amazones*) *Arrawary*, *Micary*, *Conawini*, and *Caſſipuroph*: In the Bay of *Wiapoco* to the Eaſt of the ſaid Riuer, there falleth into the Sea the Riuer of *Arracow*; and into *Arracow* falleth the Riuer of *VVatis*. To the North of *VViapoco* there is a ſmall creeke called *Wiawary*, which letteth into the Sea a dayes iourney Weſtward vp into the land: ſome take this creeke to be a Riuer, but they doe erre in that opinion, it hauing neither Spring nor Fountaine from whence it falleth. To the North and North-weſt of the ſaid creeke, there is a ridge of high Mountaines running towards the Riuer of *Apurwaca*, the ſoile whereof is excellent and fertile for Tobacco, and beareth the beſt of all thoſe parts; ſo are the Sugar-canes there growing the beſt and faireſt that are found vpon the Coaſt: and all the tract of Land betwixt the Riuer of *VViapoco*, and *Apurwaca*, is accounted the Prouince of *VViapocoory*, containing the Signiories of *VViapoco*, and *VViawary*. Beneath the ouerfals in *VViapoco* (which are forty miles diſtant from the Sea) there is much people, both of *Yaios*, and *Arwaccas*: of the *Yaios* in this Riuer *Cara-*

Riuers falling into the Sea, betweene *Amazones* and *Wiapoco*.

Wiawary a creeke.

The Prouince of *Wiapocoory*.

Crasana. *Ariquona.* *Casurino.* *sana* is chiefe. Of the *Arwaccas*, *Arriquona* is principall. In *Wianary* there are few *Indians*, and *Casurino* is their chiefetaine.

Riuers fal ing into the Sea, to the North-west of *Wiapoco*

To the North-west of the Bay of *Wiapoco*, there fall into the Sea the Riuer of *Apurwaca*, *Cowo*, *Wio*, and *Caiane*. *Apurwaca* is a goodly Riuer, and well inhabited: *Cowo* is voide of inhabitants: *Wio* is a faire Riuer and leadeth many dayes iourney into the high land, and discouereth a fertile and hopefull Countrey. At *Caiane* there is an excellent harbour for shipping of any burden, which heretofore by Captaine *Lawrence Keymis* was called *Port Howard*: On the Starbood side, as you enter this harbour, there is an Iland of low land, called *Muccumbro*, scituate betwixt the Riuer of *Caiane* and *Meccoria*, containing in circuit about sixteene leaues. In this Iland there

Muccumbro an Iland.

are two hils, the one called *Muccumbro*, whereof the Iland taketh the name; the other called *Cillicedemo*: from these hils the greatest part of the Iland may be ouerviewed, which containeth many goodly Pastures and Meadowes intermixt with some Woods, and is full of Deere, both red and fallow.

Mattoory an Iland.

On the Larboord side, as you enter *Caiane* there is another Iland of high Land, called *Mattoory*, in quantitie much like vnto the first: this Iland for the commodious scituation, is of great effect for the defence of the harbour, affording naturally two such notable conuenient places for the planting of Ordnance for that purpose, as no industry of art could deuise better, or more auaileable.

Arrawicary chiefe Captaine of the *Caiane*.

The Inhabitants of this Prouince of *Caiane*, are *Charibes*, their principall commander is called *Arrawicary*, who dwelleth at *Cillicedemo* before mentioned: we haue found him trusty and faithfull to our Nation but; to our friend *Leonard* of *Coosheberry*, he is a mortall enemy. At this mans house I left foure or fiue of my company, thereby to hold amity and friendship with the *Charibes*, to learne their language, and to keepe peace betweene them and the *Taios*, *Arwaccas*, and other Narions their allies. To the South-westward of these Prouinces aboue mentioned towards the high land, there be many others which hereafter shall be more exactly described by a second discouery.

Foure or fiue men placed at *Caiane*.

The manner of their gouernment.

These Prouinces & Signiories to the landward are not plentifully inhabited, the greatest numbers of people are seated neare vnto the Riuers, & trauell from place to place in Canoes. There is no setled gouernment amongst them, onely they acknowledge a superiority, which they will obay as farre as they please. In euery Prouince or Signiory there is a chiefe Cassique, or Captaine, commanding all: So likewise in euery Towne and Village, they commonly chastise murder and adultery by death, which onely are the offences punished amongst them, and certaine persons are appointed by them to execute those punishments. The *Indians* take wiues, ouer whom they are extreame iealous, and expect great continencie in them; for if they take them in adultery, they presently cause their braines to be beaten out. The better sort of persons haue euery one of them two or three wiues, or more, the rest but one; accounting him that hath most wiues, the greatest man. Their wiues (especially the elder sort) are as seruants vnto them, for they make their bread and drinke, dresse their meate, serue them at meales, and doe all the other businesse about the house.

Murder and Adultery punished by death

The *Indians* by nature iealous ouer their wiues.

The *Indians* haue many wiues.

Diuers languages in *Guiana*.

The *Charibes* most ancient vpon the Sea coast.

These Prouinces are peopled with diuers Nations of seuerall languages, namely, *Taios*, *Arwaccas*, *Sappaios*, *Paragotos*, and *Charibes*. The *Charibes* are the ancient inhabitants, and the other Nations are such as haue beene chased away from *Trinidado*, and the borders of *Orenoque*. And forasmuch as they haue vnited themselues in those parts, the *Charibes* haue held them in continuall warres, but the *Taios* and the other Nations their Allyes, are growne so strong, that they haue constrained the *Charibes* of the Sea-coast to contract a peace with them, yet beare no hearty loue the one Nation to the other: but with the *Charibes* inhabiting the in-land parts vpon the Mountaines, they haue as yet no peace at all; for they doe often times come downe vpon them in great numbers, spoile and burne their houses, kill their men, and carry away their women, which is the greatest cause of warre and hatred amongst them; whereof our men haue seene experience in *Coosheberry*, where happened an accident worth the obseruing, which I will here declare vnto your Highnesse. The *Indian Leonard Ragapo*, before mentioned, is a *Taio*, who finding the Countrey of *Coosheberry* slenderly inhabited, hath seized vpon it for his owne Signiorie; and at his earnest request, I sent foure Gentlemen of my company to remaine there with him. The naturall inhabitants that dwell vpon the vttermost bounds thereof, towards the South, and West, are *Charibes*, and enemies to him, and to his Nation: for while our men vnknowne to the *Charibes*) staied at *Coosheberry*, they assembled themselues together to the number of two hundred or more, and came downe into his Signiorie, burned and spoiled houses, roasted one woman, tooke many prisoners, and intended to assault him also: which to preuent he armed about fiftie of his *Indians*, with their vsuall weapons; which are Bowes and Arrowes, long Staues sharpened at the point, and with fire hardened: wodden Swords and Targets very artificially made of wood, and painted with Beasts, and Birds: He requested also our men to aide and assist him with their Muskets, which I commanded them to doe, vpon all such occasions offered: And so being all in readinesse, *Leonard* (as their captain) led them on to intercept his enemies; and as I haue heard by Master *Henry Baldwin* (who then was prsent, and (to obserue the manner

The *Indians* make war for their women.

The *Charibes* warre vpon *Leonard*.

The vsual weapons of the *Indians*.

Leonard desireth aide of the *English*.

of

of their warres, gaue him leaue to command all) he brauely performed that exploit, in good order after their manner, and with great iudgement and reſolution. For in the Front, he firſt placed our foure *Engliſhmen*, by two in a ranke; next to them, two *Indians* armed with woodden Swords and Targets; then two Archers; and after them two men with ſharpned ſtaues, inſtead of Pikes: and in like manner ordered, and ranked all his Company. Being thus prepared, hee marched againſt the *Charibs*, who (neere at hand) were comming in the ſame order towards him; but when they approached, and (vnexpected) perceiued our *Engliſh* men amongſt the *Yaios*, they were much amazed, and made a ſudden ſtand: which *Leonard* perceiuing, gueſſed rightly at the cauſe, and inſtantly did make good vſe of that aduantage. Hee commanded his owne company to keepe their Station, himſelfe with a Sword in his hand (which I had giuen him) and a Target of his owne faſhion, went boldly towards them to parley with their Captaines. And hauing called them out, hee reproued them for comming (as enemies) into his Signiory, for burning and ſpoiling his houſes, and his people: hee demanded ſatisfaction for the hurt done, and reſtitution of the priſoners taken, and warned them forthwith to depart out of his Signiory, and deſiſt from warre: which if they refuſed to fulfill, he was there ready with his friends the *Engliſhmen* to fight with them, and reuenge his wrongs: and ſaid further, that if in the conflict any of the *Engliſh* men were ſlaine, or hurt; hee would then fetch all the reſt from *Wiapoco*, and returne to burne their houſes, and cut them all in peeces. Thus hee boldly ſpake, with ſuch a courage, ſhewing alſo our men vnto them (who had their match in cocke ready to diſcharge) that hee ſtrooke ſuch a feare into them all, by reaſon of our mens preſence, that they preſently agreed to peace, performed what conditions he required, and then departed home with all their company. Here may your Highneſſe note the factions among the *Indian* Nations: the diſcipline and order they hold in warre: the feare the *Charibes* conceiued at the ſight of our *Engliſh* men, and the policy of the *Indian Leonard*, to take aduantage by their feare, and make our men his Guard, and chiefe protection againſt them. Theſe things in time will much auaile vs, being well obſerued, and rightly applied according to occaſion. But to our former diſcourſe.

The manner of ordering their men in the warres.

The *Charibes* amazed at the ſight of the *Engliſh*.

Leonard ſpeaketh to the *Charibes*.

The *charibes* agree to peace for feare of the *Engliſh*.

The power and ſtrength of theſe Countries (being ſo thinly peopled) is not very great to withſtand the might of forraine enemies. The vſuall weapons of the *Indians*, are before deſcribed, ſauing that their Arrowes are oft times poiſoned. But ſince our trade and commerce with them, they haue gotten a few good Swords, Muskets, Caliuers, and ſome ſmall quantity of ſhot and powder; and haue learned to handle their Peeces very orderly, and ſome of them are good ſhot.

The ſeaſons of the yeare vpon this coaſt, and in this climate are diuers, for in the Eaſt parts of *Guiana* towards the *Amazones*, the dry weather, which we call their Summer beginneth in Auguſt; and the violent raines and tempeſtuous winde, which we count their winter, doe begin in February: But in the Weſterne parts, towards *Orenoque*, the dry ſeaſon beginneth in October, and the raines and windes in Aprill. There is little difference of heate and cold in this diuerſity of ſeaſons being ſo neere the Equinoctiall, where the day and night are alwayes equall: for in thoſe parts wee finde, that when the Sunne declineth furtheſt from them towards the Tropicke of *Capricorne*, the ayre is then cleareſt, and the ſeaſon of the yeare moſt dry; as in the Eaſterne parts of *Guiana* in Auguſt, September, October, Nouember and December: and when the Sunne returneth towards the Tropicke of *Cancer*, then doe the raines begin, increaſe, and decreaſe, from Frbruary to Iuly: but ſometimes they begin to fall, and the Riuers to riſe, ſwell, and ouerflow ſooner or later by a moneth; and the yeare is ſometimes more or leſſe windie and wet, according to the diſpoſition of the heauens, and of the Planets: and as the Sun approacheth, or declineth little, or much, euen ſo the earth wanteth or aboundeth with water and moiſture.

The ſeaſon of the yeare in *Guiana*.

The Summer beginneth in Auguſt.

The winter beginneth in February.

They haue no diuiſion or account of times or numbers; they onely reckon by the Moones, as one, two, three, foure, or fiue Moones: or by dayes in like manner. Their numbers they reckon thus, *one, two, three*, and ſo to ten: then they ſay *ten and one, ten and two, ten and three*, &c. And to ſhew their meaning more certainly, they will hold vp one, two, three, or more of their fingers, expreſſing the numbers, ſtill making ſignes as they ſpeake, the better to declare their meaning: when they will reckon twenty, they will hold downe both their hands to their feete, ſhewing all their fingers and toes, and as the number is greater, ſo will they double the ſigne. When they appoint or promiſe any thing to be done by a time limited, they will deliuer a little bundle of ſticks equall to the number of dayes, or Moones, that they appoint, and will themſelues keepe another bundle of the like number: and to obſerue their appointed time, they will euery day, or Moone take away a ſticke, and when they haue taken away all, then they know that the time of their appointment is come, and will accordingly performe their promiſe.

Their accounts of times and numbers.

As touching Religion, they haue none amongſt them, that I could percelue, more then a certaine obſeruance of the Sunne and Moone, ſuppoſing them to be aliue, but vſing no religious worſhip towards them, nor offer ſacrifice to any thing; vnleſſe they vſe a ſuperſtition in their drinking feaſts, by ſacrificing Iarres of drinke: for at the death of any of their *Caſſiques*, Captaines,

Religion. They vſe no ſacrifice, nor religious worſhip to any thing.

The manner of their drinking feast at the death of their Captaines.

Captaines, or great friends whom they esteeme, they will make a solemne feast (their chiefest prouision being of their best and strongest drinke, which they call *Parranow*) which feast shall continue three or foure dayes, or as long as their liquor lasteth, spending their time in dancing, singing, and drinking excessiuely: in which vice they exceede all other Nations whatsoeuer, accounting him that will be drunke first, the braueſt fellow: during this solemnitie of their drinking, some women being neereſt of their kin vnto the party dead, doth stand by and cry extreamely: thus their manner is vntill their drinke be spent, and then the feast is ended. Whether they vse any superstition in this custome I know not; time will reueale, and also reforme it. It is most certaine that their *Peeais* (as they call them) Priests, or Southsayers, at some speciall times haue conference with the Diuell (the common deceiuer of mankinde) whom they call *Wattipa*, and are by him deluded; yet notwithstanding their often conference with him, they feare and hate him much, and say that he is nought: and not without great reason, for hee will oftentimes (to their great terror) beate them blacke and blew. They beleeue that the good *Indians* when they dye, goe vp, and will point towards the heauens, which they call *Caupo*; and that the bad *Indians* goe downe, pointing to the earth, which they call *Soy*. When any *Cassiques*, Captaine, or chiefe man dieth amongst them, if he haue a slaue or prisoner taken from their enemies, they will kill him; and if he haue none such, then will they kill one of his other seruants, that he may haue one to attend him in the other world.

Their *Peeais* or Priests haue conference with the diuel.

Their opinion of the dead.

At the death of a *Cassique*, they kill an *Indian* to serue him in the other world.

The qualitie of the Land in those Countries, is of diuers kindes; by the Sea side the Land is low, where the heate would be most vehement, if it were not qualified and tempered by a fresh Easterly winde or Brieze, most forcibly blowing in the heate of the day: in many places this low land is very vnhealthfull, and little inhabited, by reason of the ouer-flowing of the waters: but for the most part it hath goodly nauigable Riuers, a fertile soyle, much people, and is a healthfull habitation. Vpon the Mountaines there is a high land, where the ayre is coldest, in some places it is fruitfull, in others not: but generall is full of Minerals, and mines of mettals, and yeeldeth as many as any part either of the East, or West *Indies*, both of the best, and of the basest whereof, we shall (by Gods permission) giue good testimony, to the benefit of our Countrey, and honour of our Nation in time conuenient: and in most places vpon the Mountaines there is sound and healthfull dwelling. There is also a middle sort of land, which is of a meane height, and is most temperate, healthfull, fertile, and most inhabited of all other; it aboundeth in Meadowes, Pastures, and pleasant streames of fresh water, in goodly woods, and most delightfull Plaines, for profit, pleasure, sport, and recreation: and also is not void of Minerals.

The quality of the Land.

The prouisions for victuals. The roote of *Cassani* maketh their bread and drinke.

The prouisions of this Countrey for victuals, are many: First, of the roote of a tree, called *Cassani*, they make their Bread, in manner following; they grate the roote vpon a stone, and presse out the iuice thereof, which being rawe is poyson, but boiled with *Guinea* Pepper, whereof they haue abundance, it maketh an excellent and wholesome sawce, then they drie the grated roote, and bake it vpon a stone, as we bake our Oaten cakes in *England*. This Bread is very excellent, much like, but farre better then our great Oaten cakes, a finger thicke, which are vsed in the Moorelands, and the *Peake* in *Staffordshire* and *Darbyshire*.

Maix, or *Guinea* wheate.

There is a kinde of great Wheat, called *Maix*, of some it is called *Guinea* Wheat, which graine is a singular prouision in those Countries, and yeeldeth admirable increase, euen a thousand or fifteene hundred for one, and many times much more. It maketh excellent meale, or flower for Bread; and very good Malt for Beere or Ale, and serueth well for sundry other necessary vses for the reliefe of man. Of the aforesaid *Cassani* bread, and this Wheate the *Indians* make drinke, which they call *Passiaw*: it will not keepe long, but must be spent within foure or fiue dayes: they make another kinde of drinke of *Cassani*, called *Parranow*, very good and strong, much like vnto our best March beere in *England*, and that kinde of drinke will keepe ten dayes; many sorts they haue which I haue tasted, some strong, some small, some thicke, some thin, but all good, being well made, as commonly they were amongst the *Taios*, and *Arwaccas*, which are the cleanliest people of all those Nations.

Their diuers kinds of drinke

An excellent drinke made of *Cassani*.

Store of hony.

There is great store of hony in the Country, and although it be wilde (being taken out of trees and buries in the earth) yet is it as good as any in the world; of which may be made an excellent drinke much vsed in Wales, called *Meath*. The hony and the waxe, are also good commodities for merchandise.

The soyle excellent for Vines.

There is no Vines in that Country, but the Soyle being rich and fertile, and the climate hot, if they were planted there, they would prosper exceedingly, and yeelde good Sackes, and Canary wines, which in those parts we finde to be very wholesome.

Sundry kindes of Beasts in *Guiana*.

Many other necessary prouisions sufficient for the sustenance of man, doe there abound in plenty: Namely, Deere of all sorts, wilde Swine in great numbers, whereof there are two kindes, the one small, by the *Indians* called *Pockiero*, which hath the nanile in the backe; the other is called *Paingo*, and is as faire and large as any we haue in *England*. There be store of Hares, and Conies, but of a kinde far differing from ours: There be Tigers, Leopards, Ounces, Armadils, Maipuries,

Swine which haue the Nauile in the back

which are in taste like Beefe, & wil take salt: *Baremoes* or Ant-Beares, which taste like Mutton, &

other

other small beasts of the same taste, coloured, like a Fawne, Elkes, Monkies, and Marmosites of diuers sorts, both great and small: of these beasts there bee innumerable, and by experience we haue found them all good meate. Many other kindes of beasts there are of sundry and strange shapes, which hereafter shall be figured in their true proportion according to the life with their names annexed.

Great variety of Fowles.

Of Fowles there bee diuers kindes; namely, Wild-ducks, Widgins, Teales, Wild-geese, Herons of diuers colours, Cranes, Storkes, Pheasants, Patridges, Doues, Stock-doues, Black-birds, Curlewes, Godwits, Woodcokes, Snites, Parrots of sundry sorts, many other kindes of great and small Birds of rare colours; besides great rauenous Fowles; and Hawkes of euery kinde.

Diuers kindes of fish.

Of fish the varietie is great, first of Sea fish, there is Sea-breame, Mullet, Soale, Scate, Thorneback, the Sword-fish, Sturgeon, Seale, a fish like vnto a Salmon, but as the Salmon is red, this is yellow; Shrimps, Lobsters, and Oysters, which hang vpon the branches of Trees: There is a rare fish called *Cassoerwa*, which hath in each eye two sights, and as it swimmeth it beareth the lower sights within the water, and the other aboue: the ribs and back of this fish resemble those parts of a man, hauing the ribs round and the back flat, with a dent therein, as a man hath; it is somewhat bigger then a Smelt, but farre exceeding it for daintie meate; and many other sorts there be most excellent. Of fresh-water fish many kindes vnknowne in these parts, but all exceeding good and daintie: And I dare be bold to say, that this Countrie may compare with any other of the world, for the great varietie of excellent fish both of the Sea, and fresh Waters.

Oysters hang vpon trees.

A fish hauing foure eyes, and the ribs and backe like a man.

There is also a Sea-fish which vsually commeth into the fresh waters, especially in the winter and wet season; it is of great esteeme amongst vs, and we account it halfe flesh, for the bloud of it is warme; it commeth vp into the shallow waters in the drowned lands, and feedeth vpon grasse and weedes: the *Indians* name it *Coinmero*, and the *Spaniards*, *Manati*, but wee call it the *Sea-sow*; in taste it is like beefe, will take salt, and serue to victuall ships, as in our knowledge hath beene proued by our Countrimen: Of this fish may bee made an excellent oile for many purposes; the fat of it is good to frie either fish or flesh; the hide (as I haue heard) will make good buffe: and being dried in the Sunne, and kept from wet, will serue for Targets and Armour against the *Indian* arrowes: In the wet season the store of them are infinite; some of these hides were heretofore brought into *England*, by Sir *Walter Rawleigh*.

The *Sea cow* like beefe.

Sundrie kindes of fruits.

The seuerall kindes of fruits are many, the Pina, Platana, Potato, Medler, Plums of diuers sorts, the Nuts of strange kindes. The excellency of the Pina I cannot expresse, for I dare boldly affirme that the world affoordeth not a more delicate fruit: In taste it is like Straw-berries, Claret-wine and Sugar. The Platana is also a very good fruit, and tasteth like an old Pippin. The Potato is well knowne. The Medler exceedeth in greatnesse. The Plums I cannot commend, for to eate much of them doth cause fluxes, which in those Countries are dangerous. The Nuts are good being moderately eaten.

Pina.

Platana.

Potato.

Medler.

Plummes.

Nuts.

HAuing thus (most excellent Prince) declared the seuerall sorts of prouisions for victuals and necessarie foodes, it remayneth that I now make mention of the varietie of commodities, found in the Countrie for the trade of merchandise, which in few yeeres, by our paines and industrie, may be brought to perfection, and so setled in those parts, that not onely the vndertakers may receiue reward for their indeuours, but our Countrie also may grow rich, by trading for the fruits of our labours.

The varieties of commodities.

The first and principall commoditie of estimation, are the Sugar-canes, whereof in those parts there is great plentie; the soile is as fertill for them as in any other part of the world: They doe there grow to great bignesse in a short time; by orderly and fit planting of them, and by erecting conuenient workes for the boyling and making of Sugars (which at the first will require some charge and expence) may be yeerly returned great benefit and wealth: the long experience of the *Portugals* and *Spaniards*, in *Brasil*, and the Iland of the *Canaries*; and of the *Moores* in *Barbarie*, may giue vs certaine assurance, and full satisfaction thereof.

Sugar Canes.

Cotton wooll.

The Cotton wooll is a generall commoditie, beneficiall to our Merchants, and profitable to our Countrie, by making of Fustians, and seruing for Bumbaste, and other vses: for making of *Hamaccas*, which are the *Indian* beds, most necessarie in those parts; and also of a fine cotton cloth for clothing of the people. There is a naturall Hempe or Flax of great vse, almost as fine as silke as it may be vsed; we haue now found out the best vse of it; and for making of linnen cloth it is most excellent.

Naturall hemp or flaxe.

Diuers commodities for Dyers.

There bee many rare and singular commodities for Dyers, of which sort there is a red berrie, called *Anoto*, which being rightly prepared by the *Indians*, dyeth a perfect and sure Orange-tawnie in silke; it hath beene sold in *Holland* for twelue shillings starling the pound, and is yet of a good price. There is another berrie that dyeth blue. There is also a gumme of a tree, whereof I haue seene experience, that in cloth dyeth a sure and perfect yellow in graine. There bee leaues of certaine Trees, which being rightly prepared, doe die a deepe red. There is also a wood which dyeth a purple, and is of a good price; and another that dyeth yellow. There is yet another wood which dyeth a purple when the liquor is hot, and a crimson when the liquor

Anoto.

A gum which dyeth a yellow in graine.

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is cold. Many other notable things there are (no doubt) not yet knowne vnto vs, which by our diligent labour and obseruation in time will be discouered and found.

Sweet gums.

The sweet Gummes of inestimable value and strange operation in physicke and chirurgerie, are innumerable; there is yellow Amber, *Gummi Lemnia*, *Colliman* or *Carriman*, *Barratta*, and many more which I omit. The *Colliman* hath beene proued by Master *Walter Cary* of *Witham* in *Buckinghamshire* (a Gentleman of great iudgement and practice in physicke) to be of speciall regard for many purposes: this gumme is black and brittle, much like in shew to common pitch; if you put a little of it vpon burning coales, it filleth all the roome with a most sweet and pleasant sauour. He further reporteth of it, that certainly if you hold your head ouer the fume thereof three or foure times a day, it cureth the giddinesse of the head, and is also a most excellent comfort and remedie for a cold, moist, and rheumatike braine: it is also good against the resolution (or as the common sort call it) the dead palsie, whereof the giddinesse of the head is often a messenger, and the fore-teller of that most pernicious griefe. It is also of great vse for the paine that many women haue in the lower part of their backs: which is very common to such as haue had children: for remedie whereof, it is to be melted in a pewter vessell with a gentle fire, then with a knife it must be spread lightly vpon a piece of leather, and laid warme to the place grieued, vntill it come off of it selfe. This plaister is also very good for aches, and doth greatly comfort and strengthen the sinewes. Thus much hath Master *Cary* written and reported of it, and hath proued by his owne experience. This gumme is also approued to bee an excellent remedie against the gowt; and of singular vertue in the cure of wounds.

The vertues of *Colliman* or *Carriman*.

The *Colliman* helpeth the gowt.

Barratta a rare Balsamum.

The *Barratta* is a most soueraigne Balsamum farre excelling all others yet knowne: which by the same Gentlemans experience is of admirable operation in the cure of greene wounds: and being burned vpon coales, is of a sweet and odoriferous sauour.

A persume like sweet Margerum.

There bee many other sweet gummes of great vse for perfumes; whereof one doth make a very rare perfume, much like vnto the sent of sweete *Margerum*, very pleasant and delectable.

Drugges and simples for physicke.

For physick there be also many excellent Drugs; namely, Spiknard, *Cassia Fistula*, *Senu*; and the earth yeeldeth Bole-Armoniack, and *Terra-Lemnia*, all which are knowne vnto vs. There be other Drugs and Simples also of strange and rare vertue, in these parts vnknowne; of which sort there is a little greene Apple, by the *Indians* called in their language, The sleeping Apple; which in operation is so violent, that one little bit thereof doth cause a man to sleepe to death: the least drop of the iuyce of it, will purge in vehement and excessiue manner; as dangerously was proued by my cousin *Vnton Fisher*, who first found it: for biting a little of it for a taste, and finding it to burne his mouth in some extremitie, did sodainly spit it out againe; but some small quantitie of the iuyce (against his will) went downe into his stomack, which for two or three dayes space did prouoke in him an extraordinarie sleepinesse, and purged him with seuen seates. This Apple, for the purging vertue in so small a quantitie, is like to bee of good price, and great estimation in the practice of physick; for the learned Physicians doe well know how to correct the sleeping qualitie thereof wherein the danger resteth. There is a berrie in those parts very excellent against the bloudie-fluxe, by the *Indians* it is called *Kellenio*. The iuyce of the leafe called *Yppee*, cureth the wounds of the poysoned arrowes. The iuyce of the leafe called *Yoni*, is good against the head-ache. Many other Drugs and Simples are there found of singular propertie both in physick and chirurgerie, which if they should bee seuerally described according to their value and worthinesse, would containe a large Volume.

An apple which prouoketh sleepe to death.

A berry curing the bloudie fluxe.

A leafe curing the wounds of the poysoned arrowes.

A leafe curing the head-ache.

Moreouer, the Tree wherewith they take their fish, is not a little to be esteemed, but chiefly the great goodnesse of God therein is highly to bee praysed and admired, who amongst so many admirable things by him created, and planted in those parts, hath vouchsafed to bestow vpon those barbarous people so great a benefit, and naturall helpe, for the present getting of their food and sustenance. These trees are commonly growing neere vnto the places of their habitation for their present vse: for when, at any time, they goe to fish, they take three or foure little sticks of this tree, and bruise them vpon a stone, and then go into certain small creeks by the Sea-shoare, which at a high water are vsually full of very good fish of diuers kindes, which come in with the tyde; and there they wade vp and downe the water, and betweene their hands rub those small bruised sticks therein, which are of such vertue, that they will cause the fish to turne vp their bellies, and lye still aboue the water for a certaine time: in which space they presently take as many as they please, and lade them into their Canoes, and so with little labour returne home sufficiently prouided.

A wood that maketh fish drunke.

There is also a red speckled wood in that Countrie, called *Piratinimero*, which is worth thirtie or fortie pounds a Tun: It is excellent for Ioyners worke; as chaires, stooles, bed-steds, presses, cupboords, and for wainscot. There are diuers kindes of stone of great vse, and good price, as Iasper, Porphyrie, and the Spleene-stone.

There is yet another profitable commoditie to bee reaped in *Guiana*, and that is by Tabacco, which albeit some dislike, yet the generalitie of men in this Kingdome doth with great affection entertaine it. It is not only in request in this our Country of *England*, but also in *Ireland*, the

Tobacco.

Nea-

Netherlands, in all the Easterly Countreyes, and *Germany*; and most of all amongst the *Turkes*, and in *Barbary*. The price it holdeth is great, the benefit our Merchants gaine thereby is infinite, and the Kings rent for the custome thereof is not a little. The Tabacco that was brought into this Kingdome in the yeare of our Lord 1610. was at the least worth 60. thousand pounds: And since that time the store that yeerely hath come in, was little lesse. It is planted, gathered, seasoned, and made vp fit for the Merchant in short time, and with easie labour. But when we first arriued in those parts, wee altogether wanted the true skill and knowledge how to order it, which now of late we happily haue learned of the *Spaniards* themselues, whereby I dare presume to say, and hope to proue, within few moneths, (as others also of sound iudgement, and great experience doe hold opinion) that onely this commoditie Tabacco; (so much sought after, and desired) will bring as great a benefite and profit to the vndertakers, as euer the *Spaniards* gained by the best and richest Siluer Myne in all their *Indies*, considering the charge of both.

60000. worth of Tabacco in a yeere.

The things which the *Indians* desire from vs by way of trade in exchange for the aboue named commodities, (whereby wee hold societie and commerce with them) are Axes, Hatchets, Bill-hookes, Kniues, all kinde of Edge-tooles, Nailes, great Fish-hookes, Harping-irons, Iewes Trumps, Looking-glasses, blue, and white Beads, Christall Beades, Hats, Pinnes, Needles, Saw, Shirts, Bands, linnen and woollen Clothes, Swords, Muskets, Calceuers, Powder, and Shot: but of these last mentioned, we are very sparing, and part not with many, vnlesse vpon great occasion, by way of gift to speciall persons.

The comodities most esteemed by the *Indians*.

When the raines ceased, which was in July, I beganne to trauell abroad in search of those golden Mountaines, promised vnto vs before the beginning of our Voyage, (by one that vndertooke to guide vs to them) which filled my company so full of vaine expectation, and golden hopes, that their insatiable and couetous mindes (being wholy set thereon) could not bee satisfied with any thing but only Gold. Our guide that vainly made those great promises, beeing come vnto the wished place to make performance, was then possessed with a shamelesse spirit of ignorance, for hee knew little, and could performe nothing. What other intelligences of Mynes alreadie found) I had from other men in *England*, and from the Master of my ship, who had beene heretofore in those parts, I found them by experience false, and nothing true concerning Mynes, that was in *England* reported vnto me.

Leaden minds, minde nothing but golden Mynes.

Our greedie desire of Gold being thus made frustrate, diuers vnconstant persons of my vnruly company began to murmure, to bee discontented, to kindle discords and dissentions, and to stir vp mutinie, euen almost to the confusion and ruine of vs all: and were vpon the point to shake off all obedience to their commanders, to abandon patience, peace, and vnitie, and wilfully to breake out into all mischiefe and wretched disorder, onely because they were deceiued of their golden hopes and expectations: but with good words, and comfortable perswasions, I pacified them for the time, and made them acquainted with my better hopes conceiued of the commodities aboue mentioned. I perswaded them in generall from idlenesse, to trauell abroad, to search and seeke out amongst the *Indians*, what other nouelties they could (though Gold were wanting) whereby we might hereafter benefit our selues; and still I employed them some one way, and some another, to occupie their minds by doing something, the better to preuent disquiet, which commonly is bred of idlenesse, the slouthfull Mother of all filthy vices.

Disorders by mutiny.

Good to bee doing somewhat to preuent the deuil.

As I daily conuersed amongst the *Indians*, it chanced one day, that one of them presented me with a halfe Moone of Metall, which held somewhat more then a third part Gold, the rest Copper: another also gaue me a little Image of the same Metall; and of another I bought a plate of the same (which he called a spread Eagle) for an Axe. All which things they assured mee were made in the high Countrey of *Guiana*, which they said did abound with Images of Gold, by them called *Carricoory*. These things I shewed to my company to settle their troubled minds, which gaue much contentment to the greater part of them, and satisfied vs all that there was Gold in *Guiana*. Shortly after that my *Indian Anthony Canabre*, brought me a piece of a Rocke, of white Sparre, whereof the high Countrey is full: And if the white Sparres of this kinde, which are the purest white of all others, (for euery sort of Myne hath a Sparre, and for the most part white) be in a maine Rocke, they are certainly Mynes of Gold, or Siluer, or of both. I made triall of a piece of Sparre, which the same *Indian* discouered vnto mee, and I found that it held both Gold, and Siluer, which (although it was in small quantitie) gaue me satisfaction that there be richer Mynes in the Countrey to be found: but the best lie deeper in the earth, and wee had not time nor power to make search for them.

The high Countrey of *Guiana* aboundeth with images of Gold.

The Rocks of the purest white Sparre are Mynes of gold or siluer.

I trauelled vp the Riuer of *Wiapoco*, to view the ouer-fals, but the waters being high and strong, I could not passe them. In August when they are fallen, with some labour they may bee passed. This Riuer hath very many ouer-falls, lying one a good distance beyond another, euen to the head thereof. Aboue some of the first falls there dwelleth an *Indian*, called *Comarian*, who is an old man of a free disposition; by him I learned that a certaine distance aboue the first falls, the Riuer *Arwy* falleth into *Wiapoco*; moreouer that certaine dayes iourney beyond him towards the high Land, vpon the borders of *Wiapoco*, there is a Nation of *Charibes* hauing great eares of an extraordinarie bignesse, hard to bee beleeued, whom hee called *Marsheweccas*: amongst these people

Many goubr-falls in *Wiapoco*.

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People hauing great eares; perhaps these eares are made large by art, as diuers East *Indians* vse.

The proportion of their Idoll.

people (as *Comarian* reporteth) there is an Idoll of stone, which they worship as their God; they haue placed it in a house made of purpose for the greater honour of it, which they keepe very cleane and handsome. This Idoll is fashioned like a man sitting vpon his heeles, holding open his knees, and resting his elbowes vpon them, holding vp his hands with the palmes forwards, looking vpwards, and gaping with his mouth wide open. The meaning of this proportion hee could dot declare, although he hath beene many times amongst them, and hath often seene it. What other Nations were beyond these he did not know, hauing neuer trauelled so farre, but he saith, they be *Charibes*, and also enemies vnto them. It seemeth there bee many Nations of those great eared people: for in the Riuer of *Marrawini*, I heard also the like, who dwell farre vp towards the high Land, as hereafter you shall heare, and I suppose, by the trending of the Riuers of *Wiapoco*, and *Marrawini*, are all one people.

Possession taken for the King at *Gomeribo*.

Vpon the fourteenth day of August I went vnto a Mountaine, called *Gomeribo*, being the vttermost point of Land to the North-ward in the Bay of *Wiapoco*; I found the soile of it most excellent for Tabacco, Maix, Cotton-trees, Annoto-trees, Vines, and for any other thing that should bee planted there. When I had taken good view of the place, and found it commodious for many purposes; then in the presence of Captaine *Fisher*, diuers Gentlemen, and others of my company, and of the *Indians* also, I tooke possession of the Land, by Turfe and Twigge, in the behalfe of our Souereigne Lord King *Iames*: I tooke the said possession of a part, in name of the whole Continent of *Guiana*, lying betwixt the Riuers of *Amazones*, and *Orenoque*, not being actually possessed, and inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State; wherewith the *Indians* seemed to be well content and pleased.

The like possession taken at *Arraway*.

In like manner my Brother Captaine *Michael Harecourt*, and Captaine *Harney*, (whom I left as his associate, and he esteemed as an inward friend) in a notable iourney, which (to their great honour) they performed, to discouer the Riuer of *Arraway*, and the Countrey bordering vpon it, (neere adioyning to the Riuer of *Amazones*) did take the like possession of the Land there, to his Maiesties vse.

Point Perilous.

The dangers and great difficulties which they in that attempt incountred, were memorable, and such, as hardly any of our Nation in such small Canoes (being onely some-what longer, but not so broad as our *Thames* Wherries, and flat-bottomed) euer ouercame the like. First the number of their owne attendants besides themselues, was onely one man, and a Boy: Their troope of *Indians* sixtie persons. Their iourney by Sea vnto the Riuer of *Arraway* was neere one hundred leagues: wherein (by the way) they met with many dreadfull plunges, by reason of a high going Sea, which breaketh vpon the flats, and shoalds; especially, at the next great Cape to the North of *Arraway*, which, in respect of the danger they passed there, they named *Point Perilous*. Then their Discouery vp the Riuer, was fiftie leagues more: where they found a Nation of *Indians*, which neuer had seene white men, or Christians before, and could not be drawne to any familiar commerce, or conuersation, no not so much as with our *Indians*, because they were strangers to them, and of another Nation. The Discouery of this Riuer is of great importance, and speciall note, affoording an entrance more behouefull for the searching and Discouery of the Inland parts of *Guiana*, then any other Riuer yet knowne vpon the Coast; for trending Westward vp into the Land, it discouereth all the Countreyes and Nations to the Southward of *Arricary*, *Cooshebery*, *Morrownia*, and *Norrack*, which I haue mentioned before.

A great argument of plentie in the Countrey.

Many weekes they spent in this Aduenture, still taking vp their Lodgings in the Woods at night. Prouision of meate they wanted not, for fish were euer plenty, and at hand: and the Woods yeelded either Deere, Tigres, or Fowle: their greatest want was of bread and drinke, which onely defect did hinder (at that time) the accomplishment of that Discouery. For when the *Indians* perceiued their bread to be neere spent, and their drinke to be corrupted, they could not be perswaded to proceed, hauing no meanes to supply their wants amongst the *Arrawaries*, the *Indians* of that Riuer who would not freely trade with them vpon this first acquaintance, but alwayes stood vpon their guard, on the other side of the Riuer, where they inhabited: yet desiring to obtaine some of our *English* commodities, and make triall of our *Indians* friendship, affoorded some small Trade for their present reliefe during their abode in that Riuer: So that of force they were constrained to breake off their Discouerie, and hasten homeward.

A dangerous Boore at *Carripapoory*.

But here their dangers ended not, for as they returned, arriuing at certaine Ilands called *Carripoory*, and passing betweene them and the mayne Land, much against the wils of all the *Indians*, who knowing the danger of the place, and more respecting their safetie, then their owne (being themselues all expert Swimmers) would haue disswaded them from that hazard: but they being ignorant of the perill, would needs passe on, and at the last met with such a Boore (as the Seamen terme it) and violent encounter of two tydes comming in, which like two furious inraged Rammes, or Bulles rushed together, and oft retired backe, to returne againe, with greater violence, vntill the one by force had ouer-borne the other: that if next vnder God) the diligent care and paines of the *Indians* had not preserued them, they had been there destroyed, and swallowed vp by that mercilesse Boore or breach of waters; which (God be thanked) they escaped, and returned home in safetie.

When

When I had (as before) taken poſſeſſion at *Gomeribo*, in preſence of the ſaid parties, I deliuered the poſſeſſion of that Mountaine to my *Indian Anthony Canabre*, *To haue, hold, poſſeſſe, and enioy* the ſame, to him, and to his Heires for euer, of our Soueraigne Lord King *Iames*, his Heires and Succeſſors, as his ſubiect; *Yeelding and paying* yeerely the tenth part of all Tabacco, Cotton-wooll, Annoto, and other commodities whatſoeuer, which ſhould hereafter be either planted or growing within the ſaid Mountaine, if it were demanded. The *Indian* moſt gladly receiued the poſſeſſion vpon theſe conditions, and for himſelfe, and his poſteritie; did promiſe to bee true Subiects vnto the Kings Maieſtie: his Heires, and Succeſſours: And to pay the duties impoſed vpon them: and ſo that buſineſſe being finiſhed, I returned againe to *Wiapoco*.

Gomeribo deliuered to an *Indian* as the Kings tenant.

Now (moſt worthy Prince) there came vnto my knowledge, an inconuenience happened by the careleſſe negligence of the Maſter of my ſhip, who had the charge of prouiding and laying in the prouiſions and victuals for the Voyage; which was the cauſe that I gained no preſent profit by it, but left off all my Diſcoueries in the firſt beginning. I had a purpoſe at that time to performe a buſineſſe, which might haue proued profitable, and honourable vnto vs, if I had beene able to haue ſtayed the time; but it was not my chance to bee ſo fortunate: for the Maſter, his Mates, and the Steward of my Ship, came vnto me, and told mee plainly, that if I made any longer abode in that Countrey, I would neuer in thoſe ſhips returne into *England*: or if I did aduenture it, my ſelfe, and all my Company would ſtarue at Sea for want of Beere, Syder, and Water, for all my Caske was ſpoyled, becauſe it was not Iron-bound, the woodden hoopes flew off, by reaſon of the heate of the Climate; and our Beere, and Syder, (whereof wee had good ſtore) did leake about the ſhip, that we could hardly ſaue ſufficient to releeue vs, if wee made a longer ſtay vpon the Coaſt; which was the Maſters fault, hauing had a ſpeciall charge to be carefull of that onely point. By this default, I was conſtrained to make a vertue of neceſſitie, and prepare my ſelfe for *England*, and leaue my former purpoſes to be accompliſhed hereafter, which ſhall be done (God aiding me) in time conuenient.

The only cauſe of loſſe by the voyage.

Then diſpoſing of my company, I appointed my Brother Captaine *Michael Harecourt* to remayne in the Countrey, as chiefe Commander in my abſence, and to continue the poſſeſſion on the Kings behalfe; I gaue him directions to trauell abroad, as (occaſion ſerued) to diſcouer the Countrey, to ſpend ſometime at *Cooſhebery*, and ſometime alſo in other places; but to make his chiefeſt reſidence at *Wiapoco*, (the onely Rendeuouz for ſhippes that trade vpon that Coaſt) and there to plant good ſtore of Maix, for our releife of bread and drinke, which is the chiefeſt thing to be reſpected in thoſe parts; for other victuals wee need not take much care being alwayes eaſily prouided. He performed his charge with great reputation, diſcouered many goodly Prouinces, and ſpacious Countreyes; and worthily continued the poſſeſſion full three yeeres compleate. I left with him for his aſſiſtance, Captaine *Harney*, who hath nobly vowed his time and fortune to be employed in the proſecution of this honourable action. For his Lieutenant I appointed Maſter *Edward Gifford*, a valiant and worthy Gentleman; and I left alſo with him of Gentlemen and others, about twentie more, with all ſuch neceſſaries as I could ſpare, and thought conuenient for them: and ſo commending them to God, the eighteenth day of Auguſt I departed from *Wiapoco*, and the day following arriued at *Caiane*.

Cap. *Michael Harecourt* left Commander of the company.

Poſſeſſion continued 3. yeeres.

Twentie men left with Captaine *Harcourt* at *Wiapoco*.

At my comming to *Caiane* my Pinnaſſe receiued a leake, which would haue proued dangerous, if we had beene farre at Sea; whereby enforced to attend the ſtopping thereof, and new trimming of the Pinnaſſe; and vnwilling to be idle in the meane ſpace doing nothing, I left my ſhips there to repaire their defects, and in my ſhip-boate departed thence, the twentie three of Auguſt: taking with me Captaine *Fiſher*, who hath euer beene (ſince we firſt crept into the world) my chiefe companion, both in Armes and trauels; I tooke alſo with mee his Brother *Vnton Fiſher*, Maſter *Cradle* the Maſters mate of my ſhip, and about ſixe more. I followed the Coaſt to the Weſtward ſteering during Weſt, and paſſing by the Riuer of *Meccooria*, I lodged that night in the mouth of the Riuer *Courwo*: which hath a narrow deepe entrance, and within affoordeth a good Harbour, which may in time to come (for ſome ſpeciall purpoſe) be of great vſe.

The Pinnaſſe receiued a leake at *Caiane*.

R. *Meccooria*. R. *Courwo*.

The next day, and the night following I proceeded Weſtward with full ſaile, and paſſing the Riuers of *Mammamy*, *Smammara*, *Ooraſſowini*, *Coonamonia*, *Vracco*, and *Amanna*; I arriued the twentie fiue day at the Riuer of *Marrawini*, which openeth a faire Riuer, but is ſhoale vpon the Barre, which lieth two or three leagues off at Sea, hauing but two fathome water: within the Barre, the Channell is three, foure, fiue, and ſixe fathome deepe. Fiue leagues within the riuer we paſſed by certaine Ilands called *Carewapory*, not inhabited, for at the riſing of the waters they are alwayes ouer-flowne, of which ſort the Riuer hath very many: we lodged that night a little beyond theſe firſt Ilands at a Village called *Moyemon*, on the left hand, the Captaine thereof is called *Maperitaka*, of the Nation of the *Paragotos*, a man very louing and faithfull to our Nation, whereof we haue had good proofe. The next day wee proceeded vp the Riuer three leagues, and ſtayed at a Towne called *Coewynay* on the right hand, at the houſe of *Minapa*, the chiefe *Charib* of that Signiorie) to pouide two Canoes to proſecute our iourney for the Diſcouerie of this Riuer.

Riuers to the Weſt of *Courwo*.

Ilands called *Carewapory*.

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They proceed in diſcouery of *Marrawini*.

The twentie eight day we went forward paſſing many Villages any Townes, which I forbeare to name, and hauing gone about twentie leagues from the Sea, wee found the Riuer in a manner barred vp with Rockes, ouer which the water falleth with great violence, yet notwithſtanding we aduentured to proceed, and the further wee went, the more dangerous wee found the ouer-fals, and more in number; but when wee had paſſed the firſt Mountaine, towards the high Countrey of *Guiana*, called *Sapparow*, and diſcouered farre off before vs other high Mountaines called *Matawere Monpanana*, and had proceeded ſixe dayes iourney vp the Riuer (which was more then fortie leagues) we met with ſuch ſhoale rockie ſtreame, and great ouer-fals, that there to our griefe our iourney ended.

The Riuer full of ouerfals.

They went ſixe daies iourney vp the Riuer.

Being thus for that time debarred from our intended Diſcouerie, we prepared our ſelues with patience to returne towards our ſhips, and the third day of September we turned downe the Riuer, ſhooting the ouer-fals with more celeritie then when we came vp, diſpatching three dayes iourney in one, and the fifth day returned ſafe to *Moyemon*; but before I departed thence, Captaine *Fiſher* told me of certaine Plants which hee had then found, much like vnto Roſe-trees, growing about halfe a yard in height, whereof (for the ſtrangeneſſe of them) I cannot forbeare to adde a word or two.

Moyemon.

Trees which had the ſenſe of feeling. Theſe grow both in the Eaſt *Indies* & in *Guinne*. See *Io. Gom. to. 1. l. 9.*

Theſe Plants or little trees had aſſuredly the ſence of feeling, as plainly appeared by touching them: for if you did but touch a leafe of the tree with your finger, that leafe would preſently ſhrinke, and cloſe vp it ſelfe, and hang downe as if it were dead; and if you did cut off a leafe with a paire of Cizzers, then all the other leaues growing vpon the ſame tree would inſtantly ſhrinke and cloſe vp themſelues, and hang downe as if they were dead and withered, and within halfe a quarter of an houre, would by degrees open themſelues againe, and flouriſh as before; and as often as you did either touch or cut off any of them, they would doe the like; which did euidently ſhew a reſtriction of the Spirits, inuincibly arguing a Senſe. Howſoeuer this may ſeeme ſtrange and incredible to your Highneſſe, and to them that haue not ſeene it, yet foraſmuch as *Scaliger*, and *Bartas* make mention of the like, I dare be bold to affirme it vpon my credit, hauing ſeene and ſhewed it to fortie others: I gathered two of the Plants, and did ſet them in pots in their owne earth, and carried them aboord my ſhip, where I kept them fairely growing almoſt a fortnight, vntill they were deſtroyed by certaine Monkeyes that brake looſe, and pulled them in pieces: which might haue beene preuented, but that I was conſtrained to ſet them in the open aire, the better to preſerue them.

Scaliger Exercit. 181. ſect. 18. Bartas, Eden, 1. day, 2. weeke.

Viawia, a Towne of 20. houſes.

The ſeuenth day, I went to *Wiawia*, a great Towne of *Paragotos*, and *Yaios*, foure leagues to the Weſt of *Marrawini*, whereof *Maperitaka* aboue mentioned, and *Arapawaka*, are chiefe Captaines. At this Towne I left my Couſin *Vnton Fiſher*, and *Humfrey Croxton* an Apothecary, to beare him company, and one ſeruant to attend him called *Chriſtopher Fiſher*, hauing firſt taken order with *Maperitaka* for their diet, and other neceſſaries both for trauell, and otherwiſe: who euer ſince (according to his promiſe) hath performed the part of an honeſt man, and faithfull friend.

M. *Vnton Fiſher* and two others left at *Wiawia*.

I gaue directions to my Couſin *Fiſher* to proſecute the Diſcouerie of *Marrawini*, and the inland parts bordering vpon it, when the time of the yeere, and the waters better ſerued; and if it were poſſible to goe vp into the high Countrey of *Guiana*, and to finde out the Citie of *Manoa*, mentioned by Sir *Walter Raleigh* in his Diſcouerie. He followed my directions to the vttermoſt of his abilitie, being of a good wit, and very induſtrious, and enabled to vndergoe thoſe imployments, by obtaining the loue, and gaining the Languages of the people, without which helpes, there is little or no good to be done in thoſe parts.

M. *Fiſher* trauelled eleuen daies iourney vp the Riuer of *Morra, viz.* 100. leagues.

When the waters of *Marrawini* were riſen, and the Riuer paſſable, (much differing from the Riuer of *Wiapoco*, which is not to be trauelled, but in the loweſt waters.) Hee began his iourney for the Diſcouerie thereof, in company of the Apothecarie, his ſeruant *Fiſher*, the *Indian Maperitaka*, and eighteene others, and proceeded eleuen dayes iourney vp the Riuer, to a Towne of *Charibes*, called *Tauparamune*, diſtant from the Sea aboue an hundred leagues; but was foure dayes iourney ſhort of *Moreſhego*, which is alſo a Towne of *Charibes*, ſituate vpon the Riuer ſide in the Prouince of *Moreſhegoro*: the chiefe Captaine thereof is called *Areminta*: who is a proud and bold *Indian*, much feared of all thoſe that dwell within his Territories, hauing a rough skin like vnto Buffe Leather, of which kind there be many in thoſe parts; and I ſuppoſe proceedeth of ſome infirmitie of the bodie.

The Prouince of *Moreſhegoro*. *Indians* with rough skinnes like Buffe.

He vnderſtood by relation of the *Indians* of *Tauparamune*, and alſo of *Areminta*, that ſix dayes iourney beyond *Moreſhego*, there are diuers mightie Nations of *Indians*, hauing holes through their Eares, Cheekes, Noſtrils, and neather Lips, which were called *Crawcanna*, *Pawmeeanna*, *Quikeanna*, *Peewattere*, *Arameeſo*, *Acawreanno*, *Acooreo*, *Tarespeeanna*, *Corecorickado*, *Peeaunca-do*, *Cocoanno*, *Itſura*, and *Waremiſſo*: and were of ſtrength and ſtature farre exceeding other *Indians*, hauing Bowes, and Arrowes foure times as bigge: what the *Indians* alſo report of the greatneſſe of their eares, I forbeare to mention, vntill by experience wee ſhall diſcouer the truth thereof. Moreouer, hee learned that there fall into *Marrawini* diuers great Riuers, called

Diuers mighty Nations of *Indians* far vp in *Marrawini*, towards the high Land.

Ar-

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Arreune, Topannawin, Errewin, Cowemma, Peorakette, Arroua, Arretowenne, Waeune, Anape, Auuime, and *Carapio*: whereof ſome he hath ſeene himſelfe, That it was twentie dayes iourney, from *Taupuramune*, to the head of *Marrawini*, which is inhabited by *Arwaccas*, *Sappaios*, *Paragotos*, and ſome *Yaios*: and that a dayes iourney from thence to the Land-ward the Countrey is plaine, and Champian ground, with long graſſe. Hee paſſed in this iourney aboue eightie ouerfals of water, and many of them very dangerous: of ſome of them I had experience the yeere before. He proceeded no further at that preſent, being vnprouided for ſo long a iourney, ſuppoſing that it had beene neerer (then he found it) to the head of the Riuer by a fortnights trauell: and ſo returned backe in ſixe dayes ſpace, intending better preparation for a ſecond iourney: but his purpoſe was preuented by an vntimely death: for ſhortly after hee was drowned by misfortune; whereby we ſee, that man determineth, but God diſpoſeth.

Riuers falling into *Marawini*

Twentie daies iourney from *Taupuramune* to the head of *Marraw.*

The Countrie aboue the head of *Mar.* is plaine, and Champian ground.

THe tenth day of September being Sunday, I left the maine of *Guiana*, and in my ſhip-boat ſtood off into the Sea to ſeeke my ſhips, which were forced to ride foure leagues from ſhore, by reaſon of the ſhoales; but as we paſſed ouer them, we were in danger to bee caſt away by the breach of a Sea, which verily had ſunke our Boat, if with great celeritie wee had not lightned her, by heauing ouer-boord many baskets of bread, of Caſſaui, Maix, Pinas, Platanas, Potatoes, and ſuch like prouiſion, wherewith our Boat was loden; by which means it pleaſed God to deliuer vs from preſent deſtruction, and to bring vs ſafe vnto our ſhips.

The tenth of September they left *Guiana.*

They were in danger to bee caſt away.

When I came aboord, we weighed anchor, and ſteered away from the Iland of *Trinidado*, and vpon the eighteenth day in the morning, we arriued at *Punta de Galea*, where wee found three *Engliſh* ſhips at anchor, which was no ſmall comfort vnto vs, conſidering our great defects and wants. One of theſe ſhippes was called the *Diana*, belonging to Maſter *Lal* a *Dutch* Merchant dwelling in *London*. The other two, the *Penelope*, and the *Indeuour*, belonging to Maſter *Hall*, a Merchant alſo of *London*. We ſtayed at this place ſixe daies to mend our bad Caske, and to take freſh water: during which time I was kindly intreated, and feaſted by the Merchants, and had ſupply of all ſuch things as I ſtood in neede of; which courteſie I requited in the beſt manner I could for the preſent.

They finde 3. *Engliſh* ſhips at *Punta de Galea.*

Vpon Sunday the twentie foure of September we weighed anchor, ſo likewiſe did the *Diana* (the other two ſhippes beeing gone two or three daies before vs,) but the winde ſhifting to the North-eaſt, inforced vs backe againe almoſt to the ſame place from whence wee departed. The twentie fiue we weighed againe, and plied along the ſhoare towards Cape *Brea*, about three leagues. This Cape is ſo called of the *Pitch* which is there gotten in the earth, whereof there is ſuch abundance, that all places on this ſide of the World may bee ſtored therewith. It is a moſt excellent Pitch for trimming of ſhippes that paſſe into theſe Regions and hot Countries, for it melteth not with the Sunne, as other Pitch doth.

Pitch gotten in the earth, which melteth not with the Sunne.

The twentie ſixe day we ſtood along againe, the winde being ſtill contrarie and variable, intermixt with many calmes, and ſo continued vntill the ſecond of October, when we arriued at *Port de Hiſpania*. Within two daies after our arriuall there, *Don Sanches de Mendoſa*, the *Tenient* for that yeere, with certaine other *Spaniards* came aboord vs: wee gaue them the beſt entertainment that our meanes, the time, and place would affoord, and had much friendly conference together. They told me, that they lately had a conflict with the *Charibes*, wherein they had loſt ſeuen or eight of their men, and had many others hurt and wounded, whereof ſome came to my Chirurgion to haue their wounds dreſſed during our abode there. And they plainly confeſſed that they are very much moleſted by the *Charibes*, and knew not how by any meanes to ſuppreſſe them.

They arriue at *Port de Hiſpania.* *Don Sanches de Mendoſa* commeth aboord their ſhip.

The *Spaniards* much moleſted by the *Charibes.*

We ſtaied at *Porte de Hiſpania* vntill the ſeuenth day, in hope to get ſome good Tobacco amongſt the *Spaniards*, who daily fed vs with delaies and faire words, but in truth they had none good at that preſent for vs, which we perceiuing, departed thence vpon the ſeuenth day, about one of the clocke in the morning, leauing the other ſhips to attend their trade, and ſtood away for the *paſſages*, called *Los ſciot boccas de Drago*, and diſemboqued about eight of the clocke the ſame morning. Then wee ſteered away for an Iland called *Meues*, and leauing the Ilands of *Granado*, Saint *Vincent*, *Guadalupe*, and *Monſerate*, in our ſtarboord ſide, wee arriued there the twelfth day, where we ſtopped to take in ballaſt, and more water; for our ſhips were very light.

They depart from *Trinidado*

They arriue at *Meues.*

In this Iland there is an hot Bath, which as well for the reports that I haue heard, as alſo for that I haue ſeene and found by experience, I doe hold for one of the beſt and moſt ſouereigne in the World. I haue heard that diuers of our Nation haue there beene cured of the Leproſie, and that one of the ſame perſons now, or lately dwelt at *Woolwich* neere the Riuer of *Thames*, by whom the truth may be knowne, if any man deſire to bee further ſatisfied therein. As for my owne experience, although it was not much, yet the effects that I found it worke both in my ſelfe, and others of my company in two daies ſpace, doe cauſe mee to conceiue the beſt of it. For at my comming thither, I was grieuouſly vexed with an extreame cough, which I much feared would turne me to great harme, but by bathing in the Bath, and drinking of the water, I was ſpee-

An excellent hot Bath at *Meues.*

An extreame cough cured by the Bath.

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speedily cured: and euer since that time, I haue found the state of my body (I giue God thankes for it) farre exceeding what it was before, in strength and health. Moreouer, one of my company, named *Iohn Huntbatch* (seruant to my brother) as he was making a fire, burned his hand with Gunpowder, and was in doubt thereby to loose the vse of one or two of his fingers, which were shrunke vp with the fire, but he went presently to the Bath, and washed and bathed his hand a good space therein, which soopled his fingers in such manner, that with great ease he could stir and stretch them out, and the fire was so washed out of his hand that within the space of twenty foure houres, by twice or thrice washing and bathing it, the soreneſſe thereof was cured, onely the eye-sore for the time remained. Furthermore, two or three other of my company hauing swellings in their legs, were by the Bath cured in a day.

A mans hand burned with Gunpowder, and by the Bath cured in 24. houres.

Swellings in the legges cured in a day.

They depart from *Meues*.

Hence we departed the sixteenth day of October, in the afternoone, and leauing the Ilands of Saint *Christopher*, Saint *Martin*, and *Anguilla* on the Starboord side, we dissembogued through the broken Ilands on the North side of *Anguilla* vpon S. *Lukes* day, where I thinke neuer *Englishman* dissembogued before vs: for we found all our Sea-charts false concerning that place, those broken Ilands being placed therein, to the Southward of *Anguilla*, betweene it and Saint *Martins*, and we found them scituate to the Northward thereof.

They fell with *Fayal*.

On the eleuenth day of Nouember wee had sight of *Fayal*, one of the Ilands of the *Terceras* which we left on our starboord side, and fleeted away for *England*, the winde continuing faire vntill the twenty foure day. But then it changed, first to the East by North, and then to the East South-east, and became so violent and furious, that for three dayes space we were not able to beare our saile, but did driue before the winde at the least three leagues, a watch out of our course; and the first land we made was *Cape Cleere*, in the South-west part of *Ireland*, where against our wils we arriued at *Crooke Hauen* the twenty nine of Nouember.

They are driuen by a storme into *Ireland*.

During the time of my Voyage, we lost but one Land-man, who died in *Guiana*; and one Sailer, and an *Indian* Boy, who died at Sea in our returne: and during the space of these three yeares last past since the voyage, of all the men which I left in the Countrey, being in number about thirty, there died but six, whereof one was drowned, another was an old man of threescore years of age, and another tooke his death by his owne disorder; the rest died of sickneſſe, as pleased God the giuer of life: for such small losse, his holy name be blessed now and euer.

The number of those that died.

The names of the Riuers falling into the Sea from Amazones, *to* Dessequebe, *and of the seuerall Nations inhabiting those Riuers.*

RIVERS.	NATIONS.
1 *Amazones.*	
2 *Arrapoco*, a branch of *Amazones.*	*Charibs.*
3 *Arrawary.*	
4 *Maicary.*	*Yaios* and *Charibes.*
5 *Connawini.*	
6 *Cassipuregb.*	*Arracoories.*
7 *Arracow.*	
8 *Wiapoco.*	
9 *Wianary*, a creeke or inlet of the sea.	*Yaios* and *Arawacas.*
10 *Cowo*, not inhabited.	
11 *Apurwacca.*	
12 *Wio.*	
13 *Caiene.*	
14 *Mecoories.*	*Charibs.*
15 *Conowo.*	
16 *Mammanury*	
17 *Sinammarca.*	
18 *Oerassowini*, not inhabited.	
19 *Coonannoma.*	*Arwaccas.*
20 *Uracco.*	

RIVERS.	NATIONS.
21 *Marrawini.*	*Paragotes, Taios, Charibs, Arawas.*
22 *Amanna.*	
23 *Canoure*, or *Comawin*, a branch of *Selinama.*	*Charibs.*
24 *Selinama*, or *Surennamo.*	
25 *Suranmo.*	
26 *Codpanuomy.*	
27 *Eneccare.*	
28 *Coretine.*	*Arwaccas* and *Charibs.*
29 *Berebisse.*	
30 *Manbica.*	
31 *Wapary.*	*Arwaccas.*
32 *Micowine.*	
33 *Demeerare.*	
34 *Moteoronnes*	
35 *Quowinne* branches of *Dessequebe.*	*Charibs.*
36 *Dessequebe.*	*Arwaccas* and *Charibs.*

Euery

Euery house hath Cocks, Hennes, and Chickens, as in *England*: and the variety of fish is wonderfull, without compare; but the chiefest comfort of our Country-men is this, that the Beast called *Mapury*, and the fish called the Sea-Cow (being seuerally as bigge as a Heifer of two years old, and of which kinde there are very many) are in eating so like vnto our *English* Beefe, that hardly in taste we can distinguish them, and may as well as Beefe be salted, and kept for our prouision. There is also a Beast in colour like a Fawne, but fuller of white spots, in stature somewhat lesse then a small Sheepe, and in taste like Mutton, but is rather better meate: the *Baremo* is also of the same taste. I haue the Copie of Master *Harcourt* his Patent, and he published also certaine Articles for the Aduenturers, &c. which for breuity are omitted.

A beast and a fish like Beefe;

A beast like Mutton.

CHAP. XVII.

A Relation of the habitations and other Obseruations of the Riuer of Marwin, * *and the adioyning Regions.*

* I found this fairely written amongst M. *Hak.* papers, but know not who was the Author.

Townes in the Riuer of *Marwin.*

IN primis, *Marracomwin* a little Village so called where the *Arwaccas* dwell, whose chiefe Captaine is *Coretan*, and is at the foot of the Riuer of *Marwin* in a creake on the left hand going vp the Riuer. Secondly, *Russia* a little Village so called where likewise *Arwaccas* dwell being likewise at the foote of the Riuer on the right hand going vp the Riuer. Thirdly, *Moyyemon*, a large Towne where are some twentie houses all builded very lately, inhabited by *Parawagotos* and *Yaios*, whose chiefe Captaine is *Maperitacca* (being the Captaine with whom the Generall left vs, and with whom we continue) being on the left hand of the Riuer. Fourthly, *Kiawarie*, a Towne inhabited by *Careebees*, almost right against *Moyyemon*, whose Chiefetaine is——— Fiftly, *Tonorima*, a little Village aboue *Kiawary* inhabited by *Careebees*, being on the same side of the Riuer, who be gouerned by the Captaine of *Quynow*. Sixtly, *Quynow*, a Towne some quarter of a mile distant from *Tonorima*, inhabited by *Careebees*, whose Chiefetaine is *Vcapea*, hauinga lame hand. Seuenthly, *Arowatta*, a Towne situate on the same side of the Riuer (whose inhabitants be *Careebees* but a good prettie way beyond, whose Chiefetaine is *Seepano*. Eightly, *Comurraty*, a Towne situate beyond *Arowatta*, on the other side of the Riuer, whose Inhabitants be *Careebees*, and Chiefetaine is *Parapano*. Ninthly, *Pasim*, a Towne situate beyond *Comurratie* on the same side of the Riuer whose Inhabitants bee *Careeb*, and Chiefetaine is *Tanatweya*. Tenthly, *Paramaree*, a Towne situate beyond *Pasim* on the other side of the Riuer, inhabited by *Careebees*, whose Chiefetaine is *Iuara*. There is beyond *Paramaree* a lone house, beeing situate some dayes iourney from *Paramaree* on the same side of the Riuer being inhabited by *Careebees*. Eleuenthly, about some eleuen daies iourney beyond the lone house there is a towne called *Tanparaquanna*, whose Inhabitants be *Careebees*. Twelfthly, a daies iourney from thence is another Towne called *Moreesheego*, whose Inhabitants be *Careebees*. About some twentie daies iourney beyond *Moreesheego* is a Towne called *Aretouenne*, whose Inhabitants bee *Careebees* hauing verie long eares hanging to their shoulders, and they are reported to bee a very gentle and louing people. Some twentie daies farther is the head of the Riuer *Marwin*, where dwell *Parawagatos*, *Arwaccas*, and *Suppay*, and after a daies iourney in the Land, they report the way to be very faire, and Champian ground with long grasse.

Long eares, perhaps made by art, with hanging weights thereon, as is vsed in the East Indies.

Townes from the foot of Marwin *on the Northside along the Sea.*

FIrst, *Equiwibone*, a Towne inhabited by *Arwaccas* and *Parawagotos*. Secondly, *Caycooseecoero*, inhabited by *Arwaccas*, whose Chiefetaine is *Woaccomo*. Thirdly, *Amypea* inhabited by *Arwaccas*. Fourthly, about six mile within Land is *Careebee*, inhabited by *Arwaccas*, whose Chiefetaine is *Arameé*. Fiftly, *Wia Wiam*, about two miles from the Sea, a Towne inhabited by *Yaios*, *Parawagotos* and *Arwaccas*, whose Chiefetaine is *Arapenaca*. Sixtly, *Soory Soorry*, some two mile directly farther toward the Sea side, inhabited by *Parawagotos*, whose Chiefetaine is *Resserrima*. Seuenthly, *Aniebas*, a little distant from *Soory Soory*, inhabited by *Parawagotos*. Eightly, *Viegnano*, some sixe mile beyond *Soory Soory*, inhabited by *Yaos* and *Parawagotos*. Ninthly, *Vrarimo* adioyning to *Viegnano*, inhabited by *Arwaccas* and *Parawagotos*. Tenthly, *Surarer* a daies iourney beyond *Wia Wiam* vp into the Land inhabited by *Arwaccas*. Eleuenthly, *Simarra*, some sixe miles distant from *Wia Wiam*, inhabited by *Arwaccas*. Twelfthly, *Canri*, a Towne adioyning to *Simarra*, inhabited by *Arwaccas*. Thirteenthly, *Conecorro*, a Towne adioyning to *Canri*, inhabited by *Parawagotos*, and *Arwaccas*.

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Waters ouerflowing.

To most of these places there can be no passage but by Canoas in the Winter being marsh-medowy grounds, ouerflowne with swelling Tides. But in the Summer it is faire, and then they hide their Canoas in the Woods by the Sea-side.

As for the Riuer of *Marwin*, there are no other Riuers which fall into it: but there be many Ilands, and some very great. The passage to the head thereof from the men with long eares is very dangerous, by reason of the passage through hollow and concaue Rockes, wherein harbour Bat-mise of an vnreasonable bignesse, which with their clawes and wings doe wound the Passengers shrewdly: yea, and oftentimes depriue them of life. During which passage (which is some quarter of a mile, and very darke; for the Rockes are close aboue, and in fashion like an *Indian* house) they are inforced to make great fires in their Canoas, and put ouer their heads some of their Crab-baskets ro defend them from the force of their clawes and wings, and so they safely passe.

Great Bats. Darke and dangerous passage.

Stones transparant. See *A. Kniuet.*

There is a *Charcebee* (with whom I am very well acquainted) whose name is *Carowroo*) who assured me of certaine transparent stones, both of a greene and red colour, which hee described by a greene eare-ring which I shewed him, affirming they were somewhat bigger, and that they lay in a little gutter at the head of the Riuer, which ran in a Valley betweene two Hills.

I was further informed by a *Yaio*, an ancient man (who came downe from the head of the Riuer *Selinama* in a little Canoa, with foure other, and a boy; three of which were *Arwaccas*, and one *Yaio*, who was borne in *Oreno*, and as I iudge, about the age of fourescore yeeres, or little lesse) who reported to mee, that hee was one of them which with *Morequito* and *Putimay*, was at the killing of nine *Spaniards*, and a *Spanish Pedar*; and how *Morequito* was put to death, and a greatmany of his *Indians* hanged: himselfe was taken prisoner, and pinched with Pinsers for his punishment, and his eares nailed to wood, which I coniecture was a Pillourie. Besides, they rubbed his body ouer with salt mixt with Vrine, after they had pinched him, and fetcht bloud, and after tyed him vp in chaines. The reason why they put him not to death, was because hee had beene a great Traueller and knew the Countries well, and so they kept him for a Guide.

Spaniards killed.

It so chanced, that the *Spaniards*, vpon his informing them of the *Cassipagotos* Countrie, and how rich they were, and how he would be their guide, went with some companie to conquer it: the Captaine of the *Spaniards* was called *Alexander*, as he saith. But the *Cassipagotos* knowing his crueltie, thought it better to fight it out, then trust to his clemency, and so ouerthrew him and his companie, driuing them to their Canoas, in which fight he escaped: But yet afterward it was his mishap to be againe in the hands of his aduersarie by the meanes of *Caripana* King of *Emeria*, and put in chaines, and handled cruelly. His body was besmeared, as he said, with a yellow stone; for so he called it, which I take to be Brimstone, and so set on fire on his body, and after that he was well, and his skinne smooth and faire, they anointed him with honie from top to toe, and so scattered dust vpon him, in which which were millions of Pismires, tying him in chaines to a great tree, where Muskitos flockt about him like moates in the Sunne, and did pitifully sting him, then which death had beene better, as hee said. Within some small space hee with another *Yaio*, and three *Arwaccas* were chosen to goe a fishing some two dayes iourney from the Towne. Likewise there went as ouerseers ouer them foure *Spaniards*, three of which, while they were a fishing, went into the Wood a fowling, and the fourth which was left for the ouerseer by chance fell asleepe, which they espying, agreed to release themselues and to slip from the shoare with their Canoa, and went vp *Selinama* seuen dayes iourney within land from the head thereof to a Towne of the *Arwaccas*, called *Coeroopon*, where he now dwelleth, whose name is *Weepackea*; and the chiefe *Arwacca* which came with him is called *Edaddeawa*, and the Captaine of *Coeroopon* is called *Nausnickebaw*. This *Yaio* told mee of a Mountaine at the head of *Dissikeebee* which is called *Oraddoo*, where is a great Rocke of white Spar, which hath streams of Gold in it about the breadth of a Goose-quill; and this he affirmeth very earnestly. Also he speaketh of a Plaine which is some seuen or eight dayes iourney from the Mountaine where is great store of Gold in graines so big as the top of a mans finger, and after the flouds be fallen they finde them, which Plaine is called *Manoa*.

Spanish deuises of tortures. Sir *Fr. Drakes* at *Guatulco* on the South Sea found a *Negro* in iron chains 20. yards long: fenced to be whipped till al his flesh was raw, and so to be set in the Sunne, to be tormented to death by Muskitos.

Golden hopes. Sir *W. Ral.*

Further, he spake of a Valley not farre distant from thence, which is called *Wancoohanoma*, which hath the like: and he said, they gather them the space of two moneths together; which two moneths are presently after the great raines which wash away the sand and grauell from the grasse which groweth in turfets, and then they may perceiue the Gold lie glistering on the ground. And of these they are very charie. And the Captaines and Priests or *Peeays* doe charge the *Indians* very strictly, yea with punishment of the whip, that they be secret, and not reueale it to the *Spaniard*. But it seemeth they are willing the *English* should haue it, or else hee would neuer haue related so much of the state of his Countrie.

He spake very much of Sir *Walter Raleigh*: he likewise knew *Francis Sparrow*, and the boy which Sir *Walter* left behind him at *Topiawary* his house. He further said, that *Topiawary* wondred that he heard not from Sir *Walter*, according to his promise: and how *Topiawary* did verily thinke, that the *Spaniard* had met with him, and so had slaine him. Further, hee saith how *Topiawary*

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piawary is dead, and how one *Roponegegrippo* succeeded in his roome. Likewise he sayth *Caripana* the King of *Emeria*, who was very subiect to the *Spaniard*, and did once betray him to the *Spaniard*, is now dead: at which he seemed not a little to reioyce; and how one *Dothronias* is in his place, and is a good King, holding Armes against the *Spaniard* with the *Cassipagotos*, and and giuing him many ouerthrowes, so that now hee hath cleare left *Dissikeebee* and not a *Spaniard* there. He likewise said, how *Topiawary* had drawne in the *Indians* of *Wariwackeri*, *Amaricapana*, *Aromaya*, *Wickery*, and all the people that belonged to *Wanuritone*, Captaine of *Canuria*, and *Wacariopea* Captaine of *Sayma* against Sir *Walter Raleigh* his comming to haue warred against the *Teanderpuremei*: And as yet *Wanuritone* and *Wacariopea* doe expect his comming. He addeth further, how he knew the two Nations of *Tiuitiuas*, called *Tiawana* and *Warawitty*, who are forced in the floods to build their houses on the top of trees. And now he saith the *Spaniard* hath for the most part destroyed them, keeping diuers of them to make and mend his Canoas. Further hee knew *Toparimacca*, and sayth hee is yet liuing, and Captaine of *Arawaca* a *Napoy*, who likewise doth expect Sir *Walter* his comming, and had drawne a companie of *Indians* for the aide and assistance of Sir *Walter*. Likewise, how *Putimay* is yet liuing, and how the *Spaniards* haue layd great waite for him, but could neuer finger him to bee reuenged for his part of killing the nine *Spaniards*. Further he addeth, how the *Spaniards* were killed at a Mountaine called *Riconori* in *Putimays* Countrie, and how *Putimay* expected long for Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Likewise he saith, how the *Epeuremei* haue now two very faire Townes, one called *Aruburguary*, and the other *Corburrimore*: and saith, they are not good people, yet they dare not warre with them. He further affirmeth of the men whose shoulders are higher then their heads, which he called *Wywaypanamy*, and offereth to goe with me thither if I come vp in their high Countrie. For since the death of *Topiawary* they are friends, and bend their forces against the *Spaniards*. He further spake of a white, cleare, high and huge Rocke vnder a Mountaines side, which is called *Mattuick*, that on a Sun-shine day if a man looked on it, it would dazle his eyes exceedingly. Hee shewed mee before his departure from me, a piece of metall fashioned like an Eagle, and as I gheese, it was about the weight of eight or nine ounces troy weight, it seemed to be Gold or at leastwise two parts Gold and one Copper, I offered him an Axe, which he refused; to which I added foure Knives, but could not get it of him: but I imagine the *Dutch* at *Selinama* haue bought it of him, for their only comming was for Axes, as he said, hearing that the *Dutch* were at *Selinama*. I demanded where hee had that Eagle, his answere was, hee had it of his Vncle, who dwelt among the *Weearaapoyns* in the Countrie called *Sherumerrimary* neere the *Cassipagotos* Countrie where is great store of these Images. Further he said, that at the head of *Selinama* and *Marwin* there were great store of the halfe Moones, which hee called by the name of *Vnnaton*. He likewise spake of a very faire and large Citie in *Guiana*, which hee called *Monooan*, which I take to be that which Sir *Walter* calleth *Manoa*, which standeth by a salt Lake which he called *Parcoonan Parrocare Monoan*, in the Prouince of *Aseecona* the chiefe Captaine or *Acarimanora*, as he called him, was called *Pepodallapa*. He further said, that after that a man is vp at the head of the Riuer and some ten dayes iourney within the Land, euery childe can tell of the riches of *Monoam*. Further he addeth, how that once in euery third yeere all the *Cassiques* or Lords and Captaines some seuen dayes iourney from *Manoan* doe come to a great drinking, which continueth for the space of ten dayes together, in which time they goe sometimes a fishing, fowling, and hunting, their fishing is in the salt Lake, where is abundance of Canoas, and those very great. They haue many fish-pooles of standing water, wherein they haue aboundance of Fish. They haue store of wilde Porkes and Deere, and other beasts, which are very good meate. Their Houses be made with many lofts and partitions in them, but not boorded, but with barres of wood, onely the lower floore on the ground is spread with clay very smooth, and with fires hardned, as they doe their pots, then presently they build their houses, as is before spoken of. Also he affirmeth, that within the Citie at the entring in of their houses they hang *Carotoora* on the posts which I take to be Images of gold.

Topiawary dead

Tiuitiuas houses on trees tops.

Men with shoulders higher then their heads.

Crystall Rock.

Images of gold.

Monoan great Citie in *Guiana*.

Houses with lofts.

Directions to the Towne of Cooropan *from* Marrawin.

FRom the head of *Marrawin* to *Isiourua*, a *Chareeb* Towne: from thence to *Caparocca*, a *Chareeb* Towne: from thence to a Mountaine called *Payen*: from thence to *Una*, a Mountaine: from thence to *Tonwalpreney*, a *Chareeb* Towne: from thence to *Tetatttecoomoyneto*, a *Chareeb* Towne: from thence to *Tunstoorito*, a *Chareeb* Towne: from thence to *Soynoon*, a *Parawag* Towne: from thence to *Croroorere*, a *Suppay* Towne: from thence to *Macatana* a *Suppay* Towne: from thence to *Popicorwarra*, a Mountaine: from thence to *Shadden*, an *Arwacca* Towne: from thence to *Lonnoo*, an *Arwacca* Towne: from thence to *Horurra* a Mountaine: from thence to *Habittebin*, a Plaine: from thence to *Warooca*, an *Arwac.* Towne: from thence to *Hardoo* an *Arwacca*; and from thence to *Coorepon*, where he dwelleth, which he saith is but ten dayes iourney from the head of *Marrawin*.

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Directions from the head of Selinama *to* Cooropan, *which is but seuen dayes iourney.*

FRom the head of *Selinama* to *Kiarne* a *Chareeb* Towne: from thence to *Pennaro* a *Chareeb* Towne: from thence to *Seeoadeddepon* an *Arwac* Towne: from thence to *Sickene* a Mountaine: from thence to *Shuhurway* an *Arwac* Towne: from thence to *Hadarimmer* a *Suppay* Towne: from thence to *Weeatoepona, Arwac:* from thence to *Ruttraher, Arwac:* from thence to *Caboyetitte, Arwac:* from thence to *Heeeanamerre, Suppay:* from thence to *Wabeckeyaway, Arwac:* from thence to *Hanamob, Arwac:* from thence to *Muttuggabee,* a Mountaine; and so to *Cooropon,* which is but seuen dayes iourney from the head of *Selinama.*

He likewise saith it is but a moneths iourney by land, from the head of *Marrawin* to the head of *Dissikeebee,* and from the head of *Dissikeebee* to the head of *Oreneq,* a moneths trauell.

Riuers from Brabisse *to the* Amazones.

	Riuers.	Nations.
	Brabisse.	*Chareebees.*
	Winniepa.	*Chareebes.*
	Arew.	*Napoys.*
	Maenapoo.	*Napoys.*
	Muccaurew.	not inhabited.
	Mereeoose.	*Napoys.*
	Arawen.	not inhabited.
	Oreneee.	*Taios Arwac.*
	Emataeeee.	*Chareebes.*
	Eparrawee.	*Chareebes.*
	Arateeree.	*Chareebes.*
	Amockeeree.	*Chareeb.*
	Pareema.	*Chareeb.*
	Wine.	*Chareeb.*
	Meroka.	*Taios.*
	Paureema.	*Arwaeeas.*
	Waeapwhen.	*Arwaeeas.*
	Dissikeebee.	*Arwac.*
Branches of Dissikeebee.	*Quiowinne.*	*Chareeb.*
	Mateerenes.	*Chareeb.*
	Marrawin.	*Para. Ta. Cha. & Arwa.*
	Amanna.	*Chareeb.*
	Vraco.	*Arwac.*
	Coenawweena.	*Arwac.*
	Oeraffowinni.	not inhabited.
	Sinemarra.	*Chareeb.*
	Mannemanury.	*Chareeb.*
	Ecaurwa.	*Chareeb.*
	Caureeree.	*Chareeb.*
	Muccurrie.	*Chareeb.*
	Kiam.	*Chareeb.*
	Wia.	*Chareeb.*
	Kewe.	not inhabited.
	Apeerwacca.	*Chareeb.*
	Wannafe.	*Taios.*
	Wiapeee.	*Taios.*
	Areeeena.	*Areeeela.*
	Caſippoeree.	*Areeeole.*
	Connawin.	*Taio.*
	Miecaree.	*Areeeeel.*
	Demeerare.	*Arwac.*
	Miceniue.	*Arwac.*
	Wapary.	*Arwac.*
	Maubica.	*Arwac.*
	Karibiſſe.	*Arwac.*
	Coreiue.	*Chareeb. Arw.*
	Eneecare.	*Chareeb.*
	Coepanomi.	*Chareeb.*
	Seeriamino.	*Chareeb.*
	Surenname, alias, *Selinama.*	*Chareeb.*
Branches of Selinama.	*Caneuree,* alias, *Connawin.*	
	Arowaree.	*Chareeb.*
	Arapeee.	
	Amazone.	

Tepaniwinni, a Branch of *Marwin,* at the head thereof going toward *Oreneq,* in which dwell a wilde People called *Vrokere,* which are swift in running.

Swift footmen.

The *Chareebees* with long eares are called *Neeraco. Ekinnicke,* a kinde of worme, which poisoneth the water.

And thus much of Guianian *affaires. Some other Voyages thither haue beene at large published by by Sir* W. R. *and Master* Keymis, *recorded by Master* Hakl. *A later also with great noise, preparation and expectation hath happened, written alreadie in bloud; therefore, and for the lateneſſe needleſſe and vnworthie, that I ſay not too diſmall and fatall for our Relations.*

CHAP. XVIII.

A Description and Discouery of the Riuer of Amazons, *by* WILLIAM DAVIES *Barber Surgeon of* London.

THE Riuer of the *Amazons* lieth in the highest part of the West *Indies*, beyond the Equinoctial Line; to fall with this Riuer fortie leagues from Land you shal haue 8. 6. & 7. fathomes water, & you shal see the Sea change to a ruddie colour, the water shall grow fresh, by these signes you may run boldly in your course, and comming neere the Riuers mouth, the depth of your water shal increase, then you shal make Discouerie of the Trees before the Land, by reason the Land is very low, and not higher in one place then another three foote, being at a Spring tide almost all ouer flowne, God knowes how many hundred leagues. It flowes much water there with a verie forcible tide. In this Riuer I continued tenne weekes, seeing the fashion of the people and Countrie there: This Countrie is altogether full of Woods, with all sorts of wilde Beasts: as Lions Beares, Woolues, Leopards, Baboones, strange Boores, Apes, Monkeies, Martins, Sanguines, Marmosets, with diuers other strange beasts: also these Woods are full of Wild-fowle of all sorts, and Parrats more plentifull then Pidgeons in *England*, and as good meate, for I haue often eaten of them. Also this Countrey is very full of Riuers, hauing a King ouer euerie Riuer. In this place is continuall Tempests, as Lightning, Thunder, and Raine, and so extreame, that it continues most commonly sixteene or eighteene houres in foure and twentie. There are many standing waters in this Countrie, which bee full of *Aligators*, *Guianes*, with many other seuerall water Serpents, and great store of fresh fish, of strange fashions. This Countrie is full of *Muskitas*, which is a small Flie, which much offends a Stranger comming newly into the Countrie. The manner, fashion, and nature of the people is this: They are altogether naked, both men and women, hauing not so much as one threed about them to couer any part of their nakednesse, the man taketh a round Cane as bigge as a pennie Candle, and two inches in length, through the which hee puls the fore-skinne of his yard, tying the skinne with a piece of the rinde of a Tree about the bignesse of a small pack-threed, then making of it fast about his middle, hee continueth thus till hee haue occasion to vse him: In each Eare hee weareth a Reede or Cane, which hee bores through it, about the bignesse of a Swannes Quill, and in length halfe an inch, and the like through the midst of the lower lippe: also at the bridge of the Nose hee hangs in a Reede a small glasse Beade or Button, which hanging directly afore his Mouth, flies too and fro still as hee speakes, wherein hee takes great pride and pleasure. Hee weares his Haire long, being rounded below to the neather part of his Eare, and cut short, or rather as I iudged pluckt bald on the crowne like a Frier. But their women vse no fashion at all to set forth themselues, but starke naked as they were borne, with haire long of their Heads, also their Breasts hang verie low, by reason they are neuer laced or braced vp: they doe vse to anoint their Bodies, both Men and Women, with a kind of redde Earth, because the *Muskitas*, or Flies shall not offend them.

Distant from *England* 1600. leagues. This is a part of a Booke set forth by the said *Danies* of his miserable captiuitie.

These people are verie ingenious, craftie, and treacherous, verie light of foot, and good Bowemen, whose like I haue neuer seene, for they doe ordinarily kill their owne food, as Beasts, Fowle, and Fish, the manner of their Bow and Arrowes is this. The Bow is about two yards in length, the Arrow seuen foote. His Bow is made of Brasill-wood verie curious, his string of the rinde of a Tree, lying close to the Bow, without any bent, his Arrow made of Reede, and the head of it is a fish bone: hee kils a Beast in this manner: standing behinde a Tree, hee takes his marke at the Beast, and wounding him, he followes him like a Bloud-hound till he fall, oftentimes seconding his shoot: then for any Fowle be he neuer so little, he neuer misses him: as for the first, hee walkes by the water side, and when hee hath spied a fish in the water, hee presently strikes him with his Arrow, and suddenly throwing downe his Bow, hee leapes into the water, swimming to his Arrow which hee drawes aland with the fish fastened to it, then hauing each kild his owne food, as well flesh, and fowle, as fish, they meete together, to the number of fiftie or sixtie in a company, then make a fire after this fashion: They take two sticks of Wood, rubbing one hard against another, till such time as they bee fired, then making of a great fire, euery man is his owne Cooke to broile that which he hath gotten, and thus they feed without Bread or Salt, or any kind of drinke but Water and Tobacco, neither doe they know what it meanes: In these Countries we could find neither Gold nor Siluer Oare, but great store of Hennes. For I haue bought a couple for a *Iewes* Harpe, when they would refuse tenne shillings in money. This Countrie is full of delicious fruite, as Pines, Plantines, Guaues, and Potato Rootes, of which Fruits and Roots I would haue bought a mans burthen for a glasse Button or Bead. The manner of their Lodging is this: they haue a kinde of Net made of the rinde of a Tree which they call *Hamac*, being three fathome in length, and two in breadth, and gathered

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at both ends at length, then faſtning either end to a Tree, to the full length about a yard and halfe from the ground, when hee hath deſire to ſleepe, hee creepes vnto it. The King of euerie Riuer is knowne by this manner. He weares vpon his head a Crowne of Parrats feathers, of ſeuerall colours, hauing either about his middle, or about his Necke, a Chaine of Lions teeth or clawes, or of ſome other ſtrange beaſt, hauing a woodden Sword in his hand, and hereby is he knowne to be the King: Oftentimes one King warres againſt another in their Canowes, which are Boats cut out of a whole Tree, ſometimes taking one another, the Conquerours eates the Captiues. By this time ten weekes were ſpent, and being homewards bound, but not the ſame way that we came, for we ſailed vnto the Riuer before the winde, becauſe it blowes there continually one way, which forces all ſhippes that come thither to returne by a contrarie way.

The end of the ſixth Booke.

VOY-

VOYAGES TO AND ABOVT THE SOVTHERNE AMERICA, WITH MANY MARINE OBSERVATIONS AND DISCOVRSES OF THOSE SEAS AND LANDS, BY ENGLISHMEN AND OTHERS.

THE SEAVENTH BOOKE.

READER, *I here present thee the exactest Treatise of* Brasil *which I haue seene written by any man, especially in the Historie of the multiplied and diuersified Nations and customes of men; as also in the naturall Historie of Beasts, Serpents, Fowles, Fishes, Trees, Plants, with diuers other remarkeable rarities of those Regions. It was written (it seemeth) by a* Portugall *Frier (or Iesuite) which had liued thirtie yeares in those parts, from whom (much against his will) the written Booke was taken by one* Frances Cooke *of* Dartmouth *in a Voyage outward bound for* Brasil, An. 1601. *who sold the same to Master* Hacket *for twenty shillings; by whose procurement it was translated out of* Portugall *into* English: *which translation I haue compared with the written Originall, and in many places supplied defects, amended errours, illustrated with notes, and thus finished and furnished to the publike view. Great losse had the Author of his worke, and it not a little of his name*, which I should as willingly haue inserted as worthy much honour for his industrie, by which the great and admirable workes of the Creator are made knowne; the visible and various testimonies of his inuisible power, and manifold wisedome.* Sic vos non vobis. *In this and other written tractates the* Spaniards *and the* Portugals *haue taken paines, and (which was denied to* Spaine *and* Portugall) England *is here entred into their labours, and hath reaped an* English *harueſt of* Spanish *and* Portugall *seede. Another Treatise was taken by the said* Frances Cooke, *written more fairely, but it seemeth with the same hand, part of which I haue added for better knowledge both of the ciuill-uncivill dealings of the* Portugals *with the* Indians; *and of the vnchristian christianitie in their owne practise and conuersion of the* Indians, *and that by Iesuiticall testimonie. I may well adde this Iesuite to the* English *Voyages, as being an* English *prize and captiue.*

* I finde at the end of the Booke some medicinall receipts, and the name subscribed *Ir. Manoel Tristam Enfermeiro do Colegio da Baya:* whom I imagine to haue beene Author of this Treatise. *Cooke* reported that he had it of a Friar: but the name *Iesus* diuers times on the top of the page, and often mention of the Fathers and societie maketh me thinke him a brother of that order, besides the state-tractate following.

CHAP. I.

A Treatise of Brasil, *written by a* Portugall *which had long liued there.*

§. I.

Of the beginning and originall of the Indians *of* Brasil, *and of their Customes, Religions, and Ceremonies.*

IT seemeth that this people hath no knowledge of the beginning and creation of the world, but of the deluge it seemeth they haue some notice: but as they haue no writings nor characters such notice is obscure and confused; for they say that the waters drowned all men, and that one onely escaped vpon a *Ianipata* with a sister of his that was with childe, and that from these two they haue their beginning, and from thence began their multiplying and increase. Their opinion of a flood.

This people hath not any knowledge of their Creator, nor of any thing of heauen, nor if there be any paine nor glory after this life, therefore they haue no oderation nor ceremonies, nor diuine worship, but they know that they haue soules, and that they dye not; and they say that the Of the knowledg that they haue of the Creator, and of the Soule, Paradise, Diuels.

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the soules are *conuerted into diuels*, and that after their death they goe to certaine *fields* where are many figge trees along by a faire Riuer, and all together doe nothing but daunce. This is the cause why they are greatly afraid of the Diuell, whom they call *Curupira, Taguain, Pigtangua, Machchera, Anhanga:* and their feare of him is so great, that onely with the imagination of him they dye, as many times already it hath happened: they worship it not, nor any other creature, neither haue they Idols of any sort, onely some old men doe say that in some waies they haue certaine Posts where they offer him some things, for the feare they haue of them, and because they would not die. Sometimes the Diuels appeare vnto them, though very seldome, and among them are few possessed.

Diuels feare.

They vse some witchcrafts, and there are some Witches, not because they beleeue in them, or doe worship them, but onely they giue themselues to the *Cbupar* in their sicknesses, seeming to them that they receiued their health, but not because they doe think they haue any diuinity, and they do it rather to receiue health, then for any other respect. There arise sometimes among them some Witches, whom they call *Caraiba*, and most commonly it is some *Indian* of a bad life; this doth some witchcrafts and strange things to nature, as to show that he raiseth some to life, that makes himselfe dead, and with these and other like things he carrieth all the Countrie after him, deceiuing and saying to them that they shall not cultiuate, nor plant their Pulse and their prouision, neither digge nor labour, &c. for with his comming the time is come that the Mattockes themselues shall digge of their owne accord, and the Beasts goe to the fields and bring the prouision, and with these falshoods he leades them so deluded and inchanted, that not looking to their liues, and to get their foode, they die for hunger, and these companies are diminished by litand little, till the *Caraiba* remaineth alone, or is murthered by them.

Caraibas iugling.

They haue no proper name to expresse God, but they say the *Tupan* is the thunder and lightning, and that this is he that gaue them the Mattocks and the foode, and because they haue no other name more naturall and proper, they call God *Tupan*.

No proper name of God.

There are mariages among them, but there is a great doubt whether they be true, as well because they haue many wiues, as for the easie forsaking them for whatsoeuer quarrell, anger, or any other disgrace hapning among them; but either true or not, among them they were made in this sort. No yong man did vse to marrie before he had taken an emenie, and he continued a virgin till he tooke and slew him, holding first his feasts for the space of two or three yeares, the woman in like sort did not marrie nor know man, till she had her tearmes, after the which they made her great feasts: at the time of the deliuerie of the woman they made great drinkings. And the feast being ended, the marriage remained perfect giuing a net cleane washt; and after they were laid, the father tooke a wedge of stone and did cut vpon a post or stake, then they say hee did cut the tailes from the grandchildren, and therefore they were borne without them, and after they were married they began to drinke, for vntill then their fathers did not suffer them, teaching them that they should drinke heedefully, and should be considerate and wise in their speaking, that the wine might doe them no hurt, and that they should not speake bad things, and then with a vessell the old ancient men did giue him the first wine, and hold his head with their hands that he might not vomit, for if he doth vomit they hold to themselues that he would not be valiant.

Of the Mariages.

They giue no dowries to their daughters or to the sons, but they serue their mother in law.

Tailes.

Drinkings.

This people eateth at all times by night and by day, and euerie houre and moment, and when they haue any meate they keepe it no long time, for they haue no prouidence for the future, but presently they eate all that they haue, and deuide it among their friends, in sort that of one fish that they haue they diuide it to all, and they hold for a great honour and gallantrie to be liberall, and thereby they get great fame and honour: and they hold for the greatest iniurie that they can doe them, to hold them for niggards, or call them so: and when they haue nothing to eate, they are very patient in hunger and thirst. They haue no flesh or fish daies, they eate all manner of flesh, euen of vncleane creatures, as Snakes, Toades, Rats, and such like wormes; they eate also all manner of Fruites, sauing some that are poisonous. This sustenance is ordinarily of that which the Countrie yeeldeth without husbandrie, as wilde fowle, flesh and fruites, but they haue a certaine kinde of foode of a good substance, and healthfull, and many other pulses, whereof hereafter shall mention be made. Ordinarily they drinke not while they eate, but after meate they drinke water or wine which they make of many kindes of fruites, and rootes, as hereafter shall be said, of the which they drinke without measure or order, euen till they fall downe.

Of the manner they keepe in their eating and drinking.

Liberality, and opinion of niggardise.

Their diet.

Drinking.

They haue some particular daies wherein they make great feasts, and all ends in drinking, and they last two or three daies, in the which they eate not but onely drinke, and there be men that empties a whole great vessell of wine. That these drinkings may be more festiuall, some goe about singing from house to house, calling and inuiting all they finde for to drinke and be merrie. These dancings last with musicke all the time of the drinking, in the which they sleepe not, but passe it all in drinking, and when they are drunke they play many disorders, and they breake one anothers head, and take other mens wiues, &c. They giue no thankes before nor after meate to God, nor wash their hands before meate, and after meate they wipe them at their haire, on their

Feasts.

Daunces.

Rudenesse.

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their body, or a poste. They haue no towels nor tables, they eate sitting, or lying in their nets, or cowring on the ground: they eate their meate throwing it with their hand into the mouth; and I omit many other particularities that they haue in their eating and drinking, because these are the principall.

Of the manner that they haue in their sleeping.

All this people haue for their beds certaine nets made of Cotten wooll, and they sleepe in them hanging in the ayre. These they make some wrought, others of sundry colours, and as they remaine in the ayre, and haue no other couering or cloathes alwaies in summer and winter, they haue fire vnder them: they rise not very early, and goe to bed by times, and in the mornings there is one chiefe man in their houses, * that lying in his net doth preach vnto them for the space of an houre, how they are to goe to labour as their forefathers did, and he appointeth them the time, telling them what they are to doe; and after he is vp continueth his preaching, running through the Towne. They tooke this custome from a bird which is like a Hawke, which singeth in the morning, and they call it the *King and Lord of the other Birds*; and they say that euen as that Bird doth sing in the mornings to be heard of the rest, so the principall should make those preachings and speeches to be heard of theirs.

* One House containeth many Families.

Nakednesse.

All of them goe naked as well men as women, and haue no kinde of apparell, and are nothing ashamed: rather it seemeth that they are in the state of innocencie touching this behalfe by the great honestie and modestie they doe keepe among themselues; and when any man speaketh with a woman, he turneth his backe to her.

Modesty.

But to make themselues gallant they vse diuers inuentions, painting their bodies with the iuice of a certaine fruite wherewith they remaine black, making in their bodies many white strokes, after the fashion of round hose, and other kinde of garments. They enplume themselues also, making Diadems and Bracelets, and other very fine inuentions, they esteeme very much all manner of fine Feathers: they let no haire grow in the parts of their body, but they pull them out, onely the head excepted, which they cut in many fashions, for some weare them long with a halfe Moone shauen before, and they say they tooke this vse from Saint *Thomas*, and it seemeth that they had some notice of him, though confusedly; others make certaine kinde of crownes and circles that they seeme Friers: the women all doe weare long haire, and ordinarily blacke, and the haire of the one and of the other is smooth: when they are angrie they let their haire grow long: and the women when they mourne, doe cut their haire, and also when their husbands goe a farre iourney, in this they show their loue and loyaltie to them: the vanitie they haue in their poling is so much, that by the head the Nations are knowne.

Painting.

Galantry.

Neatnesse.

Mourning.

Now alreadie some doe weare apparell as well men as women, but they esteeme it so little that they weare it rather for fashion then for honesties sake, and because they are commanded to weare it; as it is well seene by some, that sometimes come abroad with certaine garments no further then the nauell, without any other thing, and others onely with a cap on their heads, and leaue the other garments at home: the women make great accompt of Laces and Combes.

Apparell.

Of their Houses.

These *Indians* doe vse certaine Cottages, or houses of timber, couered with Palme tree leaues, and are in length some of two hundred and three hundred spans, and they haue two or three doores, verie little and low. They shew their valour in seeking timber, and verie great posts, and of great continuance, and there be houses that haue fiftie, sixtie or seuentie roomes of twentie or fiue and twentie quarters long, and as manie quarters long, and as many in breadth. In this house dwelleth one principall man or more, whom all the rest doe obey, and ordinarily they are kinsmen. In euery roome of these dwelleth a houshold with their children and family without any repartition betweene the one and the other, and to enter in one of these houses is to enter into a laberinth, for euery roome hath his fire, and their nets hanging, and their stuffe, so that comming in, all that they haue is in sight, and some house hath two hundred persons and more.

Childebirth.

The women when they are brought to bed (they are delinered on the ground) doe not take vp the childe, but the Father taketh it vp, or some other person whom they take for their Gossip, and in friendship they are as the Gossips among the *Christians*. The Father doth cut the Nauell string with his teeth, or with two stones knocking the one with the other, and then they set themselues to fasting vntill the Nauell string falleth off, which is ordinarily to the eighe day, and till it doth fall they leaue not their fasting, when it falleth, if it bee a man childe he maketh it a Bow with Arrowes, and tieth it at the end of the Net, and at the other end manie handfuls of hearbes which are the enemies which his sonne shall kill, and eate. These ceremonies being ended, they make drinkings wherewith they all are merrie. The women when they are deliuered, doe presently goe and wash themselues in the Riuers, and they giue the childe sucke ordinarily a yeere and an halfe, not giuing it any other thing to eate. They loue their children extraordinarily, and beare them in certaine pieces of Nets which they call *Tapiyo*, and carrie them to their plowings and to all kind of labours on their backes, through cold and heate, and they carrie them like the Gipsies stradling about their hips; they giue them no manner of correction, that their children may not crie. They haue manie Southsayings, for they put Cotton-clothes vpon their head, birds feathers, and stickes: they lay them one the palmes of their hands,

Loue and education of children.

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Friers and Iesuites paines with *Indians* children.

hands, and rocke them by them that they may grow. They esteeme more to doe good to their children then to themselues, and now they esteeme and loue the *Fathers* verie much because they bring them vp, they teach them to reade, write, and cipher, and singing, and to play on an Instrument, a thing which they doe much esteeme.

Of the custom they haue in harboring, or entertayning their guests.

When any guest doth come to the house, the honour and entertainment they make him is to bewaile him; Now the guest being come into the house they set him in the Net, & after he is set without speaking any word to him the wife and the daughters, and the other friends do sit them downe round about him with their haire loose, touching with the hand the partie: they all beginne to weepe with a high voice and great abundance of teares, and there they tell in a versified prose all things that haue happened since they saw one another to that houre, and manie other which they inuent, and the troubles that the guest hath suffered in his journie; and all things else that may prouoke pitie and teares. The guest all this time speaketh not one word, but after they haue bewailed him a good while thy wipe the teares, and remaine so quiet, so modest, so pleasant and merrie that it seemeth they neuer wept, and then they salute one another, and giue their *Ereinpe*, or welcome, and they bring him meate, &c. And after these Ceremonies ended, the guest telleth wherefore he commeth. The men likewise bewaile one another, but it is in some weightie matters, as deaths, misfortunes in wars, &c. They hold it for a great courtesie to entertaine all men and to giue them all things necessarie for their sustenance, and some gifts, as Bowes, Arrowes, Birds, Feathers, and other things according to their powertie without any kind of reward.

Of the custom they haue of drinking of smoake.

These *Gentiles* doe accustome to drinke the smoake of *Petigma*, by another name the *holy herbe*, this they drie and make of a Palme-tree leafe a Coffin like the ioint of a Cane, and filled with this herbe, they fire it at the small end putting the biggest in their mouth, and so they sucke or drinke that smoake, and they hold it for a great daintie and fauour, and lying in their Nets they spend part of the daies and of the nights: to some it doth much hurt, and maketh them dizzie and drunke, to others it doth much good, and maketh them voide a great deale of flegme at the mouth. The women also doe drinke it, but they are such as are old and sickly, for it is verie medicinable vnto them, especially for the cough, the head-ache, and the Disease of the stomacke, and hence come a great manie of the *Portugals* to drinke it, and haue taken it for a vice or for idlenesse, imitating the *Indians* to spend daies and nights about it.

Of the manner of payments and husbandrie.

This Nation hath no monie wherewith to satisfie the seruices that are done to them, but they liue with bartering one thing for another, and principally in change of wine they doe all that they will, and so when they haue any businesse, they make wines, and aduising the Neighbours, and assembling all the Towne, they desire them to helpe them in their Husbandrie, which they doe with a good will; and labouring till tenne of the clocke they returne home againe to drinke their wines; and if that day their tillage be not ended, they make other wines, and so goe another day till ten of the clocke to make an end of their businesse. And in this sort doe the wise *White men* or *Portugals* vse, that know the vse and fashions of the *Indians*, and how much they do for wine; they make wines for them, and call them to their Husbandries, and to their Sugar-canes, and with this they pay them. They vse also ordinarily to change some things for white beades, which are made of Wilkes: and in change of some Nosegaies they giue euen their wiues; and this is the ransome wherewith they vse ordinarily, that is, the *White men*, for to buy of them the slaues, as well men as women that they haue for to eate.

Of their Iewels and Brooches.

Filthily fine.

These *Indians* vse ordinarily, chiefly in their Feasts, Collars which they make of Wilkes, Diademes of Feathers, and certaine Brooches, (that is, stones which they put in their lower lip) some greene, white, some blue, and verie fine, and are like Emeralds, or Christall, they are round, and some of them so long that they reach to their breasts, and it is ordinarily among the great and principall men, to haue them of a span, or more in lenght. They vse also white Bracelets of the same Wilkes, and they put in their eares certain white stones of a span long and more; and these and other like are the ornaments wherewith they adorne themselues in their Feasts, whether they be of slaughters of the enemies: or of wines; and these are the Riches that they esteeme aboue all that they possesse.

Of the vsage of their wiues, and how they man them.

These *Indians* doe vse to intreate their Wiues well, they neuer strike them, neither quarrell with them, except in the time of their drinkings, for then ordinarily they reuenge themselues of them, giuing for an excuse afterward, it was the wine they had drunke, and then they are friends as before, and the hatreds betweene them last not long. They goe alwaies together, and when they goe abroad, the woman commeth behind and the man before, that if any ambush bee laid, the wife may not fall into it, and may haue time to flie while the Husband fighteth with his aduersarie, &c. But at their returning home from their fields, or from any other place the wife commeth before, and the Husband behinde, that if any mischance shall happen, the wife may flie home, and the Husband fight with the enemies, or any other thing. But in a safe Countrie and within the Townes the wife alwaies goeth before, and the Husband behind, for they are verie jealous, and will haue alwaies their wife in sight.

Iealousie.

Of their dances and their songs.

Though they be melancholike they haue their Games, especially the children verie diuers and pleasant, in the which they counterfeit manie kinds of Birds, and with so great feast and order

order as may be. And the children are joyfull and giuen to play, and they play with ſuch quietneſſe and friendſhip, that among them is no bad name heard, or any ſcurrilitie, or calling any nickname one to anothers Father or Mother; and ſeldome doe they diſagree when they play, nor diſorder themſelues for any thing, and verie ſeldome doe they ſtrike or fight one with another. The Fathers doe teach them from their cradles to dance and ſing, and their dancings are not ſundrie changes, but a continuall ſtamping with the feet ſtanding ſtill, or going round about, or ſtirring their bodie or their head, and they doe it all by ſuch compaſſe, and pleaſantneſſe as can be deſired, at the ſound of a Timbrell made after the faſhion of thoſe which the children vſe in *Spaine* with manie ſmal ſtones within or certaine ſeeds whereof they make alſo verie good beads: and ſo they ſing dancing altogether, for they doe not one thing without the other, in ſuch compaſſe and order that ſometime an 100. men dancing and ſinging together in a row one behind the other doe end all at one ſtroke, as if they were altogether in one place. The ſingers aſwell men as women are much eſteemed among them, in ſo much that if they take an enemie a good ſinger, and an Inuenter of Verſes, they therefore ſpare his life, and doe not eate him nor his children. The women doe dance together with the men, and make many gambolls and geſtures with their armes and bodies, eſpecially when they dance alone. They keepe among themſelues differencies of voices in their Conſort: and ordinarily the women doe ſing the Treble, Counter, and Tenours.

Inſtruments.

Womens dances.

They are verie wicked, eſpecially in weeping for the dead, for when any one dieth, the Kindred doe caſt themſelues vpon him in the Net, and ſo ſuddenly that ſometimes they choake him before he dieth, ſeeming to them he is dead. And thoſe that cannot caſt themſelues with the Coarſe in the Net doe caſt themſelues on the ground with ſuch falls and knockes that it ſeemeth a Miracle they doe not end their liues with the dead, and of theſe falls, and mournings they remaine ſo feeble that ſometime they die. When they mourne they ſpeak manie pittiful and dolorous words, & if he die at euening all night long they weep with a high voice, that it is a wonder they are not wearie. For theſe mournings they cal the Neighbours, & kinſmen, and if he be one of the principall, all the Towne doth meete to mourne, and in this they haue alſo their points of honour, and they curſe with plagues thoſe which weepe not, ſaying, that they ſhall not bee mourned for. After he is dead they waſh him and paint him verie brauely, as they paint their enemies: and after this they couer him with Cotton Yarne that nothing is ſeene of him, and put a couering ouer his face, and ſitting they put him in a great tinnage or veſſell that they haue vnder the Earth for that purpoſe, and doe couer it in ſuch manner that no Earth may come to him, and the veſſel they couer with earth, making him a houſe where euerie day they carrie him meat. For they ſay that when he is wearie with dancing he commeth thether to eate, and ſo they goe for a certaine time to bewaile him euerie day all his Kindred, with him they burie all his Iewels or Brooches, that none may ſee them and grieue thereat. But if the dead had any Peece, as a Sword, &c. that had beene giuen him, it returneth to him that gaue it, and hee taketh it againe whereſoeuer he findeth it; therefore they ſay that when one dieth he loſeth all the right of that which was giuen him. After the Coarſe is buried, the Kinſmen are in continuall weeping night and day, the one beginning as the other endeth, they eate not but by night, they hang their Nets neere to the roofes, and the women after twentie daies doe cut their haire, and this lamenting laſteth a whole Moone, the which being ended they make great Wines or Drinkings to put away their mourning. The men doe cut their haire, and the women doe paint themſelues with blacke, and theſe Ceremonies and others being ended, they beginne to communicate the one with the other, aſwell the men as the women. After their companions are dead, ſome neuer doe marrie againe not enter into the Feaſt of Wines, neither paint themſelues with blacke; but is verie ſeldome among them, becauſe they are much giuen to women, and cannot liue without them.

Of their burials.

Lamentations to be lamented.

Before they had any knowledge of the *Portugals* they vſed tooles and inſtruments of ſtone, bone, wood, Canes, and teeth of Beaſts, &c. and with theſe they hewed downe great Woods, with wedges of ſtones, helping themſelues with fire; and they digged alſo the ground with certaine ſharpe ſtakes, and they made their Brooches, Beades of Wilkes, Bowes, and Arrowes, as well as now hauing Inſtruments of Iron, but they ſpent a long time in making of whatſoeuer thing; wherefore they eſteeme the Iron verie much, for the facilitie or eaſe which they finde in making their things with it. And this is the reaſon wherefore they are glad of Commerce with the *Portugals* or white men.

Of the Inſtruments they do vſe.

The weapons of this people ordinarily are Bowes and Arrowes, and they boaſt themſelues of them, and they make them of verie good wood, and verie faire interlaid with Palme-tree of ſundrie colours, they die their ſtrings greene, or red, and they make their Arrowes verie faire, ſeeking for them the faireſt feathers they can find. They make theſe Arrowes of ſundrie Canes, and faſten in their points the teeth of beaſts, or certaine verie hard Ruſhes, or ſharpe ſtickes with many ſnagges, and many times they empoiſon them with herbes. Theſe Arrowes to ones ſight ſeeme a thing of mockerie, but are verie cruell Weapons, and pierce quilted breaſt-plates or curates; and ſtiking in a ſticke they cleaue it aſunder, and ſometimes happen to goe through a man and

Of the weapons they doe vſe.

Cruel arrowes

and sticke on the ground. They doe exercise themselues in these Weapons verie young, and are great Archers, and so certaine that no Bird can escape them be it neuer so little, or any vermine of the Woods; and there is no more but if they will shoot an Arrow through the eie of a bird or a man; or hit any other thing be it neuer so small, they doe it with great facilitie and with their owne safetie; and for this they are greatly feared. They are stout also and fierce, and dreadfull to others.

Cunning Archers.

They are as vermine of the Woods, for they goe a hunting into the Countrie naked and barefoot, without any feare. They haue a maruellous sight, for at a league off they see any thing, and in the same manner they heare. They guesse verie right ruling themselues by the Sunne, they go to all parts they list, 200. or 300. leagues through thicke Woods, and misse not one iot; they trauell much, and alwaies runnig a gallop, especially with some charges, no Horse is able to hold out with them. They are great fishers and swimmers, they feare no Sea nor waues, continue a day and a night swimming, and the same they doe rowing, and sometimes without meate. They vse also for Weapons Swords of wood, and interlay the ends of them with Palme-tree of sundrie colours and set Plumes on them of diuers colours, chiefly in their feasts and slaughters. And these Swords are verie cruell, for they make no wound, but bruise and breake a mans head without hauing any remedie of cure.

Their Arts.

Quick sighted.

Great Trauellers and swift.

Swords.

§. II.

Of their manner of killing and eating of humane flesh: and of their creating Gentlemen.

OF all the honours and pleasures of this life, none is so great for this people as to kill and get a name on the heads of their Aduersaries, neither are there among them any Feasts, comparable to those which they make at the death of those which they kill with great Ceremonies, which they doe in this manner. Those which beeing taken in the Warre are appointed to die, came presently from thence with a token, which is a small coard about his necke; and if hee bee a man that may runnne away, he hath one hand tied to his necke vnder his chinne. And before they come to the Townes that are by the way, they paint their eie-lids, eie-browes, and their beards, polling them after fashion, and enpluming them with Yellow feathers so well placed that yee can see no haire; which makes them so gallant as the *Spaniards* in their rich Apparell, and so they goe sharing their victorie whereby soeuer they passe. When they come to their owne Countrie, the women came out to receiue them, shewting altogether and striking themselues on the mouth which is a common entertainment among them; without any other vexation, or imprisonment, except that they weare about the necke a round collar like a coard of a good bignesse, as hard as a sticke. In this collar they beginne to weaue a great manie fathomes of small coard as long as a womans haire, fastened aboue with a certaine knot, and loose vnderneath, and so it goeth from eare to eare behind the backe, horrible to looke on. And if it be on the Frontier where hee may runne away, they put him in stead of shackels below the knees a string of threed twisted verie hard, which is too weake for any Knife; but that they haue Keepers that goe not one moment from him, whether he goe about the houses, to the Woods, or by the Fields; for he hath libertie for all this, and commonly the keeper is one that is giuen him for wife, and also for to dresse his meate, with the which if his Masters doe giue him no meate as the custome is, he taketh a Bow and Arrowes and shooteth at the first Henne he seeth, or at a Ducke be it whosesoeuer, and none doth contradict him, and so he waxeth fat, neither breaking therefore his sleepe, his laughter, or his pleasure as the rest, and some are as contented though they are to bee eaten, that in no wise they will consent to be ransomed for to serue; for they say that it is a wretched thing to die, and lie stinking, and eaten with Wormes. These women are commonly faithfull in their charge, for they receiue honour thereby, and therefore manie times they are young, and daughters of the chiefe, especially if their brothers are to be the slaiers. For those which haue not this interest manie times, affect them in such manner, that not onely they giue them leaue to runne away, but they also doe goe with them, neither haue the women any other punishment if they bee taken againe, then a few strokes, and sometimes they are eaten of those same to whom they gaue life.

Gentle cruell keeper.

The time when he shall die being determined, the women beginne to make vessels, that is, Bowles, Traies, and Pots for the Wines, so great that euerie one will hold a pipe. This being readie, as well the principall as the rest doe send their Messengers to inuite others from sundrie places against such a Moone about tenne or twelue leagues compasse or more, for the which none doth excuse himselfe. The guests doe come in *Mogotes* or troupes with their wiues and children, and all of them doe enter the Towne with Dancers; and all the time the people are a gathering together, there is Wine for the guests, for without it all the other entertainments are nothing worth. The people being assembled, the Feasts beginne some daies before according to the

Festiuall preparation and solemnitie.

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the number, and certaine ceremonies preceding, and euerie one laſteth a day. Firſt, they haue for this certaine coards of Cotton-wooll of a reaſonable bigneſſe, not twiſted but wouen of a verie faire worke, it is a thing among them of great eſteeme, and none hath them but ſome principall men, and according to their fineneſſe and workmanſhip, and their taking pleaſure, it is to be beleeued that they are not made in a yeere. Theſe are alwaies verie ſafely kept, and are carried to the place with great feaſt & great noiſe in certain traies where a Maſter of theſe things doth tie two knots within from that which one of the points do run in ſuch maner that in the midſt there remaineth a nooſe. Theſe knots are ſo fine that few are found that can make them, for ſome of them haue ten caſts about, fiue croſſing ouer the other fiue, as if one ſhould croſſe the fingers of the right hand ouer the left, & after they die them with the water of a white clay like lime, & let them drie.

On the ſecond day they bring a great number of burdens of wilde Canes or Reeds as long as Lances or more, and at night they ſet them on fire in a round heape, the points vpward leaning one to another, and ſo they make a great and faire high bone-fire, round about the which are men and women dancing with ſheaues of arrowes at their backe, but they goe very ſwiftly; for hee that is to die, which ſeeth them better then hee is ſeene becauſe of the fire, catcheth hold of all that he can, and catcheth them, and they beeing many hee miſſeth few times. At the third day they make a dance of men and women, all of them with pipes of Canes, and all of them at once doe ſtampe on the ground, now with one foot then with the other, all together without miſſing a ſtroke; and obſeruing the ſame meaſure they play on their pipes, and there is no other ſinging nor ſpeaking; they being many and the Canes ſome bigger and ſome ſmaller, beſides the reſounding in the Woods, they make a Hel-ſeeming harmonie, but they abide it as if it were the ſweeteſt Muſicke in the World. And theſe are their feaſts, beſides others which they intermingle with many graces and ſoothſayings. Black Saints.

On the fourth day, they carrie the captiued enemie as ſoone as the day breakes to waſh him at a Riuer, and they while the time that when they doe returne it may be broad day light, comming into the Towne, the Priſoner goeth preſently with a watchfull eye, for hee knoweth not out of what houſe or doore a valiant man is to come out to him, that is to catch hold of him behind. For as all their happineſſe doth conſiſt in dying valiantly, and the ceremonie that followeth, is now the neereſt vnto death, as he which is to lay hold of him, doth ſhew his forces in ouer-comming him himſelfe alone without any other helpe, ſo he will ſhew courage and force in reſiſting him: and ſometimes he doth it in ſuch ſort, that the firſt ſtanding aſide as wearied in wreſtling, another ſucceedeth him which holds himſelfe for a valianter-man, the which ſometimes remaine well beduſted, & more they would remaine if at this time the captiue had not his cord or ſhakels. First encounters.

This wreſtling being ended, he on foot blowing and puffing with rage and wearineſſe, with the other that hold him faſt, there commeth forth a troope of Nymphes which doe bring a great new painted bowle, and in it the cords rolled vp, and very white, and this preſent being ſet at the feet of the captiue, a cunning old woman in theſe matters, and Miſtris of the troope beginneth to tune a Song, whom the other doe helpe, the Dittie is according to the ceremonie. And while they ſing, the men take the cords and the nooze being put about his necke, they giue it another knot neere to the other great ones, that it may not loſe againe; and hauing made of euery end a coyle, they put them on the arme of the woman which alwaies goeth after him with this weight, and if the weight be great becauſe the cords are great and long, they giue her another to carrie one of the coyles, and if he before was terrible with the coller, he is more now with thoſe two knots ſo bigge behind about his necke, and therefore one of the verſes of the Song ſaith, *Wee are thoſe that make the necke of the bird to ſtretch*, although after other ceremonies, they ſay to him in another foote, *If thou hadſt beene a Parrot annoying vs, thou wouldeſt haue fled.* The womens parts.

At this time the veſſels of wine are ſet in a rowe, in the middeſt of a great houſe, and the houſe (hauing no partitions though it bee of twentie or thirtie fathome in length) it is full of people; and when they begin to drinke it is a Labyrinth, or a Hell to ſee and heare them. For thoſe which dance and ſing doe continue with great feruentneſſe all the daies and nights that the wines doe laſt. For this being the proper feaſt of the ſlaughters, in the drinking of the wines are many particularities, which laſt long, and they make water at euery ſtop; and ſo they continue day and night; they ſing, dance, drinke, and ſpeake telling in whoopes through all the houſe of warres, and acts that they did; and as euery one will be heard in his Hiſtorie, euery one doth ſpeake ſtriuing to bee lowdeſt, beſide other noiſes, without any intermiſſion, no not a quarter of an houre. Their ſongs, &c.

That morning in which they begin to drinke, they paine the captiue by a particular way that they haue for that deſigne, in this ſort, his face being cleane, and all the feathers he hath brought forth, they anoint him with the Milke of a certaine tree that cleaueth very faſt, and they caſt vpon it the powder of certaine egge-ſhels of a certaine wilde bird, and vpon this they paint him with black very faire pictures, and all his bodie to the ſole of his foote, and ſticke him all with feathers which they haue alreadie cut for that purpoſe and died redde, and that maketh him to ſeeme halfe as bigge againe, and touching his face it maketh it ſeeme as much greater, and the eies ſo much the ſmaller, that he remaineth an horrible viſage. And in the ſame manner that they haue painted his face, they adorn the Sword which is of wood, in manner of a Ferula or Palmer, Adorning of the Captiue.

but that the head is not so round, but almost three square, and the sides doe almost end in an edge, and the shaft of it which may bee of seuen or eight spans is not altogether round. It hath at the head about foure fingers broad, and commeth still narrowing vnto the end where it hath certaine pendants, or little bels of diuers coloured feathers, it is a gallant thing and of great esteeme among them, they call it *Iugapenambin*, that is, *eares of the Sword*. The last day of the wines they make in the midst of the place cabins of Palme-boughs, as many as they are that shall die, and in that they lodge, without entring any more, any house, and all the day and the night hee is well serued with feasts more then with meate, for they giue him no other foode but a fruite that hath the sauour of Nuts, that the next day he may not haue much bloud.

The fatall Sword.

Crocodiles teares.

The fifth day in the morning at seuen of the clocke, little more or lesse his woman doth there leaue him, and goeth home very sad, and speaking for her farewell some pittifull wordes at the least fainedly. Then they take away his shackels, and passe the cords from his neck to the waste, and standing at the doore of him that must kill him, the slaughterer commeth forth in a dance, as white as a Doue, painted with white earth, in a garment which they call a cloke of feathers tied about the breast, vpward like the wings of an Angell, so dancing he goeth round about the place, and commeth making very strange countenances with his eies and bodie, and with his hands he counterfeiteth the Kite that desireth flesh, and with this Deuillishnesse hee commeth to the wretch, which stands with the coard stretched, on both sides hauing one that holdeth him: and the poore wretch if he find wherewith to throw at him, hee doth it with a good will, and many times they giue him wherewith, for many valiant men doe come out to him, so nimble in winding their bodie that he cannot hit them. This being ended there commeth an honorable Iudge, or tickler of the new Knight that shall bee, and taking the Sword passeth it many times betweene his legges, putting it now on the one side, now on the other, euen in the same manner that the Pipers dogs doe passe betweene their legges, and after taking it by the midst with both hands he pointeth as with a thrust to the eies of the man which is to die; and this being done he turneth the head of it vpward in the same manner that he is to vse it, and putteth it in the hands of the slaughterer, as apt and fit already with those blessings for to doe his office; they place themselues somewhat to the left side, in such sort that he may hit him with the edge of his Sword in the nape of the necke, for he striketh at another place.

Hallowing the Sword.

And their brutishnesse is so much, that because they feare no other euill but that which is present, they are as resolute as if it were nothing, as well for to speake, as for to try their courage, for after they take their leaue of life, saying, *In a good houre, let me die seeing many are dead, and that besides this his brethren and kinsmen remaine here to reuenge them*. And with this the one makes him readie to discharge, and the other to auoid his bodie; which is all the honour of his death. And they are so nimble in this that many times it is high daies before they are able to kill them, for when he sees the weapon in the aire, sometimes hee drawes his head aside, sometime hee declines his bodie; and in this they are so doughtie, that if those that hold the points of the coards doe gird him hard (as they doe when the slaughterer is slow or weake) hee puls so hard that hee brings them to him, and makes them to slacken in despight, hauing one eie on them another on the Sword, without any standing still: and as the killer may not deceiue them with an offer, and not strike vnder paine of receiuing a fillip, they doe foresee their stroke in such sort that come it neuer so low in a trise they stoope, and lie so flat that it is a wonder to see; and no lesse is the taking of the Sword, holding the arme in such sort that doing him no hurt, they pul it downe iointly with themselues, and they put it vnder the arme pulling by the killer; wherein if they did not helpe the other would dispatch him; for they haue in this action so many sooth-sayings that for to kill a child of fiue yeere old, they goe so prepared as for to kill some Giant. And with these helpes and incouragements so many times hee striketh till hee hitteth and that is enough, for assoone as he is downe he giueth him so many blowes till he batters his head (though one man was seene that had it so hard that they could neuer breake it, for as they goe bare-head, they haue them so hard that ours in comparison of theirs are like a Pompion, and when they will injustie any *White man*, they call him *soft-head.*)

Butchery rites.

Block-head.

If this which they kill falleth on his backe, and not on his belly they hold it for an euill lucke and prognostication that the killer shall die, and although he falleth vpon his belly, they haue many ceremonies, which if they be not kept they hold that the killer cannot liue, and many of them are so painfull that if any one did suffer their troubles for Gods sake, they would bee accounted meritorious, as hereafter shall be said. The poore wretch beeing dead they carrie him to a bone-fire that they haue readie for the same, and bringing the bodie neere the fire, touching him with the hand, flay off a skinne somewhat thicker then the rinde of an Onion, till he remaineth cleaner and whiter then a scalded Pig. Then it is deliuered to the Butcher which maketh a hole beneath the stomacke according to their vse, whereby the children first do put in their hands, and pull by the guts vntill the Butcher cutteth where hee listeth, and that which remaineth in the hand of euerie one is his part, and the rest is diuided among the Commons; except some principal pieces which for great honour are giuen to the guests that are the most principall, which they doe carrie well rosted, so that it may not corrupt, and with them afterward in their countries they make new Feasts and drinkings of wine.

The

The killer hauing ended his office, taking of the cloke of feather, and leauing the Sword hee goeth home, where at the doore the same iudge or stickler that was before with a shooting bow in his hand, that is, one of the points on the lower threshold, the other at the vpper, and pulling by the string as though he would shoote, the killer passeth betweene him so cunningly that hee toucheth in nothing. Assoone as he is passed the other loseth the string making shew that it grieues him to haue missed him whom he shot at, as though this hath vertue to make him swift afterward in the warre, and the enemies to misse him. When he is within he beginnes to runne through all the houses, and the Sisters and Cousins in the same manner before him, saying my Brother is called *N.* repeating it through all the Townes, and if the Gentleman hath any good thing he that goeth takes it from him till they leaue him nothing. This being ended they cast on the ground certaine legges of a certaine Tree, called *Pslan.* Vpon the which hee stands all that day with so much silence as if he had some astonishment in him, and carrying to present thither the head of the dead, they pull out one of his eies, and with the strings and sinewes of it they anoint his pulses, and cutting of his mouth whole, they put it on his arme as a Bracelet, and then he layeth him downe in his Net as a sicke man, and certainly hee is sicke for feare, that if he doe not accomplish the Rites perfectly, the soule of the dead will kill him. Ceremonies of making a new Gentleman.

Within a few daies they giue him the habit, not in the breast of the Coat which he hath not, but on his owne skin race him all ouer the bodie with the tooth of a *Cutia*, that is like a Conies tooth, the which as well for their little skill, as because they haue a hard skinne it seemes, that they teare a piece of Parchment, and if he be valiant, they doe not race him with right strokes but a Crosse in sort that there remaine certaine very fine workes, and some doe cry and groane with the paine. This being ended they haue smal Cole finely grownd, and the iuice of *Broamerape* wherewith they rub the cuts ouerthwart, that the put him to great paine and swelling, which is yet a greater torment, while his wounds doe close, which continue some daies, he lyeth still in his Net without speaking any word, nor asking any thing, and that he may not break his silence, he hath neere him water, flowre, and a certaine fruit like Almonds which they call *Amendoins*, for he tasteth neither fish nor flesh those daies. Markes and habit of new Gentrie.

After he is whole, many daies or moneths being passed, they make a great drinking of wines that hee may put off his mourning, and cut his haire which vntill then he did not, then hee anoints himselfe with blacke, and from thence forward hee remaines enabled to kill without any painfull ceremonie being done to him, and he also sheweth himselfe honoured and contented, and with a certaine disdaine, as one that hath honour alreadie, and gets it not a new. And so he doth no more but giue the other a couple of blowes, although the head remaine whole, and he stirring he goeth home, and presently they come and cut off his head. And the Mothers with their children about their necke, come to congratulate him, and hansell him for the warre, staining his armes with that bloud. These bee the exploits, honours and vallour whence this people take their names, whereof they boast very much, and they remaine thence forward *Abaetes, Murubixaba, Moçacara*, which are the names and titles of Gentlemen. And these are the vnhappie Feasts whereon these wretches doe ground their felicitie and glorie, before they haue any knowledge of their Creator. Titles of Honour.

§. III.

Of the diuersitie of Nations and Languages, and of the Soyle and Climate.

IN all this Prouince are many and sundrie Nations of diuers Languages, but one is the principall which comprehendeth some ten Nations of *Indians*. These liue on the Sea Coast, and in a great part of the Land, all of one Speech, though they differ in some words. This is that which the *Portugals* doe vnderstand, it is easie, eloquent, pleasant, and copious; the difficultie of it is in hauing many comparisons, but of the *Portugals* almost all those that came from the Kingdome; and are seated here, and doe communicate with the *Indians* do know it in a short time, and the children of the *Portugals* borne here doe speake it better then the *Portugall*, as well men as women, chiefly in the Captainship of Saint *Vincent*, and with these ten Nations of *Indians* haue the Fathers communication, because they know their Language, and they more tame and well inclined. These were, and are the ancient friends of the *Portugals*, with whose helpe and armes they conquered this Countrie, fighting against their owne kindred, and diuers other Nations very barbarous, and those of this generation were so many that it seemed an impossible thing to extinguish them, but the *Portugals* haue made such haste that they are almost dead, and they vse such meanes that they disinhabit the Coast, and flie the Land inward, some three hundred, some foure hundred. See before in M. *Knivet.* *Portugals* vse of *Sauages.*

The first of this Language are called *Pitiguaras* Lords of *Paraiba*, thirtie leagues from *Pernambuco*, and haue the best Brasill woode, and are great friends to the *Frenchmen*, and did contract with them vntill now, marrying their Daughters with them, but now in the yeere 1584. *Paraiba* was taken by *Iames Flores* his Maiesties Generall, driuing out *Pitiguaras.*

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the *Frenchmen*; and he left a Fortreſſe with 100. Souldiers, beſides the *Portugals* which alſo haue their Captaine and Gouernour one *Fructuoſo Barboſa*, that with the principall men of *Pernambuco* carried an Armie by Land wherewith he ouercame the enemies, for from the Sea thoſe of the Armada fought not.

Viatan a people eaten out by the *Portugals.*

Neere vnto theſe liued a great multitude of people which they call *Viatan*, of theſe there are are none alreadie, for they being friends with the *Pitaguaras*, and Kindred, the *Portugals* made them enemies among themſelues, giuing them to be eaten, that by this meanes they might warre againſt them and hold them for ſlaues; and finally, hauing a great dearth, the *Portugals* in ſtead of releeuing them, tooke them Captiues, and did ſend ſhip-loades to bee ſold in other places. There was ioyned with this a Magician *Portugall* Prieſt, that with his deceits conueighed them all to *Pernambuco*, and ſo ended this Nation. The *Portugals* remained without Neighbours to defend them from the *Pstiguaras*, which vntill now that they were ouercome, perſecuted the *Portugals* ſetting on a ſudden vpon their Corne, Goods, and Sugar-mils, burning, and killing many of the *Portugals*, becauſe they are verie warlike, but now by the goodneſſe of God they are freed from this incumbrance.

Tupinabs.

Others there be that they call *Tupinaba*, theſe inhabit from the *Riuer Royall* till ye come neere the *Illeos*, theſe were alſo among themſelues contrarie, thoſe of the Bay with them of *Camamu*, and *Intrare*. Along the *Riuer of Saint Francis* dwelt another Nation called *Caaete*; and among theſe were alſo contrarieties with them of *Pernambuco*.

Caaete.

Tupinaquin.

From *Illeos*, or the *Iuſtle Ilands*, and Port *Seguro*, vnto the *Holy Ghoſt* inhabited another Nation called *Tupinaquin*; theſe proceeded from thoſe of *Pernambuco*, and ſcattered themſelues in a Countrie of the Maine, multiplying exceedingly, but now they are but few. Theſe were alwaies great enemies of the things of God, hardened in their errours, verie reuengefull, and would reuenge themſelues as ſoone as they ſee their enemies, and louers of many women: of theſe alreadie are many *Chriſtians*, and they are firme in the faith.

There is another Nation a kinne to theſe, which runneth off the Maine from Saint *Vincent* to *Pernambuco*, called *Tupiguae*, theſe were without number, they doe diminiſh, for the *Portugals* doe goe to ſeeke them to ſerue themſelues with them, and thoſe which eſcape doe flee verie farre off that they may not be ſlaues: There is another Nation Neighbour to this called *Apigapigtanga*, and *Muriapigtanga*. There is alſo another Nation contrarie to the *Tupinaquins* which are called *Guaracayo*, or *Itati*.

Timimino. Tamuya.

Another Nation dwelleth in the *Holy Ghoſt*, called *Timimino*, they were contrarie to the *Tupinaquins*, but they are now verie few. Another Nation which is called *Tamuya* inhabitors of the Riuer of *Ianuarie*, theſe the *Portugals* deſtroyed when they inhabited the Riuer, and of them there be verie few, and ſome that are in the Maine are called *Ararape*, another Nation inhabiteth beyond Saint *Vincent*, about eightie leagues, enemies of the *Tupinaquins* of Saint *Vincent*, of theſe there are infinite multitudes, and doe runne along the Sea Coaſt and in the Maine, vnto the *Paraguai* which the *Caſtilians* doe inhabite, all theſe Nations aboueſaid, though different, and many of them enemies one to another, they haue the Language, and their conuerſion is in hand, and they haue a great reſpect to the Fathers of the company of *Ieſus*, and in the Maine they ſigh for them, and call them *Abare*, and Father, deſiring they would come to their Countries and conuert them; and ſuch is their reputation that ſome *Portugals* of badde conſciences doe faine themſelues Fathers, apparelling themſelues in Gownes, ſhauing their crownes, and telling them they are *Abares*, and that they came to ſeeke them for the Churches of the Fathers which are theirs aſwell as ours. Thus they ſeduce them, and aſſoone as they come to the Sea, they diuide them among themſelues, ſell, and marke them, making firſt a great ſlaughter of them in the Countrie, robberies and aſſaults, taking away their Daughters and their Wiues, &c. And if it were not for theſe and other like hinderances, all thoſe of this Language had beene conuerted to our holy Faith.

Ararape.

Vnchriſtian impietie of ſome *Portugals*

Seuentie ſix Nations of *Tapuya.*

There be other contrarie Nations enemies to theſe of diuers Languages, which in a generall name are called *Tapuya*, and they are contrarie alſo among themſelues. In the Maine firſt neighbouring to the *Tupinaquins* inhabit the *Guaimures*, and they occupie ſome eightie leagues of Coaſt and toward the Mayne all that they liſt. They are Lords of the wild Woods, very great bodied, and by the continuance and cuſtome of going through the Woods, they haue their skinnes very hard, and for this effect, they beate their children being young, with certaine Thiſtles to accuſtome them to goe in the wilde Woods.

See of theſe Maſter *Knuet* which liued with them.

* A roote ſo called.

They haue no Husbandrie, they liue by rapine, and by the point of the Arrow; they eate the * *Mandioca* raw and it doth them no hurt, they runne verie ſwiftly, and to the *White men* they come not but on a ſudden. They vſe verie great Bowes; they carrie certaine ſtones made a purpoſe verie bigge that whereſoeuer they hit, they may preſently breake the heads in pieces. And when they come to fight, they hide themſelues vnder ſhrubs, and from thence they play their part, & they are greatly feared, & there is no power in the world that is able to ouercome them.

Cowards and cruell.

They are great cowards in the fields and dare not come forth, neither paſſe they any waters, vſe any ſhipping, nor are giuen to fiſhing, all their liuing is from the woods. They are cruel as Lions, when

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when they take any enemies they cut off his flesh with a Reed whereof they make their Arrowes, and flea them that they leaue them no more but the bones and the guts; if they take any child & are followed, that they may not take it away aliue, they strike off his head against a post. They disbowell the women with child to eate their children roasted. These annoy the Port *Secure* verie much, the little Ilands, and *Camamú*, and these Countries goes to decay because of them; their speech cannot be vnderstood.

Besides these towards the Maine and the fields of *Caatinga*, doe liue many Nations of *Tapuyas*, which are called *Tucanucu*, these liue in the Maine of the great Riuer, opposite to Port *Secure*, they haue another Language. Others doe liue in the Maine before yee come to *Aquitigpe*, and are calle *Nacij*. Others which they call *Oquigtâiuba*, others which are called *Pabi*; these weare course Cotton-clothes, wouen like a Net, with this they couer themselues as with a sacke, they haue no sleeues, they haue a different speech. In the *Ari* are others which also liue in the field going toward *Aquitigpe*. Others which are called *Larabio*, it is a great people, of a different speech. Others which are called *Mandein*: also of another speech, others called *Macutu*, others *Napara*, these haue husbandrie. Others called *Cuxare*, these liue in the middest of the field of the Maine, others which liue in the same field, that are called *Nubinu*, others doe liue toward the Maine of the Bay which is called *Guayana*, they haue a speech by themselues, other there about called *Taicuiu*, these dwell in houses, they haue another speech, others in the same Countrie called *Carin*, of a different tongue. These three Nations, and their Neighbours are friends of the *Portugals*, others which they call *Pigru*, they dwell in houses, others which are called *Oburuatiara*, these liue in Ilands in the Riuer of Saint *Francis*, they haue Houses like vnto Caues vnder the Earth. These when the enemies come against them flie to the water, and by diuing escape; they continue long vnder water, they haue great Arrowes like halfe Darts, without Bowes, and with them they fight; they are verie valiant, they eate humane flesh, they haue a different tongue.

Tucanucu and other Nations many.

Caue-houses.

Others there are that liue farre within the Maine are called *Anbelim*, they haue another Language; others that liue in Houses called *Aracuaiati*, they haue another Speech; others called *Caiuari*, they liue in Caues. Others called *Guaianaguacu*, they dwell in Caues and haue another Speech; others farre within the Maine called *Camucuiara*; these haue paps that reach vnder their waste, and neere to their knees, and when they runne they binde them about their waste; they are neuertheleſſe great Warriours, eate mens flesh, and haue another Speech: Others which they call *Iobiara Apuayara*, *Lords of sharpe Staues*, for they fight with tosted staues and sharpe, they are valiant, and eate humane flesh, they haue another Speech. Others called *Aunacuig*, they dwell in Houses, they haue another Speech, but they vnderstand themselues with these aboue said their Neighbours. Others they call *Guaiacatu*, and *Guaiatuú*, these haue another Speech and dwell in Houses. Others called *Campebe*, these eate no humane flesh, when they kill the enemie, they cut off the head and carrie it for a shew, they haue no Houses, and are like Gipsies. Others called *Guayo*, dwell in Houses, they fight with venomed Arrowes, they eat humane flesh, they haue another Speech. Others called *Cicu*, haue the same Speech and customes of them aboue said. Others called *Pabain*, eate humane flesh, and haue another Speech. Others called *Iaicuiu*, haue the same Speech that these aboue. Others called *Tupijo*, dwell in Houses, haue Husbandrie, and another Speech. Others called *Maracaguacu*, are Neighbours to these aboue, and haue the same Speech. Others called *Iacurmin*, vse Husbandrie, dwell in Houses, and haue another Speech. Others called *Tapecuiu*, are Neighbours of these aboue, and haue the same speech. Others called *Anacuiu*, haue the same Speech and customes that those aboue, and all of them doe fight with venomed Arrowes. Others called *Piracuiu*, haue the same Speech that those aboue, and venomed Arrowes.

Great Paps.

Anbelim, &c.

Campebe Sauages not Caniball

Others called *Taraguaig*, haue another Speech, they fight with venomed Arrowes. Others called *Pabacuiu*, can speake the Language of them aboue said. Others called *Tipi*, are of the field, and fight with venomed Arrowes. Others called *Guacaraiara*, haue another Speech, and haue Husbandries, and dwell in Houses. Others Neighbours to these aboue called *Camaragoa*. Others called *Curupija*, were enemies of the *Tupinaquis*. Others called *Aquirino*, haue another Speech. Others called *Piraguayg Aquig*, liue vnder the Rockes, are enemies to these aboue. Others called *Pinacuiu* Others called *Parapoto*, these can speake the Speech of them of the Coast. Others called *Caraemba*, haue another Speech. Others called *Caracuiu*, haue another Speech. Others called *Maimuna*, these joine themselues with the *Guaimures* enemies to them of the Coast, they vnderstand themselues with the *Guaimures*, but they haue another Speech. Others called *Aturari*, enter also in communication with the *Guaimures*, others called *Cuigtaio*, doe also communicate and enter with the *Guaimures*. Others called *Cuigpe*, these were the Inhabitors of Port *Secure*. Others called *Guigraimbe*, are friends with them aboue. Others called *Augarari*, these dwell not farre from the Sea, betweene Port *Secure*, and the *Holy Ghost*. Others called *Amixocori*, are friends with the former. Others called *Caraia*, doe liue in the Maine toward Saint *Vincent*, and went flying from the North thither, they haue another Speech. Others called *Apetuna*, liue in the Maine toward *Aquitipi*. Others called *Caraguatijara*, haue another

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Speech. Others called *Aquiguira*, these doe conuerse with the former. Another Nation liueth in the Maine, enemies to the *Muriapigtanga*, and of the *Tarape*, it is a Dwarfish people, low of bodie, but bigge legged and backed, the *Portugals* call these *Pigmes*, and the *Indians* call them *Tapigniri*, because they are little. Others called *Quiricignig*, these doe liue in the Maine of the Bay, verie farre. Others called *Guirig*, these are great Horsemen, and friends of the former. Others called *Gnaiera*, doe liue in the Maine of Port *Secure*, verie farre off. Others called *Aimaguig*, these were Inhabitors of the Countries of the *Tupinaquins*, and because the *Tupinaquins* remained Lords of the Mountaines, they are called *Tupinaquins*.

Gnaitaca. Others called *Gnaitaca*, doe liue in the Sea Coast betweene the *Holy Ghost*, and the *River of Iannarie*, they liue in the fields, and will not liue in the Woods, they goe to earo to their Husbandries, and come to the houses to bed, they haue no other treasures. They liue as the cattell that feedeth in the fields, and come not to the Houses but to sleepe, they are so swift in running that by footmanship they catch the game. Others called *Igbigranapan*, are enemies to the *Tupinaquins*, they communicate with the *Guaimures*, when they fight with their enemies, they make great noises striking with certaine stickes vpon others. Others called *Quirigma*, these were Lords of the Countries of the Bay, and therefore it is called the Bay *Quirimure*. The *Tupinabas* did expell them out of their Countries, and remained Lords of them, and the *Tapuyas* went toward the South. Others called *Maribuco*, in habit in the Maine right against the great *River*. Others called *Catagua*, doe liue right against *Iequeriquare*, betweene the *Holy Ghost* and Port *Secure*. Others called *Tapuxerig*, are enemies of the *Tapuyas*, and eate vp their Cornefields. Others that dwell about the Maine that goeth toward Saint *Vincent*, are called *Amoacaw*, and were enemies of the *Tupinaquins*. Others called *Nonoa*, haue verie great faces. Others called *Apay*, dwell neere the field of the Maine, they are great singers, and haue another Speech. Others called *Panaguiri*, differing from the former. Others also differing called *Bigrergja*. Others called *Piriju*, there are a great number of these.

Beast in humane shape.

All these seuentie sixe Nations of *Tapuyas*, which haue the most of them a sundry Language, are a wilde sauage and vntamed people; they are all for the most part enemies of the people that dwell in the Sea Coast neighbouring to the *Portugals*: onely a certaine kind of *Tapuyas*, that liue in the Riuer of Saint *Francis*, and others that dwell nearer are friends of the *Portugals*, and entertaine them verie well when they passe through their Countries. Of these many are *Christians*, that were brought by the Fathers from the Maine, and learning the Speech of them of the Sea Coast which the Fathers can speake, they baptized them, and many of them doe liue in the Townes of the Fathers married, and serue them for Interpreters, for the remedie of so great a number of people as is lost; and onely with these *Tapuyas*, may some fruit bee gotten, with the rest of the *Tapuyas* no conuersion can be wrought because of their mutabilitie, and the hauing manie and sundrie very hard Languages. Onely there remaineth one remedie, if the Lord God doe not discouer another, and it is; getting some of their children, and making them to learne the Speech of the rest, and seruing for Interpreters may some fruit be gotten, though with great difficultie, for the Reasons abouesaid, and manie other.

Of the Climate & Countrie of Brasil, & of some notable things found there, as well one the Land as one the Sea.

The Climate of *Brasil* generally is temperate, of good, delicate, and healthfull aire, where the men liue lon euen to 90. 100. and more yeeres, and the Countrie is full of old men. Generally it is neither cold nor hot, though from the Riuer of *Ianuarie*, vnto Saint *Vincent*, there be colds and heates, but not very great. The Heauens are very pure and cleere, especially by night; the Moone is very preiudiciall vnto health, and corrupteth the things very much. The mornings are verie healthfull: it hath verie little twylights, as well in the morning as in the euenings, for as soone as it is day presently the Sun riseth, and as soone as it is set, it is night, Their Winter beginneth in March, and endeth in August, the Summer beginneth in September, and endeth in Februarie, the nights and daies are all the yeere almost equall.

The Countrie is somewhat melancholicke, ouerflowne with many waters, as wel of maine Riuers, as from the Skie; in it is great store of raine chiefly in Winter, it is ful of great Woods that are greene all the yeere. It is a Hilly Countrie, especially toward the Sea Coast, and from *Pernambuco* vnto the Captaineship of the *Holy Ghost*, is verie scarce of stone; but from thence to Saint *Vincent* are verie rough and high Mountaines, of great Quarries of Rockie stone, the food and waters are generally healthfull, light, and of easie digestion. There are few Commodities for apparell, because the Countrie yeeldeth nothing but Cotton-wooll, and of the rest the Countrie is plentifull: especially of Cattell and Sugars.

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§. IIII.

Of the Beasts, Land-serpents, Fowles.

THe Deere in the *Brasilian* tongue is called *Guaza*: there are some very great, like faire Horses, they are well headed, and some haue ten or twelue snags; these are rare, and they are found in the Riuer of Saint *Francis*, and in the Captainship of Saint *Vincent*. These are called, *Guazuapara*, they are esteemed of the *Canibes*, who of the shankes and snowes make the points of their Arrowes, and certaine throwing Balls which they vse for to strike downe beasts and men. There bee other smaller, they haue hornes also, but they are onely of one point: besides these there are three or foure kindes, some that feede onely in the Woods, others onely in the plaine fields in heards. They make great account of the skinnes, and of the flesh.

The *Tapyrete* are the *Elkes*, of whose skinne the leather Targets are made, they are like Kine, much more like a Mule, the tayle is of a finger length, they haue no hornes, they haue a snout of a quarter long, which he shrinketh vp and putteth forth. They swimme and diue very much, but when they diue they take ground presently vnder water, and going on it they come out in another place, there are great store of them in this Countrie.

There are great store of wilde Boares, and it is the ordinary food of the *Indians* of this Countrie, they haue the nauell on their backe, and out of it there commeth a sent like the sent of little Foxes, and by that sent the Dogs doe hunt them, and they are easily taken. The wilde Boare, 3. kinds and more.

There are others called *Tayassuirica*, that is to say, *a Boare that snappeth or grindeth his teeth*, these are bigger then the common, and more rase, and with their tushes they goare all the beasts they meete.

Others are called *Tayacupeba*, that is, *a Boare that standeth still and teareth*; these doe assault the Dogs, and the men: and if they catch them they eate them; they are are so fierce, that men are forced to take the trees to escape them, and some doe stay at the foot of the trees some dayes till the man doe come downe; and because they know this tricke of theirs, they goe presently to the trees with their Bowes and Arrowes, and from thence they kill them. There bee also other kinde of Boares, all good meate.

The *Acutis* are like the Conies of *Spaine*, chiefely in their teeth: the colour is dunne, and draweth toward yellow: they are domesticall creatures, so that they goe about the house, and goe out and come in againe to it, they take with their fore-feet all that they eate, and so they carrie it to the mouth, and they eate very fast, and hide that which they leaue against they be an hungred. Of these there are many kindes, and all are eaten. *Acutis.*

The *Pacas* are like Pigs, there are great abundance of them; the flesh is pleasant, but it is heauie. They neuer bring forth but one at once. There bee others very white; these bee rare, they are found in the Riuer of Saint *Francis*. *Pacas.*

There are many Ounces, some blacke, some grey, some speckled, it a very cruell beast, and fierce, they assault men exceedinly, that euen on the trees they cannot escape them, especially if they be bigge. When they are flesht there is none that dare abide them, especially by night: they kill many beasts at once; they spoile a whole Hen-house, or a heard of Swine, and to open a man, or whatsoeuer beast, it sufficeth to hit him with one of his clawes. But the *Indians* are so hardie, that some of them dare close with one of them, and holdeth it fast, and kills it in a field, as they doe their enemies, getting a name, and vsing all the ceremonies they doe to their enemies. They vse the heads for Trumpets, and the *Portugall* women vse the skinnes for Rugs or Couerlets, especially of the painted ones, and in the Captainship of Saint *Vincent*. *Lagoarete.* M. *Knimet* calls them Tigres. Bold vain-glorious *Indians.*

The *Carigue* are like the Foxes of *Spaine*, but they are smaller, as bigge as a Cat, they smell worse then the Foxes of *Spaine* themselues, and they are grey as they. They haue a bag from the fore to the hinder feet, with sixe or seuen dugs, and there they carrie their young ones hidden till they can get their owne food, and hath ordinarily sixe or seuen in a litter. This vermine destroyeth the Hens, for it goeth not by day but by night, and climes the trees and the houses, and no Bird or Hen can escape them. *Carigue.*

The *Tamandua* is of notable admiration, it is of the bignesse of a great Dog, more round then long, and the tayle is twice or thrice as long as the bodie, and so full of haire, that from the heate, raine, cold and winde, hee harboureth himselfe all vnder it, that yee can see nothing of him. The head is small, and hath a thinne snout, no greater mouth then an oyle Cruze, round and not open, the tongue is of three quarters long, and with it he licketh vp the Ants, whereof he onely feeds; hee is diligent in seeking of the Ant-heapes, and with the clawes hee breaketh them, and casting out his tongue the Ants sticke on it, and so he drawes them in, hauing no more mouth then to hold his tongue full of them; it is of a great fiercenesse, and doth assault many people and beasts. The Ounces doe feare them, and the Dogs exceedingly, and whatsoeuer they catch, they teare with their clawes; they are not eaten, neither are they good for Ant Beare, or *Tamandua*, a strange-shaped beast.

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any thing but to destroy the Ant-heapes, and they are so many that they will neuer bee destroyed altogether.

Tatu, or *Armadillo*. The *Badas* are the Rhinocerots.

The *Tatu* is of the bignesse of a Pigge, and of a whitish colour, it hath a very long snout, and the body full of thing like plates, wherewith he remayneth armed, and it hath certaine pieces hanging downe as the *Badas* haue. These plates are so hard, that no Arrow can pierce them, except it hit him in the flankes: they digge so fast, that it hath chanced seuen and twentie men with Mattockes not to bee able to digge so much as one of these with their snout. But if they cast water in their holes they are presently taken: it is a creature worth the seeing, and they call it an *armed Horse*, the flesh is like Hennes flesh, or Pigge, very pleasant, of the skinne they make Purses, and they are very faire, and lasting, they are made tame, and are bred in the house. Of these there be many kindes, and there are great abundance of them.

Canduacu, or Porcupine: diuers kinds.

The *Canduacu* is the Porcupine of *Africa*, and hath bristles white and blacke, so great, that they are af a spanne and a halfe, and more, and they cast them like as those of *Africa*. There be other of these, called *Canduamiri*, because they are smaller; and they haue bristles as the other. There be other smaller, of the bignesse of a Cat, with yellow bristles and blacke at the points. All these bristles haue this qualitie, that entring into the flesh, bee it neuer so little, of it selfe it pierceth through the flesh. And for this cause these bristles doe serue the *Indians* for an instrument to bore the eares, for putting neuer so little in them in one night it pierceth them through. There be other smaller like Vrchins or Hedge-hogs, they haue also bristles, but they cast them not, all these beasts are of a good flesh and taste.

Hirara or Ciuet Cats.

The *Hirara* is like the Ciuet Cat, though some say it is not; they are of many colours, *viz.* grey, blacke, and white, they eate nothing but hunnie, and in this they are so terrible, that bee the hole of the Bee-hiue neuer so little they make it so bigge that they may goe in, and when they finde the Hunnie they neuer eate it, till they haue called the rest of the young ones, and and then the old one going in, he doth nothing but bring out the Hunnie, and giue it to the yong ones, a thing of great admiration, and an example of great charitie for men, and that this is so the men of the Countrie doe affirme.

Aquiqui, Apes or Monkies. Ape-king.

The *Aquiqui* are very great Apes, as bigge as a good Dog, blacke, and very ougly, as well the male as the female; they haue a great beard onely in the lower chap: of these come sometimes a male one so yellow that it draweth toward red, which they say is their King. This hath a white face, and the beard from eare to eare, as cut with the Scissers, and it hath one thing much

His Oration.

to be noted, namely, that he goeth into a tree, and maketh so great a noise that it is heard very farre off, in the which he continueth a great while without ceasing, and for this, this kind hath a particular instrument: and the instrument is a certaine hollow thing, as it were made of Parchment, very strong, and so smooth, that it serueth to burnish withall, as big as a Duckes Egge, and beginneth from the beginning of the gullet, rill very neere the palate of the mouth between both the cheekes, and it is so light that assoone as it is toucht it moueth as the key of a Virginals.

His Page.

And when this Ape is thus crying he fometh much, and one of the little ones that is to remaine in his place doth cleanse many times the fome from his beard.

Many kindes of Monkies.

There are others of many kindes, and in great abundance, they are blacke, grey, and yellow; the Country-men say that some of these, when they shoot at them with an Arrow, catch it in their hand, and turne againe, and throwe it at the man; and when they are hurt they seeke a certaine leafe and chaw it, and thrust it into the wound for to heale them, and because they are

Their Physike.

alwaies on the trees, and are very swift, when the leape is great, and the little ones cannot passe, one of them lieth acrosse like a bridge, and the rest passe ouer him, the tayle serueth him for a hand; and if any be stricken, with his tayle he holdeth fast the bough whereon he is, and so dieth hanging, and falleth not.

Monkie-tricks.

They haue many other qualities that are seene euery day, as to take a sticke and beate some body that doth them harme; another found a basket of Egges, hung it by the cord about his necke, and going to the top of an house, from thence made many mowes at his master that went to seeke him, and breaking them, did eate them all before him, throwing the shells at his master.

Cuati.

The beast *Cuati* is grey, and like the Badgers of *Portugall*, it hath the snout and clawes very long, it climeth the trees like the Monkie: no Snake, on Egge, no Bird doth escape it, nor any thing that it can get. They are made tame in the houses, but no man can abide them, for they deuoure all; they will play with little Cats, and whelpes, they are malicious, pleasant, and are apt for many things.

Other kinds.

There bee other two or three greater kindes, as great Dogges, and haue tushes like the wilde Boares of *Portugall*; these deuoure beasts and men, and when they finde their prey, they compasse it about, some in one place, some in another, till they deuoure it.

Wilde Cats.

Of wilde Cats are many kindes, some blacke, some white, some of a Safran colour, and are very faire for any furre. These Cats are very terrible, and swift; they liue by prey and by birds, and they assault also the men; some of them are as big as Dogs.

Iagoaracu.

The *Iagoaracu* are the Dogs of *Brasil*, they are of a grey colour mingled with white, very swift,

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swift, and when they yelpe they are like Dogs; they haue the tayle very hairy, feed on fruits, and vpon prey, and bite terribly.

The *Tapati* are like the Conies of *Portugall*, and here they doe barke like Dogs, especially by night, and very often; the *Indians* hold this barking for an euill signe; they breed three or foure at once; they are very rare, for they haue many aduersaries, as birds of rapine, and other beasts that doe eate them. *Tapati.*

The *Iaguacini* are big as the Foxes of *Portugall*, and haue the same colour of a Foxe, they feed onely vpon the Sea-crabs, and among the Sugar-canes, and destroy many of them; they are very sleepie, for they kill them sleeping, they doe no hurt. *Iaguacini.*

The *Biarataca* is of the bignesse of a Cat, like a Ferret; it hath a white stroake and a grey along the backe, like a crosse, very well made; it feeds vpon birds and their egges, and vpon other things, especially vpon Ambar, and loueth it so well, that all the night he goeth by the Sea-side to seeke it, and where there is any, hee is the first. It is greatly feared, not because it hath any teeth, or any other defensiue thing, but it hath a certaine ventositie so strong, and so euill of sent, that it doth penetrate the wood, the stones, and all that it encountereth withall, and it is such, that some *Indians* haue died with the stench. And the Dog that commeth neere it escapeth not: and this smell lasteth fifteene, twentie, or more dayes; and it is such, that if it light neere some Towne, it is presently dis-inhabited. And that they may not bee perceiued, they scrape a hole in the ground, and there within they voide that ventositie, and couer it with earth; and when they are found, that they may not bee taken, their defense is to cast out that stench. *Biarataca.* *Stinking beast.*

The *Prigwica* (which they call) of *Brasil*, is worth the seeing; it is like a shag-haire Dog, or a Land-spaniell, they are very ougly, and the face is like a womans euill dresst, his fore and hinder feet are long, hee hath great clawes and cruell, they goe with the breast on the earth, and their young fast to their bellie. Though yee strike it neuer so fast, it goeth so leasurely, that it hath need of a long time to get vp into a tree, and so they are easily taken; their food is certaine fig-tree leaues, and therefore they cannot bee brought to *Portugall*, for as soone as they want them they die presently. *Prigwica*, or *Lazinesse.* *Simple food.*

In these parts are a great multitude of Rats, and of them are some ten or twelue kindes, some blacke, others yellow, others dunne, all are eaten, and are very sauourie, especially some great ones that are like Conies, and sometimes they are so many, that lighting vpon a sowne field, they vtterly destroy it. *Twelue kinds of Rats.*

Of Land-Snakes and Serpents.

THe *Giboya* is a Snake of the greatest that are in this Countrie, and there are some found of twentie foot in length, they are very faire, but more wonderfull they are in swallowing a whole Deere; they haue no poison, neither are their teeth great according to the bodie. To take their prey whereon they feed, they vse this sleight. It layeth it selfe along by the high-wayes, and when the prey passeth it leapeth vpon it, and windes it selfe in such order, and crusheth it so, that it breaketh all his bones, and afterward licketh it, and his licking hath such vertue, that it bruiseth or suppleth it all, and then it swallowes it vp whole. *Of the Snakes that are on the land, and haue no poison.* *Giboya.*

There are others, called *Guirauapiaguara*, that is, *Eaters of birds Egges*, it is very blacke, long, and hath a yellow breast: they goe on the tops of trees as it were swimming in the water, and no man can runne so fast on the ground as they on the trees; these destroy the birds, and their egges also. *Egge-eaters.*

There are others very bigge and long, called *Canindna*, they are all greene, and of a notable beautie. These also doe eate egges and buds, and kill little chickens. *Canindna.*

There is another, called *Boytiapua*, that is, *a Snake that hath a long snout*, it is very slender, and long, and feeds onely vpon Frogs. The *Indians* obserue sooth-saying with this, that when the woman hath no children, they take this Snake and strike her with it on the hips, and say she shall presently haue children. *Long-snout.*

There is another, called *Gaitiopia*, they are found only in the *Rama*, it is of a notable bignesse, he smelleth so much, like a Foxe, whersoeuer he goeth, that there is none can abide it. *Gaitiopia.*

There is another, called *Boyuna*, that is, *a blacke Snake*, it is very long and slender, it smelleth also very much like a Foxe. *Boyuna.*

There is another, called *Boin*, because that when it goeth, it crieth *boin, boin*, it is also very great, and doth no hurt.

There is another, called *Boicupecanga*, that is, *a Snake that hath prickles in his backe*, they are very great, and grosse, the prickles are very venomous, and all men doe auoide and keepe themselues from them.

Iararaca is a name that comprehendeth foure kindes of very venomous Snakes. The first is greatest, called *Iararacucu*, that is, *great Iararaca*, and they are of ten spannes long, they haue great tushes hidden in the mouth along their gummes, and when they bite they stretch them like *Snakes that haue poison.* *Iararaca.*

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like a finger of the hand: they haue their poiſon in their gummes, their teeth crooked, and a ſtroake vpon them whereby the poiſon runneth. Others ſay, they haue it within the tooth, which is hollow within, it hath ſo vehement a poiſon, that in foure and twentie houres, and leſſe, it killeth a man: the poiſon is very yellow, like Saffran water, they bring foorth many young ones at once, one hath beene taken with thirteene in her bellie.

There are others, called *Iararcoaypitinga*, that is, *that hath the point of the tayle more white then grey*: theſe are as venomous as Vipers of *Spaine*, and haue the ſame colour and faſhion.

There are others, called *Iararaepeba*, moſt venomous; it hath a red chaine along the backe, and the breaſts, and the reſt of the bodie is all grey.

There are other ſmaller *Iararacas*, that the greateſt is about halfe a yard long, they are of an earthie colour, they haue certaine veines in their head like the Vipers, and they make ſuch a noiſe as they doe.

Curucucu. The *Curucucu* is a Snake very hideous and fearefull, and ſome are of fifteene ſpannes long: when the *Indians* doe kill them they burie preſently the head, becauſe it hath great ſtore of poiſon: for to catch the prey and the people, it lieth cloſe to a tree, and when it ſeeth the prey, it caſts it ſelfe vpon it, and ſo killeth it.

Boycininga. The *Boycininga* is a Snake, called of *the Bell*, it is of a great poiſon, but it maketh ſuch a noiſe with a Bell it hath in his taile, that it catcheth very few; though it be ſo ſwift, that they call it, the flying Snake, his length is twelue or thirteene ſpannes long. There is another, called *Bociningpeba*: this alſo hath a Bell, but ſmaller, it is blacke, and very venomous.

Ibiracua. The poiſon of the *Ibiracua* Snake is ſo vehement, that if it biteth any perſon, preſently it makes him to voide bloud through all the paſſages of his bodie, to wit, the eies, noſtrils, mouth, eares, and all open places elſe of his bodie; it runneth a great while, and if he be not holpen, he empties his bloud and dieth.

Ibiboboca. The Snake *Ibiboboca* is very faire, it hath the head red, white and blacke, and ſo all the bodie is ſpotted of theſe three colours; this is the moſt venomous of all, it goeth ſlowly, and liueth in the crannies of the earth, and by another name it is called, *the Snake of the colours.*

Store and ſore. The great vehemencie that theſe venomous Snakes aboue ſaid haue, the great paines they cauſe, and the many perſons that euery day doe die of their ſtinging cannot be expreſt: and they are ſo many in number, that not onely the fields and the woods, but euen the houſes are full of them, and they are found in the beds, and within the bootes, when they put them on. The *Brethren* going to their reſt doe finde them there wound about the benches feet, and if they be not holpen when they ſting, cutting the wound, letting him bloud, drinking Vnicornes horne, or *Carima*, or the water of the Snakes-wood, or ſome other effectuall remedie, in foure and twentie houres and leſſe he dieth, with great crying and paines, and they are ſo exceſſiue, that when any perſon is bitten preſently he demandeth confeſſion, and maketh account to die, and ſo diſpoſeth of his goods.

Carima, a drug ſo called.

Musk-ſnake. There are other Snakes, chiefely theſe *Iararacas*, that haue a great ſmell of Muske, and whereſoeuer they bee, they are deſcried by the good and fragrant ſmell they haue.

Scorpions. There are many Scorpions, that euery day are found in their beds, among the bookes, and about the chambers, ordinarily they kill not, bnt in foure and twentie houres they cauſe intolerable paines.

Poiſonous Region. It ſeemeth that this climate doth flowe in poiſon, as well for the many Snakes there are, as for the multitude of Scorpions, Spiders, and other vncleane creatures, and the Lizards are ſo many, that they couer the walls of the houſe, and the holes are full of them.

Of the Fowles that are in the Land, and are thereon ſuſtained.

EVen as this climate doth flowe in poiſon, ſo it ſeemeth to create beautifulneſſe in the birds, and as all the Countrie is full of Groues and Woods, ſo it is full of moſt beautifull birds of all colours.

Parots. The Parots in this Countrie are infinite, more then Dawes, or Starlings, or Thruſhes, or Sparrowes of *Spaine*, and ſo they make a cackling as the birds aboue-ſaid; they deſtroy them by thouſands, they flie in flockes alwaies, and they are ſo many, that there be Ilands where there is nothing but Parots; they are eaten, and are very good meate; they are ordinarily very faire, and of many and ſundrie colours and kindes, and they almoſt all ſpeake if they be taught.

Varietie of Parots. The Arara. The *Arara* Parots are thoſe that by another name are called *Macaos*; it is a great bird, and are very rare, and by the ſea-coaſt they are not found, it is a faire bird in colours; their breaſts are red as ſcarlet; from the middle of the bodie to the taile ſome are yellow, others greene, others blue, and through all the bodie they haue ſcattering, ſome greene, ſome yellow and blue feathers, and ordinarily euery feather hath three or foure colours, and the taile is very long. Theſe lay but two egges, they breed in the trunkes of trees, and in the rockes of ſtone. The *Indians* eſteeme them very much, and of their feathers they make their fine things, and their hangings for their ſwords, it is a very pleaſant bird, they become very tame, and domeſticall, and ſpeake very well if they be taught.

The

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The *Anapuru* Parot is most faire; in it all colours are found with great perfection, to wit, red, greene, yellow, blacke, blue, grey, the colour of the *Bulfinch*, and of all these colours it hath the bodie bespeckled and spotted. These also doe speake, and they haue another aduantage, that is, they breed in the house, and hatch their young ones, wherefore they are of great esteeme. *Anapuru.*

The *Araruna* or *Machao* is very faire, it is all blacke, and this blacke sprinkled with greene, which giueth it a great beautie, and when the Sunne shineth on him he is so shining that it is very pleasant to behold; it hath the feet yellow, and the beake and the eies red; they are of great esteeme for their beautie, for they are very rare, and breed not but very faire within the Land, and of their feathers the *Indians* make their Diademes and Pictures. *Araruna.*

The Parots *Aiurucuro* are most beautifull, they are all greene, they haue a cap and a collar of yellow, very faire, and ouer the beake a few feathers of a very cleare blue, which doe beautifie him very much, it hath pinions of the wings red, and the taile feathers red and yellow, sprinkled with greene. *Aiurucuro.*

The *Tuins* are a kinde of Parot very small, of the bignesse of a Sparrow, they are greene, sprinkled with other diuers colours, they are much esteemed, as well for their beautie, as because they prattle much, and well, and are very tame. They are so small, that they skip euery where on a man, on his hands, his breast, his shoulders and his head; and with his bill hee will cleanse ones teeth, and will take the meate out of the mouth of him that brings them vp, and make many gambols; they are alwaies speaking or singing after their owne fashion. *Tuin.*

The Parots *Guiraiuba*, or *Yellow birds*, neither speake nor play, but are sullen and sad; they are much esteemed, because they are brought from two hundred and three hundred leagues, and are not found but in great mens houses, and they hold them in such esteeme, that they giue the ransome and value of two persons for one of them, and they esteeme them as much as the *Iapanas* doe the Treuets and the Pots, or any other great man esteemeth any thing of great price, as a Faulcon, Gerfaulcon, &c. *Guiraiuba.*

The *Tapu* is of the bignesse of a Pie-annet, the bodie of a fine blacke, and the taile of a very fine yellow, it hath three tufts on the head that are like little hornes, when hee raiseth them: the eies are blue, the neb very yellow. It is a very faire bird, and hath a very strong smell when it is angrie. They are very carefull in seeking their food, there escapeth not a Spider, Beetle, or Cricket, &c. they are very cleanly in a house, and goe about like Pie-annets, they leaue nothing vnsought. It is dangerous holding them in the hand, for they runne presently to the eies, and pull them out. *Tapu.* Dangerous to the eyes.

Of the small birds called *Guaimimbiques*, there are sundrie kindes, as *Guaracig a*, that is, *Fruit of the Sunne*; by another name, *Guaracig oba*, that is, *Couering of the Sunne*; or *Guaracig aba*, that is, *The haire of the Sunne*; in the *Antillas* they call it the *risen or awaken bird*, and they say it sleepeth sixe moneths, and liueth other sixe moneths. It is the finest bird that can bee imagined; it hath a cap on his head, to which no proper colour can be giuen, for on whatsoeuer side yee looke on it, it sheweth red, greene, blacke, and more colours, all very fine, and shining; and the breast is so faire, that on whatsoeuer side yee take it, it sheweth all the colours, especially a yellow more finer then gold. The bodie is grey; it hath a very long bill, and the tongue twice the length of the bill; they are very swift in flight, and in their flight they make a noise like the Bee, and they rather seeme Bees in their swiftnesse then birds, for they alwaies feed flying without sitting on a tree, euen as the Bees doe flie sucking the Hunnie from the flowers. They haue two beginnings of their generation, some are hatched of egges like other birds, others of little bubbles, and it is a thing to bee noted, a little bubble to beginne to conuert it selfe into this little bird, for at one instant it is a bubble and a bird, and so it conuerts it selfe into this most faire bird, a wonderfull thing, and vnknowne to the Philosophers, seeing one liuing creature without corruption is conuerted into another. The *Guaimimbiques*: others call it the *Tominejot*. Generation. Note for Philosophers.

The bird *Guiraube eng eta* is of the bignesse of a Gold-finch; it hath the backe and wings blue, and the breast and bellie of a most fine yellow. It hath a yellow Diademe on his head that beautifies him very much. It is a very excellent bird for the Cage, it speaketh many waies resembling many birds, making many changes, and changing his speech a thousand waies. They continue long in their song, and are of esteeme, and of these for the Cage there bee many, and faire, and of diuers and sundrie colours. *Guiraube eng eta.*

The *Tangara* is of the bignesse of a Sparrow, all blacke, the head is of a verie fine Orange-tawnie, it singeth not, but it hath a wonderfull thing, for it hath fits like the *Falling sickenesse*, and for this cause the *Indians* doe not eate them, for the auoiding of that disease, they haue a kinde of very pleasant dancing, and it is, that one of them makes himselfe as dead, and the other compasse him about skipping with a song of a strange crying that is heard verie farre, and when they end this feast, crying, and dancing, he that was as dead riseth, and maketh a great noise and crying, and then all goe away, and end their feast. They are so earnest when they doe it, that although they be seene and shot at, they flie not away. Of these there bee many kindes, and all of them haue accidents. *Tangara.* Dance.

The bird *Quereima*, is of the most esteemed of the Land, not for the song, but for the beautie of *Quereima.*

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of the feathers; they are a cleare azure in part, and a darke, all the breaſt is moſt fine red, the wings almoſt blacke; they are ſo eſteemed, that the *Indians* doe flea them, and giue two or three perſons for the skinnes of them, and with the feathers they make their Pictures, Diademes, and other fine things.

Tucana. The *Tucana* is of the bigneſſe of a Pie, it is all blacke except the breaſt, which is all yellow, with a round red circle; the bill is a large ſpanne long, verie great, yellow, and within is red; ſo ſmooth and ſhining, that it ſeemeth to bee varniſhed; they are made tame, and breede in the houſes, are good to eate, and the feathers are eſteemed becauſe they are faire.

Guirapanga. The *Guirapanga* is white, and not being very big it crieth ſo loude that it ſounds like a Bell, and it is heard halfe a league, and their ſinging is like the ringing of Bells.

Macucagua. The *Macucagua* is greater then any Henne of *Portugall*, it reſembleth the Feaſant, and ſo the *Portugals* doe call it; it hath theee skinnes one ouer another, and much fleſh, and, and verie ſauorie, they lay twice a yeere, and at euerie time thirteene or fifteene egges, they goe alwaies on the ground, but when they ſee any people they flie to the trees, and at night when they goe to rouſt as Hennes doe. When they ſit on the trees, they put not their feet on the boughs, but the ſhankes of their legs, and moſt on the fore part. There bee many kindes of theſe, and they are eaſily ſhot at.

Among them there is one of the ſmalleſt, that hath many properties; when it ſingeth it foreſheweth raine, it crieth ſo loude, that it is incredible of ſo ſmall a bird, and the reaſon is, becauſe the gullet is verie great. It beginneth at the mouth and commeth out at the breaſt betweene the skinne and the fleſh, and reacheth to the fundament, and returneth againe and entreth into the crop, and then it proceedeth as other birds, and doubleth like a Trumpet with his turnings. They runne after any bodie pecking him and playing like a little whelpe, if they ſet it vpon Hennes egges, it ſitteth ouer them, and bringeth vp the young chickens, and if it ſee a Hen with chickens, it ſo perſecutes her, till it takes them from her and broodes them, and brings them vp.

Mutu. The Hen *Mutu* is very domeſticall, it hath a combe like the Cockes, ſpotted with white and
Hard egges. blacke, the egges are great and very white, like a Gooſe egge, ſo hard that knocking the one with the other, they ring like Iron, and of them they make their *Maracas*, that is, their Bells; any
Dogs poiſon. Dog that eateth the bones of it dieth, and vnto men it doeth no hurt at all.

Vtu. In this Countrie there are many kindes of Partridges, which though they are not like in all things to thoſe of *Spaine*, yet are they very like in colour, taſte, and in the aboundance.

Turtles innumerable. In this Countrie are many kindes of Turtle-doues, Stares, and Black-birds, and Pigeons of many ſorts, and all theſe birds are like to them of *Portugall*; and the Pigeons and Turtle-doues are in ſuch abundance, that in certaine fields farre within the Land they are ſo many, that when they riſe they hinder the light of the Sunne, and make a noiſe like a thunder; they lay ſo many egges, and ſo white, that a very farre off yee may ſee the fields white with egges, as if it were ſnowe; and ſeruing the *Indians* for meate as they doe, they cannot be diminiſhed; rather from thence at certaine times it ſeemeth they runne ouer all the parts of this Prouince.

Oſtriches. In this Countrie are many Oſtriches, called *Andugoacu*, but they keep only within the Land.

Anima. The *Anima* is a fowle of rapine, great, and crieth that it is heard halfe a league and more, it
Horne medicinable. is all blacke, hath faire eies, the beake bigger then a Cocks, vpon this beake it hath a little horne of a ſpanne in length, the men of the Countrie ſay that this Horne is very medicinable for thoſe that are taken in their ſpeech, as hath beene proued, hanging it about the necke of a girle that did not ſpeake, which ſpake preſently.

There be many other fowles of rapine, to wit, Eagles, Faulcons, Goſ-hawkes, Merlines, and Tarſels, and many other, but they are all ordinarily ſo wilde, that they will flie at any thing, neither will they come to hand, or ſtoope to lure.

§. V.

Of the Braſilian *Trees for fruit, medicine, and other vſes; and their Herbes of rare operations.*

Acaiu, a kinde of Cheſnut. THe Trees *Acaiu*, are very great and faire, they caſt the leafe at their times, and the flower groweth in the ſnags, which makes certaine points like fingers, and in the ſaid points there groweth a red flower of a good ſmell, and after it groweth a Cheſnut, and from the Cheſnut commeth an Apple as big as a great Apple, or a Pippin, it is a very faire fruit, and ſome are yellow, others red, and it is all iuyce. They are good for hot weather, they coole
Many vſes thereof. verie much, and laying the iuyce vpon a white cloth it neuer goeth off till the cloth bee worne. The Cheſnut is as good or better then thoſe of *Portugall*, they are eaten roſted, and raw laid in water as blancht Almonds, and of them they make Marchpanes, and ſweet meates as of Almonds. The timber of this tree is little worth, enen for the fire, it yeeldeth of it ſelfe a certain gumme good to paint and write, and there is great ſtore. With the barke they dye their yarne,

and

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and the vessels that serues them for Pots. This being stamped and boyled with some Copper, till the third part of the water be consumed, is a soueraigne remedy for old sores, and they heale quickly. There bee so many of these trees as of Chesnuts in *Portugall*, they growe about these Woods, and they gather many quarters of these Chesnuts, and the fruit in their season satisfie all men. Of these *Acaius* doe the *Indians* make Wine.

There is great abundance of the trees *Mangaba*, especially in the *Bay*, for in other places they are rare, in making they are like the barke of *Anafega*, and in the leafe with those of *Frexo*, they are very pleasant trees, and haue alwaies greene leaues. They yeeld fruit twice a yeere, the first in a knob, for then they doe not flower, but the very knob is the fruit; this season ended, which lasteth two or three moneths, it giueth another bearing, first the flower, which is altogether like the *Iesamine*, and of as good a smell, but more quicke; the fruit is as big as an Apricock, yellow and spotted with some spots of blacke; within it hath some kernels, but all is eaten, or sucked as the Seruices of *Portugall*. They are of a very good taste, and healthfull, and so light that eate they neuer so many, it seemes they eate no fruit at all. They ripen not on the tree, but fall to the ground, and from thence they gather them already ripe, or gathering them greene they lay them to ripen. The *Indians* make Wine of them. The tree and the fruit it selfe being greene, is full of white Milke, and cleaueth to the hands, and is bitter. *Mangaba.* Or Musk-r...

The fruit *Muruciuge* groweth on certaine trees, very high and like the wilde Peare-trees of *Portugall*. It hath a very long stalke, they are gathered greene, and are layd to ripen, and being ripe they are very pleasant and of an easie digestion. When they are to gather them, they cut downe the tree, because they are very high, and if this destruction were not, there would bee more abundance, but therefore they are rare, the trunke hath great abundance of white Milke, and it congealeth, it may serue for Sealing-waxe if they will vse it. *Muruciuge.* Ill gathering.

Of the *Araca* trees are great abundance, of many sorts; the fruit is certaine small Peares, yellow, red, or greene; they are pleasant, vnloathsome, toothsome, because they haue little taste of sowre, they yeeld fruit almost all the yeere. *Araca.*

This *Ombu* is a great tree not very high, but well spread; the fruit is like white Plums, yellow and round, and therefore the *Portugals* doe call it a Plum. It causeth the teeth to fall, and the *Indians* that doe eate it doe lose them. The rootes of this tree are eaten, and are very pleasant, and more toothsome then the *Abalancia*, for they are sweeter, and the sweetnesse thereof is like Sugar, they are cold and healthfull, and they are giuen to the sicke of a Feauer, and it serueth for water to them that goe inward to the Land, for they haue no other. *Ombu.* Fruit causing teeth to fall.

The *Iacapucaya* is of the greatest and fairest of this Countrie; it beareth a fruit like a Pot, as big as a great Bowle, as thicke as two fingers, with a couer vpon it, and within it is full of certaine Chesnuts like vnto the *Myrabolanes*; and it seemes they are the same of *India*, when they are already in season, that couer doth open and the fruit falleth. If any doe eate much of it green, he casteth all the haire he hath on his body; rosted it is a good fruit. They vse the huskes for *Cups*, and they are lasting; the timber of this tree is very hard, it doth not rotte, they esteeme it for the Axel-trees of the Sugar-mills. *Iacapucaya.* Haire-fal fruit. Grace.

Aratien, is a tree of the bignesse of an Orange tree and greater, the leafe is like a Citron tree or a Lymond tree, it is a faire and pleasant tree, it beareth a fruit as bigge as Pine apples; and they haue a good smell, and a reasonable taste, it is a fruit that loatheth not. *Aratien.*

Of these Trees are many kindes, and one of them called *Aratien panania*. If they eate much of the fruit it proueth a cold poison, and doth much hurt. Of the rootes of these trees they make booyes for the Nets, and they are so light as any Corkes.

There be two sorts of *Pequea*, one of them beares a fruit as big as a good Orange, and so they haue the rinde thicke like an Orange; within this rinde there is nothing but Hunnie so cleare and sweet as any Sugar, in quantitie of an egge, and mingled with it, it hath the pippems or kernels. *Pequea.*

The other *Pequea* is timber, of the heauiest of this Countrie, in *Portugall* it is called *Setim*, it hath very fine wanes, it lasteth long and doth not rotte.

On the tree *Iabaticaba* groweth a fruit of the bignesse of a Lymond of *Sytill*, the rinde and taste is like a sowrish Grape, from the roote of the tree through all the body vnto the vtmost bough or sprig, is a rare fruit, it is onely found within the Land in the Captainship of S. *Vincent*. The *Indians* doe make of this fruit a kinde of Wine, and they boyle it like the wine of Grapes. *Iabaticaba.*

In this *Brasill* are many Coco-nuts, excellent like those of *India*; these are ordinarily set, and growe not in the Woods, but in Gardens, and in their Farmes. And there are more then twentie kindes of Palme trees, and almost all doe beare fruit, but not so good as the Cocos: with some of these Palme trees they couer their houses. Cocos. 20. kinds of Palmes.

Besides these Fruit-trees there are many other that yeeld sundry fruits, whereof they make profit, and many Nations of the *Indians* sustaine themselues, together with the Hunnie, whereof there is great abundance, and with their hunting, for they haue no other sustenance.

In the maine of the Captainship of Saint *Vincent* vnto *Paraguay*, are many and great Woods of Pine trees, euen like vnto them of *Portugall*, which beare Apples and kernels; the Apples are The Pine tree.

not so long but rounder and greater, the kernels are greater and are not so hot, but of a good temperature and wholsome.

Of the Trees that serue for medicines.

Cahueriba. Port *Engaddi.* A medicine for wounds.

Cahueriba is very great and esteemed for the Balme that it hath; to get this Balme they prick the barke of the tree, and lay a little Cotton woolt to the cuts, and from certaine to certaine dayes they goe to gather the Oyle that it hath distilled. The *Portugals* call it *Balme*, because it is very like to the true Balme of the Vineyards of *Engedi*, it serueth for greene wounds, and taketh away all the scarre: it smelleth very well, and of it, and of the barke of the tree they make Beades, and other smelling things. The Woods where they growe doe smell well, and the beasts doe goe and rubbe on this tree, it seemeth to bee to heale them of some diseases. The Timber is of the best of this Countrie, because it is very strong and heauy, and some are of such bignesse, that of them they make the Beames, Axel-trees, and Skrues or Vices for their Sugar-Mills, these are very rare, and are found chiefly in the *Captainship of the Holy Ghost.*

Cupayba. For wounds.

Cupayba is a Fig-tree, commonly very high, straite and big, it hath much oile within; for to get it they cut the tree in the middest, where it hath the vent, and there it hath this oile in so great abundance, that some of them doe yeeld a quarterne of oile and more, it is very cleare, of the colour of oile, it is much set by for wounds, and taketh away all the skarre. It serueth also for lights, and burne well, the beasts knowing the vertue thereof doe come and rubbe themselues thereat. There are great store, the wood is good for nothing.

Ambayba. For wounds.

The *Ambayba* Fig-trees are not very great, and are not found in the true Woods but in Coppices, where some sowing hath beene; the barke of this tree scraping it on the inside, and crushing those scrapings in the wound, laying them on it, and binding it with the barke it selfe, healeth in a short time. There is great abundance of them, and are much esteemed for their great vertue, the leaues are rough, and serue to smooth any wood, the timber serueth for nothing.

Ambaygtinga. For the Collicke.

The Fig-tree which they call of *Hell*, *Ambaigtinga*, is found in *Taperus*: it yeelds a certaine Oyle that serueth for lights, it hath great vertue, as *Monardes* writeth, and the leaues are much esteemed for them that doe vomit, and cannot retayne that which they eate, anointing the stomacke with the Oyle, it taketh away the Oppilations, and the Collicke. To get this Oyle, they lay it in the Sunne some dayes, and stampe it, and seethe it, and presently that Oyle commeth on the top, which is gathered for the effect aboue-said.

Igbacamuci. For the bloudy Fluxe.

Of the trees *Igbacamuci* there are many in Saint *Vincent*: they beare a certaine fruit as good as Quinces, fashioned like a Panne or a Pot, they haue within certaine small seeds, they are the onely remedie for the bloudy Fluxe.

Igcigea. For cold diseases.

The *Igcigea* yeeldeth the Masticke, smelleth very much for a good while: they notch the tree in some places, and in an instant it stilleth a white liquor that doth congeale; it serueth for Plaisters in cold diseases, and to perfume, it serueth also in stead of incense.

Gumme Anime.

There is another tree of this kinde, called *Igtaigcica*, that is, *Masticke as hard as stone*, and so it seemeth rather *Gumme-anime* then Masticke, and it is so hard and shining that it seemeth Glasse; it serueth to glase the earthen vessell, and for this it is much esteemed among the *Indians*, and it serueth also for cold diseases.

There is a Riuer betweene Port *Secure* and the *Illes*, that commeth from more then three hundred leagues within the Mayne, it bringeth great store of Rozen, which is the Gumme-anime it selfe, which the *Indians* doe call *Igtaigcica*, and the *Portugals*, *White incense*; it hath the same effects that the Incense.

Curupicaiba. For wounds, and for the Poxe.

Curupicaiba is like to the Peach-trees of *Portugall* in the leafe: the leaues doe distill a kinde of liquor like the Fig-trees of *Spaine*, which is the onely remedie for wounds both greene and old, and for the Poxe, and it taketh away all the scarre from the wounds, if they pricke the barke of it, it yeeldeth great store of Bird-lime, wherewith they catch the small birds.

Cauroba. For the Poxe.

There is great abundance of the trees *Cauroba*, the leaues of these chewed and layd to the Pock-sore dryse and heale it in such manner, that it neuer commeth againe, and it seemeth that the wood hath the same effect that the *China* wood, and that of the *Antilles* haue for the same disease. Of the flower they make a Conserue for those that are sicke of the Poxe.

Cauroboacaroandiba. For loosenesse and the Poxe.

The wood *Cauroboacaroandiba* is like that of *China*, it is taken in the same manner that the other, and it healeth the loosenesse, the Poxe, and other diseases of cold, it is grey, and hath the pith very hard as the wood of *China*.

Iaburandiba. For the sicknesse of the Liuer.

It is long since *Iaburandiba* was found, and it is, as some *Indians* doe say, called of the *Indians Betele*. The Riuers and their borders are full of these trees, the leaues are the onely remedie for the sicknesses of the Liuer, and many in this *Brasil* haue already beene cured of most grieuous diseases of the Liuer, with the eating of them.

For the Tooth ake.

There is another tree called also *Betele*, it is smaller and of a round leafe, the roots of it are an excellent remedy for the tooth-ake, putting it in the hollow place of them, it biteth like Ginger.

Cassia fistula. Of the Oyles the *Indians* doe vse to anoint themselues withall.

They say also, that in this *Brasil* is the tree of the *Cassia fistula*, it is vnknowne to the *Indians*, the *Spaniards* doe vse it, and say it is as good as that of *India*.

The *Anda* trees are faire and great, and the wood serueth for all things, of the fruit they make an Oyle, wherewith the *Indians* doe anoint themselues, and the women their haire; and it serueth

ueth also for wounds, and drieth them vp presently, and they make many gallant things about the legs and body, painting themselues with this Oyle.

The *Moxerequigba* tree is found within the Maine, in the fields, it is small, beareth a fruit as big as an Orange, and within it hath certaine kernels, and of it altogether they make an Oyle to anoint themselues, the barke serueth to kill fish, and euery beast that drinketh the water where it is cast, dieth. *Moxerequigba.*

The *Aimratubira* is small, beareth a red fruit, and of it they make a red oile to anoint themselues. *Aimratubira.*

The *Aiabutipita* is fiue or sixe spannes in length, the fruit is like Almonds and blacke, and so is the Oyle, which they esteeme very much, and anoint themselues with it in their infirmities. *Aiabutipita.*

The *Iaripaba* tree is very faire, of a pleasant greene; euery moneth it changeth the leafe, and is like a Wal-nut leafe, the trees are great, and the timber pleasant to worke; the fruit is like great Oranges, and is like Quinces, or russet Peares; the taste is like Quinces: it is a good medicine for the Laske of all sorts. Of this fruit is made a blacke Inke; when it is made it is white, and anointing themselues therewith it stayneth not presently, but within a few houres the partie remayneth as blacke as any leat. It is much esteemed of the *Indians*, with this they make on their bodies round Hose and Doublets all cut, and they giue certaine strokes in the face, eares, nose, chinne, armes, legs, and the same doe the women, and they become very gallant. This is their apparell, as well on the weeke as on the Feast day, adding some feathers to it, wherewith thee adorne themselues, and other Iewels made of bone: this colour lasteth on the body nine dayes still blacke, and after remayneth nothing; it maketh the skinne very hard, and to make the painting the fruit is to be gathered greene, for being ripe it will not doe it. *Iaripaba.* For the Laske.

The tree *Iequitimguaçu* beareth a fruit like the *Spanish* Strawberie, and within it hath a beane as hard as a sticke, which is the seed; they are of the best Beades that can be, for they are very equall, and very blacke, and they haue a glosse like Ieat, the huske that couereth these Beades, is more bitter then Aloes, it serueth for Sope, and it washeth better then the best Sope in *Portugal*. *Iequitimguaçu.* Beades and Sope.

A certaine tree groweth in the fields and the Mayne of the *Bay*, in dry places where no water is, very great and broad; it hath certaine holes in the branches, as long as an arme, that are full of water, that in Winter nor Summer neuer runneth ouer, neither is it knowne whence this water commeth, and drinke many or drinke few of it, it is alwaies at the same stay, and so it serueth not onely for a Fountaine, but also for a great maine Riuer: and it happeneth fiue hundred persons to come to the foot of it, and there is harbour for them all, they drinke and wash all that they will, and they neuer want water; it is very sauoury and cleare, and a great remedie for them that trauell into the Mayne, when they can finde no other water. Of the tree that hath water. Note, Compare this with those mentioned by *A. Bath* in *Congo*.

In this Countrie of *Brasill* are Groues, wherein are found trees of great bigneſse and length, whereof they make very great Canoas, of seuen or eight spannes broad in hollowneſse, and of fiftie spannes and more in length, which beare a load like a great Barke, and doe carrie twentie or thirtie Rowers of a side; they make likewise great Beames for the Sugar-mills. There are many sorts of wood incorruptible that putting it in the ground it neuer rotteth, and others set in water are euery day greener and stronger. There is a holy wood of certaine white wanes, whereof are made very faire Bed-steads and rich. The *Brasill* wood whereof the red Inke is made, and other woods of diuers colours, whereof diuers Inkes of great esteeme are made, and all turned and carued workes. There be smelling woods, as the *Iararanda*, and other kindes of great price and esteeme, there are found white Sandalos or Dates, in great quantitie. The wood of *Aquila*, and in great abundance, that ships are made of it. Cedars; wood of *Angolin*, and the Nutmeg tree, though these woods are not so fine, and of so great smell as those of *India*, yet they want but a little, and are of great price and esteeme. Of the Trees that serue for timber. Cedars and Nutmegs.

Of the Herbes that yeeld fruit, and are eaten.

THe ordinary food of this Country, that serueth for Bread, is called *Mandioca*, and they are certaine rootes like Carrots, though they are greater and longer: these shoot out certaine stemmes or branches, and growe to the height of fifteene spannes. These branches are very tender, and haue a white pith within, and at euery spanne it hath certaine ioynts, and of this bigneſse they are broken, and set in the ground as much as is sufficient for to hold them vp, and within sixe or nine moneths haue so big rootes that they serue for food. This *Mandioca* contayneth many kindes in it selfe, and all are eaten, and they are preserued vnder the earth three, foure, or vnto eight yeeres, and needs no seasoning, for they doe no more but take them out and make fresh meate euery day, and the longer they are vnder the earth the bigger they growe, and yeeld the more. *Mandioca.*

It hath some things worth the noting, that is, man except, all creatures desire to eate it raw, and it fatteneth them, and nourisheth them exceedingly; but if when it is crushed, they doe drinke that water alone by it selfe, they haue no more life then while it commeth to the stomacke. Of these rootes crushed and grated they make a Meale that is eaten, it is also layd in The iuyce is poison.

ſteepe till it corrupt, and then cleanſed and cruſhed, they make alſo a Flowre, and certaine Cakes like children very white and delicate. This roote after it is ſteeped in water, made in balls with the hands, they ſet it vpon hurdles at the ſmoake, where it drieth in ſuch manner that it is kept without corrupting, as long as they liſt, and after ſcraped and ſtamped in certaine great trayes, and ſifted, there remayneth a Flowre whiter then of Wheate, of the which being mingled in a certaine quantitie with the raw, they make a certaine Biſquet, which they call *Of the warre*, and it ſerueth the *Indians* and the *Portugals* by Sea, and when they goe to warre, as Bisket. Another Bisket bread is made of very water of the greene *Mandioca*, if they let it congeale, and dry it at the Sunne, or at the fire: this is aboue all moſt white, and ſo pleaſant and delicate, that it is not made for euery one. Of this *Mandioca* dryed at the ſmoake they make many ſorts of broaths, which they call *Mingaos*, ſo healthfull and delicate that they giue them to them that are ſicke of a Feauer, in ſtead of Caudles and Reſtoratiues, and of the ſame they make Cakes, Simnels, Frutters, little Pyes, Cheeſ-cakes of Sugar, &c. And mingled with the flowre of Millet, or of Rice, they make leauened bread, that it ſeemeth of Wheat. This ſame *Mandioca* dryed at the ſmoake, is a great remedie againſt poiſon, chiefely of Snakes.

Other kindes. Of this *Mandioca* there is one which they call *Aypim*, which contayneth vnder it ſelfe many kindes. This killeth not raw, and boyled or roſted is of a good taſte, and of it they make Flowre or Cakes, &c. The *Indians* makes Wines of it, and it is ſo freſh and medicinable for the Liuer, that to it is attributed not to haue among them any diſeaſed of the Liuer. A certaine kinde of *Tapuyas* doe eate the poiſonous *Mandioca* raw, and it doth them no hurt, becauſe they are brought vp with it.

Nana. The boughs of this herbe or tree, is the ſeed it ſelfe, for the ſtalkes of it are planted, the leaues in time of need boyled doe ſerue for food.

The herbe *Nana* is very common, it is like the herbe Aloes, and hath ſuch leaues, but not ſo thicke, and all round about full of very ſharpe prickles; in the middeſt of this herbe groweth a fruit like a Pine-apple, all full of flowers of diuers colours, and very faire, and at the foot grow foure or fiue ſprigs, which are planted; the fruit is very ſmelling, pleaſant and one of the beſt of the world, very full of iuyce, and pleaſant, it hath the taſte of a Mellon, though better and more ſmelling, it is good for them that are troubled with the Stone, and it is very preiudiciall for Feauers. The *Indians* doe make Wine of this fruit, very ſtrong, and of a good taſte, the huske waſteth much the Iron at the dreſſing of it, and the iuyce taketh away the ſpottes from the clothes. There is ſo great abundance of this fruit, that they fat their Hogs with it, and regard it not for the great abundance, they are alſo kept preſerued, and raw they helpe the Sea-ſicke at Sea, and with Wine in the morning they are medicinable.

Pacoba, Adams Tree. *Pacoba* is the Fig-tree which they call *Adams*, it is neither tree nor herbe, for on the one ſide it becommeth very bigge, and groweth to twenty quarters long, the ſtalke is very ſoft and full of pores; the leaues that it hath are moſt faire, and ſome a fathome long and more, all of them raced like the Veluet of *Braganca*, ſo ſmooth that they write on them, and ſo greene, coole, and freſh, that one ſicke of a Feauer lying downe vpon them, the Feauer is mitigated with their cooleneſſe. They are very freſh for to dreſſe the houſes, and the Churches. This herbe beareth in euery foote many impes, and euery one of them beareth a cluſter of a certaine fruit like Figs, which hath ſometimes about two hundred, and when they are ripe, the foote is cut whereon the cluſter hangeth, and the reſt doe growe, and ſo they goe multiplying *ad infinitum*, the fruit is laid to ripen, and becommeth very yellow, of a good taſte, and healthfull, eſpecially for the ſicke of a Feauer, and for him that ſpitteth bloud, and roſted they are very pleaſant and healthfull. It is an ordinary fruit whereof the Gardens are full, and there is of them all the yeere.

Mururuia. The herbes *Mururuia* are very faire, eſpecially in their flowers: they runne vpon a wall, and vp the trees like Iuie, the leaues beaten with a little Verdigreaſe, is an onely remedie for old vlcers and the Poxe, it beareth a round fruit like Oranges, other like Egges, ſome yellow, ſome blacke, and of other diuers colours and kindes. Within they haue a certaine ſubſtance of kernels, and iuyce with a certaine filme that couereth them, and altogether is eaten, it is of a good taſte, and it is ſomewhat tart, and it is a fruit of ſome account.

Many other *Braſilian* plants. In this Country are many other kindes of fruits, as Deaw-berries, blacke and red, Potatoes, and other rootes which they call *Mangara*, another called *Cara*, that is like to Turneps, and the ſtones of the earth. Of the Potatoes they make bread, and diuers ſweet meats, theſe *Indians* haue many other Pulſes, *viz*. Beanes, more healthfull and better then thoſe of *Portugall*, and in great abundance, many kindes of Pumpions, and ſome ſo big, that they vſe them for veſſels to carie water, and they hold two peckes or more, *French* Beanes of many kindes, they are toothſome, and like to them of *Portugall*, Millet of many ſorts, and of it they make Bread, Wine, and it is eaten toſted, and with it they fatten their Horſes, Swine and Hennes, and there are certaine *Taiaobas*, that are like Cabiges, and they cauſe to purge. And an herbe called *Iambig*, the onely remedie for them that are ſicke of the Liuer, and the Stone. There are alſo many ſorts of Pepper, that giue a good taſte in the eating.

Ietigenen. *Ietigenen* is the *Mechoacan* of the *Antilles*, they are certaine rootes, long like Radice, but of a good

a good bigneſſe, they ſerue for a purge, this roote is taken beaten in wine or water for the Ague: it is taken preſerued in Sugar like Marmalate, it is boiled with a Henne, cauſeth great thirſt, but is profitable and of great operation. A purge.

Igpecaya, or *Pigaya* is profitable for the bloudie Fluxe, the ſtalke is a quarter long, and the roots of another, or more, it hath onely foure or fiue leaues, it ſmelleth much whereſoeuer it is, but the ſmell is ſtrong and terrible, this roote beaten, and put in water all night at the deaw, and in the morning if this water with the ſame roote beaten and ſtrained be drunke, onely the water, it cauſeth preſently to purge in ſuch ſort, that the laske ceaſeth altogether. For the bloudy Fluxe.

It is but a little while ſince the herbe *Cayapia* was found, it is an only remedie for whatſoeuer poiſon, eſpecially of Snakes, and ſo it is called the *Snakes herbe*, and it is as good a remedie as the Vnicorne and Bada, Bezar ſtone, or Coco of *Maldiua*; nothing profiteth but the roote, which is ſlender, and in the middeſt maketh a knot like a button, this beaten, and put in water and drunke, it killeth the poiſon of Snakes; It is alſo a great remedie for the wounds with the Arrowes that are poiſoned, when any is hurt he remaineth feareleſſe and ſecure, drinking the water of this roote, it is alſo a great remedie for the Feauer, continuing it and drinking of it ſome mornings, this herbe ſmelleth like the Fig-tree leaues of *Spaine*. A remedie for poyſon.

The herbe *Tyroqui* or *Tuxeroqui* is a principall remedie for the bloudie Fluxe, the roots are all iagged, the branches very ſlender, the leaues are like Baſill; the flowers are red, and draw ſomewhat to a ruddie colour, and they growe in the very points. Of this there is great abundance, when it is gathered it is yellow, and being dried it turneth white, it is taken in the ſame manner that the former. The *Indians* perfume themſelues with this herbe when they are ſicke, that they may not die, and for a certaine ſickneſſe that is common in the Countrie, and it is called the ſickneſſe of the worme *, it is a great remedie; it ſerueth to kill the worme in the Oxen and Swine, and for Empoſtumes. This herbe is as withered all night, and as aſleepe, and as ſoone as the Sunne riſeth, it openeth againe, and ſhutteth againe when it is ſet. *Tyroqui* or *Tuxeroqui*. For the bloudy Fluxe. * Perhaps the worme in the fundament mentioned by Sir *R. Haukins*.

The herbe *Embeguacu* ſerueth much for the Fluxe of bloud, eſpecially in women; the roots are very long, and ſome of thirtie or fortie fathome, it hath a ſtrong barke, whereof very ſtrong Cordes are made, and Cables for ſhips, and they are long laſting, for in the water it waxeth greene. This being taken, to wit, the barke of it, and perfuming the partie in the place of the Fluxe, it ceaſeth preſently. *Embeguacu*. For the Fluxe of bloud.

Caa obetinga is a ſmall herbe, hath few leaues, which it putteth forth euen from the ground, white vnderneath, and greene aboue, beares a flower as big as a haſell Nut; the roots and the leaues ſtamped are an excellent remedie for whatſoeuer wounds, they vſe the leafe alſo vnſtamped, which being laid to the wound cleaueth faſt, and healeth it. *Caa obetinga*. For wounds.

Cobaura ſerueth for old ſores that haue already no other remedie, it is laid beaten and burnt in the wound, and eateth preſently all the Canker, and bringeth a new skinne, it is alſo laid to, onely the leafe beaten to skinne the place. *Cobaura*. For wounds.

The *Holy herbe* ſerueth for diuers diſeaſes, as wounds, and coughs, the rheume, &c. and principally it ſerueth for the ſicke of the head, the ſtomacke, and for the ſhortneſſe of breath, or the Chine-cough. In this Countrie they make certaine Coffines of Palme-tree leaues, and being full of this herbe dried and ſetting it on fire at the one end, they put the other in the mouth and drinke the ſmoake, it is one of the delicates and dainties of this Countrie; and all the Countrymen, and euen the *Portugals* are euen loſt for it, and it is their great vice, to bee all day and all night laid in their Nets, to drinke this ſmoake, and are drunke with it as if it were with wine. The *Holy herbe*, or Tobacco. For ſundry diſeaſes.

Guaraquimiya is the Mirtle tree of *Portugall*, and beſides other good properties that it hath, like the Broome-rape, the ſeed of it is the onely remedie for the Body-wormes, and ordinarily they that eate it doe voide them preſently. For the worms

Camaracatimbae is like to the Syluas of *Portugall*, it is boyled in water, and the ſaid water is the onely remedy for ſcabbes, the poxe, and new wounds, and when the wounds are cured with the leaues of the Fig-tree ſpoken of in the title of the *Trees*, they waſh it with the water of this herbe, whoſe flower is moſt faire, it ſeemeth a yellow and red Jelly-flower, and ſmelleth of Muske, and of theſe they make Pot-bough's and Noſe-gayes for the Altars. *Camaracatimbae*. For ſcabs, and the Poxe.

Aipo is the very Smaledge of *Portugall*, and hath the vertues, it is found onely about the Sea-coaſt, eſpecially in the Riuer of *Iannarie*, and for this cauſe it is ſharper, and not ſo ſweet in the taſte as that of *Portugall*, it may be becauſe of the Seas. *Aipo*.

There is great ſtore of Meade-mallow in this Countrie, it hath the ſame effects, it hath certaine flowers as big as a Teſter, of a very faire red, that they ſeeme Roſes of *Portugall*. Meade-Mallow.

Caraguata is a certaine kinde of thiſtle, they beare a certaine frut of a finger long and yellow, raw they make the lips to bliſter, boiled or roſted they doe no harme, but any woman with child that eateth them doth preſently abort her childe ordinarily. There bee other *Caraguatas*, that beare certaine leaues like Flags very long, of two or three fathoms, and beare a certaine Hartichocke like the *Nana*, but they taſte not well; theſe leaues laid in ſteepe doe yeeld a very fine Flaxe, vnto the threed to ſowe withall, and for fiſhing lines. *Caraguata*. It cauſeth to abort.

Timbo are certaine wonderfull herbes, that growe from the earth like a ſtring vnto the high- *Timbo*. Baite for fiſhes

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eſt top of the Mulberie trees, where they are, and ſome growe cloſe to the tree like Iuie: they are very ſtrong, and ſerue for bindings, and ſome are as big as a mans leg, and winde them neuer ſo hard they neuer breake, the barke of theſe is very fine poiſon, and ſerueth for a baite to kill the fiſh, and it is ſo ſtrong, that in the Riuers wherein it is caſt it leaueth not a fiſh aliue as farre as it hath his vertue, and of theſe there be many ſorts, and profitable as well for binders, as for to kill fiſhes.

Other herbes there be alſo that ſerue for medicines, as are Sow-thiſtles, Purcelane, Beets, Endiue, *Anenca*, Baſill, and of all there is great abundance, though theſe herbes haue not the perfection of thoſe of *Spaine*; there want no wilde Mulberies white and blacke, like thoſe of *Portugall*, and great ſtore of good Parſley, about the ſtrands, whereof a good conſerue is made; they want no Pot-flowers.

Of ſmelling herbes in this Countrie there are many, Mintes, or wilde Sage, eſpecially in *Piratininga*, they ſmell not ſo well as thoſe of *Portugall*, they haue alſo certaine *French* Mallowes, with certaine faire and pleaſant flowers which ſerue for Noſegaies. Many Lillies there are, not ſo fine nor ſo red as thoſe of the Kingdome, and ſome white ones are alſo found.

Sleeping herb. An herbe ſo called.

There groweth here in the Spring, an herbe that ſleepeth, and is like the *Mayes* of *Portugall*, and as that doth wither and ſleepe after Sun-ſet, and when it riſeth it openeth againe, and ſheweth her beautie; the ſmell is ſomewhat ſtrange. There is alſo another tree that ſleepeth in the ſame manner, and beareth certaine fine flowers, but they haue no great ſmell.

Herua viua: See M. *Harcourt* his *Guiana* Relations.

The *Quicke herbe* is of a good height, and hath boughes, and certaine iagged leaues, of a pleaſant greene, it is called *Quicke herbe*, becauſe it is ſo quicke and ſenſible, that as ſoone as it is touched with the hand or with any other thing, preſently it hangeth the head, and withereth as if they had done it great iniurie, and within a little while it commeth to his perfection, and as many times it is touched it withereth, and commeth againe to himſelfe as before.

Braſilian herbs ſmell not.

Many other herbes there be like *Origanum*, and many other ſundrie flowers, but it ſeemeth that this Clymate, either for the many waters, or becauſe of the Sunne, infuſeth no ſmell in the herbes, rather it ſeemes to take it away.

Of the Canes.

In this Countrie are many ſorts of Canes, and *Tacuara* is as big as a mans thigh; others which haue ioynts a fathome long, others whereof they make their Arrowes, and are eſteemed. Others ſo long that they haue three or foure Lances in length, theſe growe among the Woods, and as there are many, ſo there are many and long beds of Canes of many leagues, and as they growe among the trees, they goe to ſeeke the Sunne, and therefore are ſo long.

§. VI.

Of the Fiſhes that ſwimme in the ſalt water: alſo Shel-fiſhes, Trees and Fowles of the Sea: of Riuers and the Creatures which liue therein; and the Beaſts and Plants brought thither out of Portugall.

Oxe-fiſh, *Manati.*

THe Oxe-fiſh in theſe parts is a Royall fiſh, eſteemed aboue all other fiſhes, very healthfull in eating, and of a good taſte, either ſalted or freſh: And it rather ſeemeth Beefe then Fiſh, and ſome doubts there were, becauſe it was eaten on fiſh dayes; the fleſh is all grained like Beefe, and ſo it is cut in ſlices, and they dreſſe it at the ſmoake like Bacon, or hanged Beefe. In the taſte, if it be eaten or ſodden with Cabidge, or other herbes, it taſteth like Beefe, and dreſt in ſowce it taſteth like Mutton; and roſted, both in ſmell, taſte, and fatneſſe it is like Porke, and hath fat alſo.

The Fiſh in his making ſeemeth a land creature, and chiefly an Oxe, the head is altogether of an Oxe, with skinne and haire, eares, eyes, cheekes and tongue; the eyes are exceeding ſmall for the bodie it hath, he ſhutteth and openeth them when hee liſteth, which other fiſhes doe not; ouer the vents it hath two skinnes wherewith he cloſeth them, and by them he breatheth, and it cannot bee long vnder water without breathing, it hath no more nor other finnes but the taile: which is all round and cloſe; the bodie is of a great bigneſſe, all full of yellow haires, it hath two armes of a cubite long, with two hands like round peeles, and on them he hath fiue fingers all cloſe one to another, and euery finger hath his nayle like a mans nayle. Vnder theſe armes the female haue two paps, wherewith ſhee bringeth vp her young; ſhe beareth but one at once: the inward part and the inwards of this fiſh are like an Oxes, with liuer, and lights, &c. In the head ouer the eyes neere the braines it hath two ſtones of a good bigneſſe, white and heauie, they are of great eſteeme, and are the onely remedie for the Stone: for beaten to powder and drunke in wine or water it cauſeth to void the ſtone, as it happened that giuing it to a perſon to drinke, leauing other many experiences, within one houre hee voided a ſtone as bigge as an Almond, and remained ſound, being before at the point of death. The bones of this fiſh are all maſ-

ſie

lie and white like Iuorie. They make of it great store of * Butter, they take two leaues as from a hogge; and the most of the Butter it hath in the taile, which being of a yard or more in length, it melteth all into Butter, it hath a good taste, and for to dresse or frie fish, and for light. It is verie good also for Medicines, as the Hogges Grease, it is white and smelleth well, it hath no smell of fish. This fish is taken with Harping-Irons; it is found in the salt Riuers, neere the fresh water: it feedeth on an herbe that groweth by the borders, and within the Riuers; and where this herbe groweth, and neere the Springs of fresh water, whereof hee onely drinketh. They are verie great, some weigh tenne, others fifteene hundred, and such a fish hath beene taken, that an hundred men could not get it out of the water, but they broke it vp there where it was killed.

* Or Greace, or Oile: so after. *Mantega* in the *Portugall* word.

The fish *Beijupira* is like the Sturgeon of *Portugall*, and so it is held and esteemed of heere as a royall fish: it is very healthfull, fat, and of a good taste, they bee infinite, and some of their rowes are a span in compasse about: these fishes are taken in the broad Sea, with a hooke and line, it is six or seuen spannes long; the bodie is round, blacke on the backe and the belly white. *Beijupira.*

The Oxe-eie is like the *Tunnyes* of *Spaine*, as well in bignesse as in making, inward as outward; it is verie fat, it hath sometime betweene leafe and leafe courses of fat as thicke as a *Portugall* [a] Testor; they are cut in backes and bellies like the *Tunnyes*, and of them is made great store and verie good [e] Butter, it hath leaues like a Hogge, is a fish esteemed and of a good taste, it deserueth well the name of Oxe fish, as well in his beautie, as his bignesse, the eies are properly like an Oxe, and therefore it hath this name. The Oxe eie.

[a] Or foure shillings a piece.

[e] Or Greace.

The fish *Camurupi* is also a royall fish, and esteemed in these parts, the graine of it all in flakes, enterlarded with fat and grease, and of a good taste, it hath many bones through all the bodie, and is dangerous in eating. It hath a finne on the backe, which it carries alwaies raised vpwards, it is of two or three quarters long, the fish is long of twelue and thirteene quarters in length, and of a good bignesse, and two men haue much adoe to lift vp one of them, they are taken with Harping Irons, there are many of them, and much [f] Oile is made of them. *Camurupi.*

[f] Or Butter.

This wilde fish, which the *Indians* call *Piraembu*, (that is, *a fish that snorteth*, the reason is, because whersoeuer it is, is heard by his snorting) is of a good bignesse, about eight or nine spannes, it is of a good taste, and esteemed; it hath in the mouth two stones as broad as a hand, exceeding strange, with them they breake the Wilkes whereof they feed, the *Indians* esteeme the stones and weare them about their neckes as a Iewell. The wilde fish.

There are many other fishes of sundrie kinds, that are not in *Spaine*, and commonly of a good taste and healthfull. Of the fishes of *Portugall* in these parts are also many, to wit, a fish called *Tainhas*, and a great multitude, and it hath beene tried that the *Tainha* beeing fresh, and laid to the stinging of a Snake is another Vnicorne. There want no Sea-breames, a fish called *Chicharros*, it is like a Mackerill, *Pargos*, or great Sea-breames, *Sargos*, other Sea-breames, *Garazes*, *Dorados*) the Needle-fish, Cod-fishes, but these are rare, Pilchards like them of *Spaine*, are found at sometimes in the Riuer of *Ianuarie*, and the most parts of the South, Scates, and Rayes; these Rayes some haue in their mouth two bones, and breake with them the Wilkes.

All these fishes are so healthfull that in these parts they are eaten after Milke, after flesh, and all a whole Lent without Oile or Vineger, and it causeth no scabs nor other diseases as in *Europe*, but rather it is giuen to the sicke, though they haue a Feuer, or be very weake.

Because this Coast is full of many Bayes, Nookes, and Creekes, there came great store of Whales to these Concaues chiefly from May to September, when they spawne and bring vp their young, and also because they come to the great store of fish that at this time there is in this Creekes. They are sometime so many that ye may see fortie or fiftie together, men doe say that they doe cast the Amber that they find in the Sea, and whereof they also feed, and therefore is some of it found in this Coast; others doe say that the Sea it selfe doth cast it on the shoares with great tempests, and commonly it is found after a great storme, and all the beasts doe eate of this Amber, and great diligence is needfull after the tempests that they may not find it eaten. It is very dangerous to saile in small Barkes along this Coast, for besides other dangers, the Whales ouerwhelme many, if they heare any ringing, they are so scared as Horses when they heare the sound of a Drumme, and are as fierce as Lions, many runne vpon the shoare, and great store of Oile is made of them. They haue the head open, and there they breathe, and cast at once great store of water, and scatter it so in the Aire as if it were a great showre. The Whale. Ambergrise.

There is great store of the Sword-fishes, they are great and fierce, for they haue a snowt like a Sword, all full of teeth round about, verie sharpe, and as bigge as Dogges teeth or bigger; they are a mans hand or more, and the length is according to the greatnesse of the fish. Some of these snowts or Swords are of eight or ten spannes long; with these they make a cruell battell with the Whales, for raising it vpward, and striking so many strokes on her, and so fast that it is a wonderfull thing: the Sharkes resort to the bloud, and sucke it in such sort till she dieth, and so many are found dead and cut in pieces. With this snowt also they catch the fishes whereof they feed. The *Indians* vse these snowts when they are young for to beate their children, and to feare them when they are disobedient vnto them. The Sword fish. Battle with Whales.

In

A Tortoise. In this Coast are many Tortoises; there are many taken, whereof there are coffers, boxes for the hoasts, cups, &c. These Tortoises doe lay their egges in the sands, and they lay 200. or 300. egges at a time, they are as bigge as Hens egges, verie white and round as balles; they hide these egges in the sand, and when the young are hatcht, presently they goe to the water, where they are nourished, the egges also are eaten. They haue this propertie, that though you boile or roast them the white is euer soft, the inwards are like a Hogges, and they haue vents where through they breathe. They haue another particularitie, that when yee turne them on their belly, they turne presently toward the Sea, neither can they liue otherwise. Some of them are so bigge that of their shels they make whole Targets, and one was taken vpon this Coast so bigge, that twentie men could not lift, nor poise it from the ground.

Tuberones, or Sharkes. Vpon this Coast are many sorts of Sharkes, and in it are found sixe or seuen kinds of them; it is a very fierce and cruell fish, and kils many persons, especially those that swimme. The Riuers are full of them; they are so cruell that it happened one to runne after an *Indian* that went in a Boate, and put him in such a straight, that the young man leaping ashoare, the Sharke leapt after him thinking to haue caught him, and fell on drie land where they killed him. In the broad Sea where also are many, they kill them with Snares, and Harping Irons, and they are so eager, greedie, and loue flesh, and they are so deuouring, that they find in their bellies, skinnes, pieces of cloth, shirts and breeches that fall from the Sailers, they goe ordinarily accompanied with certaine verie faire fishes of diuers colours called *Pelgrimes*. They make great store of Oile of them, and the *Indians* vse the teeth in their Arrowes, because they are verie sharpe, cruell, and venemous, and verie seldome, or with great difficultie are they healed that are hurt with them.

Pelgrimes.

The flying fish. The flying fishes are ordinarily of a spanne long or little more, it hath the eies verie faire, of a certaine verie gallant picture, that beautifies it much, and doe seeme precious stones, the head is also very faire, it hath wings like Reere-mice, but of a siluer hue; they are much persecuted of the other fishes, and for to escape they flie in flockes, like Stares, or Sparrowes, but they flie not verie high, they are also good to eat, and when they flie they glad the Sailers, and many times they fall in the ship, and come in at the Cabbin windowes.

Botos and *Toninas*, are two kinds of Porpoises. Of these fishes there are great abundance, as in *Europe*.

Soles and Salmonets. A little red fish very daintie in *Spaine*. They find also in this Coast Salmonets, but they are rare, and not so esteemed, nor of so good a taste as those of *Europe*. The Soles of these parts are verie rare, they haue this propertie, that when they are to be boiled or fried they beate them, and the more strokes they giue them, the stiffer they are, and the better to eate, and if they beate them not, they are soft and nothing worth.

Of the venemous fishes. As in this Countrie of *Brasil* are many Snakes, and venemous Wormes, whereof wee will speake hereafter, there are likewise many fishes verie venemous.

Toad fish deadly. The Toad fish, in their Language, *Amayacu*, is a small fish, a spanne long, painted, it hath faire eies, taking it out of the water it snorteth verie much, and cutteth the hookes, and out of the water it swelleth much, all the poison lies in the skinne, and flaying they eate it: but eating it with the skinne it killeth. It chanced a young man to eate one with the skinne, who died almost suddenly; the Father said, I will eate the fish that killed my Sonne, and eating of it died also presently, it is a great poison for Rats, for those that eate of it doe die presently.

There is another kind of Toad fish of the same fashion that the other, but it hath many cruell prickles, as a Hedge-hogge; it snorteth, and swelleth out of the water; the skinne also killeth, especially the prickles, because they are verie venemous, fleaing it, it is eaten, and it is good for the bloudie Fluxe. There is another Toad fish, called in their tongue, *Itaoca*, it is three square, and the bodie such, that all of it is like a Dagger; it is faire, it hath the eies bluish, it is eaten fleade; the poison consisteth in the skinne, liuers, guts, and bones, whatsoeuer creature doth eate it, dieth.

Puraque, or *Torpedo*. See *Iobson*. *Puraque* is like the Scate, it hath such vertue that if any touch it, he remaineth shaking as one that hath the Palsie, and touching it with a sticke, or other thing it benummeth presently him that toucheth it, and while he holdeth the sticke ouer him, the arme that holdeth the sticke is benummed, and asleepe; it is taken with flue-nets, and with casting Nets it maketh all the bodie tremble, and benummes it with the paine, but beeing dead it is eaten, and it hath no poison.

Caramuru. The *Caramuru* are like the Sea Snakes of *Portugall*, of ten or fifteene spans long, very fat, and roasted taste like Pigge; these haue strange teeth, and many men are maymed by their bytings, and the hand or foot where they were bitten, doe rot away. It hath ouer all the bodie many prickels. The Countrimen say that they engender with the Snakes; for they finde them many times knit with them, and many in the sands carrying for the Sea Snakes.

Amoreatie. *Amoreaty* is like the Toad fish, it is full of prickels, and thrusts himselfe vnder the sand along the shoare, and prickes the foot or hand vnderneath that toucheth it, and it hath no other remedie but only by fire.

[k] A fish so called *Amaya curub* is round and of the bignesse of the [k] *Bugallos* of *Spaine*, and are very venemous, it hath the bodie full of Wartes, and therefore it is called *Curub*, that is to say, a Wart in their Language.

Iere-

Ierepomonga, is a Snake that liueth in the Sea; her manner of liuing is to lie very still, and whatsoeuer liuing thing that toucheth it, remaineth so fast sticking to it that in no wise it can stirre, and so he feedeth and sustaines himselfe. Sometimes it commeth out of the Sea, and becommeth very small, and as soone as it is toucht it sticketh fast; and if they goe with the other hand to lose themselues, they remaine also fast by it, and then it becommeth as bigge as a great Cable, and so carrieth the person to the Sea, and eateth it, and because it cleaueth so fast, it is called *Terepomong*, that is to say, *a thing that cleaueth fast.* *Ierepomonga.* Strange Sea Snake.

Finally, there are many kinds of very venomous fishes in the Sea, that haue so vehement a poison, that ordinarily none escapeth that eateth or toucheth them.

The *Mermen*, or *men of the Sea*, are called in their language *Tpupiapra*, the men of the country are so afraid of them, that many of them die only with the thought of them, & none that seeth them scapeth. Some that died already, being demanded the cause, said, that they had seene this Monster, they properly are like men, of a good stature, but their eies are very hollow. The Female are like women, they haue long haire, and are beautiful; these Monsters are found in the bars of the fresh Riuers in *Iagoaripe*, seuen or eight leagues from the Bay haue many bin found, & in the yeere 82. an *Indian* going to fish, was chased by one, and fleeing in a Canoa told it to his Master. The Master for to animate the *Indian*, would needs go see the Monster, & being careless with one hand out of the Canoa, it catcht hold of him, and carried him away, and hee was neuer seene againe, and in the same yeere died an *Indian* of *Franciscus Lorenço Cueyro*. In Port *Secure* are some seene, which haue killed some *Indians* alreadie, the manner of their killing is to embrace themselues with the person, so strongly, kissing and grasping it hard to it selfe, that they crush it in pieces remaining whole, and when they perceiue it dead, they giue some sighings in shew of sorrow, and letting them goe they runne away, and if they carrie any they eate onely the eies, the nose, the points of the fingers and toes, and priuie members, and so ordinarily they are found on the sands with these things missing. *Mermen*, or Monsters of the Sea.

The Seas of these parts are very plentifull of *Cuttles*, this kind of fish hath a hood alwaies full of very blacke Inke: this is their defence from the greater fishes, for when they come to catch them, they cast that Inke before their eies, and the water becommeth very blacke, and then hee goes his waies. They take them with shooting at them, but they baite them first, they are also taken with lights by night. For to eate them they beate them, and the more, the softer they are, and of better taste. Of the Shel-fishes. Cuttle fishes.

Apula is a shel-fish like the joint of a Cane: it is rare, it is eaten, and drinking it fasting in Powder, a souereigne remedie for the Milt or Spleene. *Apula.*

In these parts are infinite of the *Sea-fomes*, and are great, as broad as a hat; they haue many foulds wherewith they catch the fish, and resemble the *Barberie* Purles, they are not eaten; if they sting any one, they cause great paines, and cause to weepe, and so said an *Indian* that was stung with one of them, that he had receiued many wounds with Arrowes, but neuer wept till then; they are neuer seene but in neape tides (or slow waters, therefore the *Portugals* call them *Aguas mortas*, or *Dead waters.*) *Sea-fomes.*

The *Vça* is a kind of Crab found in the mire, and they are infinite, and the foode of all this Countrie, chiefly for the slaues of *Guinea*, and the *Indians* of the Countrie, they haue a good taste, vpon them is good drinking cold water. They haue a particularitie to bee noted, that when they cast their shell they goe into their holes, and there they are two or three moneths, and casting the shell, mouthes and feet, they come so out, and they grow againe as before. Sea Crabs. *Vça.*

Guainumu is a kind of Crab so great, that a mans legge will goe into their mouth. They are good to eate; when it doth thunder they come out of their holes, and make so great a noise the one with the other, that men haue gone out with their weapons, thinking they had beene enemies; if they doe eate a certaine herbe, whosoeuer eateth them then dieth, these are of the Land, but keepe in holes neere the Sea side. *Guainumu.*

The *Aratu* Crabs keepe in the trunkes of the trees, that grow in the Oowes of the Sea, when they find a Cockle that gapeth, they seeke presently some little stone, and very cunningly put it into the Cockle: the Cockle shutteth presently, and not beeing able because of the little stone it hath within, they with their mouthes doe take out the fish and eate it. *Aratu.*

There are ten or twelue kinds of Crabs in this Countrie, and as I haue said, they are so many in number, and so healthfull, that all are eaten, especially of the *Indians*, &c. Ten or twelue kinds of crabs.

The Oysters are many, and some are very great, and the meate is as broad as the palme of the hand; in these are some Pearles found very rich, in other smaller are also very fine Pearles found. The *Indians* in old time came to the Sea for Oysters, and got so many that they made great Hils of the shels, and the fishes they carried away for to eate all the yeere; vpon these Hils by the continuance of time, grew great Groues of Trees, and very thicke and high, and the *Portugals* discouered some, and euery day goe discouering others anew, and of these shels they make lime, and of one only heape was part of the Colledge of the Bay made, the Palaces of the Gouernour, and many other buildings, and yet it is not ended, the lime is very white, good for to garnish and Oysters. Note for lime.

lime

lime withall; if it bee in the raine it becommeth blacke, and for to keepe water in Cisternes it is not so sure, but for the rest as good as the stone in *Spaine*.

Muscles. There want no Muscles in this Countrie: they serue the *Indians* and the *Portugals* for Spoones and Kniues, they haue a faire siluer colour; in them is found some seed Pearle; there is a small kind of them whereon the Sea-guls doe feed, and because they cannot breake them, they haue such a naturall instinct that taking them vp into the Aire, they let them fall so many times till they breake it, and then they eate them.

Perewinkles. The *Perewinkles* are very tastefull, and good in this Countrie, and some seed Pearle is found in them, and so of the *Perewinkles*, and of the Muscles there is great store, of many and sundrie kinds.

Wilkes. The greatest *Wilkes* which are called *Guatapiggoaçu*, that is, *a great Wilke*, are much esteemed of the *Indians*, for of them they make their Trumpets, Furnitures, Beades, Brooches, Eare-rings, and Gloues for the children, and they are of such esteeme among them, that for one they will giue any one person that they haue captiue: and the *Portugals* gaue in olde time a Crowne for one: they are as white as Iuorie, and many of them are of two quarters broad, and one in length.

Piraguaig. The *Piraguaig* are also eaten, and of the shelles they make their Beades: and for so many fathome they giue a person. Of these the Sea casteth vp sometimes great heapes, a wonderfull thing. Of *Wilkes* and *Skallops* there is great quantitie in this Countrie, very faire, and to bee esteemed, of sundrie kinds.

White Corrall. They find great store of white stone Corrall vnder water, it groweth like small Trees all in leaues, and Canes as the red Corrall of *India*; and if this also were so, there would be great riches in this Countrie, for the great abundance there is of it, it is very white, it is gotten with difficultie, they make lime of it also.

Prawnes. There are great multitudes of *Prawnes*, because this Coast is almost all enuironed with shelues, and Rockes; there are also many *Sea-ruffes*, and other Monsters found in the Concauities of the Rockes, great *Crauesses* or Crabbes like those of *Europe*, it seemes there bee none in these parts.

Of the Trees that grow in salt-water. *Mangues.* The *Mangue* Trees are like the Swallowes, or *Willowes* of *Europe*, there is so great quantitie of them in the armes or creeks that the Sea maketh within the Land, that many leagues of the Land is of these Trees, that are watered with the tides. We trauelled I say leagues, and whole daies in the Riuers where these Trees are, and they are alwaies greene, faire and pleasant, and of many kinds. The wood is good to burne, and for to build houses, it is very heauie and hard as Iron; of the barke they make Inke, and it serueth to tanne Leather, and they are of many kindes. A certaine kind of them doe cast certaine twigs from the top of their length some times as long as a Launce, till they come to the water, and then they cast many branches and rootes, and these branches remaine fast in the earth, and while they are greene these twigs are tender, and because they are hollow within, they make good Flutes of them. In these Creekes are a certaine kinde

Gnats. of Gnats called *Maregnis*, as small as Hennes Lice, they bite in such sort, that they leaue such a Wheale, smart and itching that a man cannot helpe himselfe, for euen through the clothes they pricke, and it is a good penance, and mortification to suffer them on a Morning, or an Euening; there is no other remedie to defend themselues from them, but to anoint themselues with dirt, or to make a great fire and smoke.

In these Creekes are many Crabs, Oysters, and Water Rats, and there is one kind of these Rats, a monstrous thing, for all the day they sleepe, and wake all night.

In these Creekes the Parrets breeds, which are so many in number, and make such a noise, that it seemeth the noise of Sparrowes, or Dawes.

On the Sands they finde great store of Parsley, as good and better, then that of *Portugall* whereof also they make Conserues.

Birds that doe feed, and are found in the salt water.

Guiratinga. THe Bird *Guiratinga* is white, of the bigneſſe of the Cranes of *Portugall*; they are extreame white, and haue verie long feete, the bill verie cruell and sharpe, and verie faire, of a verie fine yellow, the legges are also verie long, betweene Red and Yellow. On the necke it hath the finest Plume Feathers that can bee found, and they are like the Estridges Feathers of *Africa*.

Caripira. *Caripira* by another name *Forked-tayles*, are many; they are called *Forked-tayles*, because their taile is diuided in the middle; the *Indians* make great account of the Feathers for the feathering of their Arrowes, and say that they last long, at sometimes they are verie fat, the fat is good for the loosenesse. These Birds doe vse to bring newes a land of the ships, and they are so certaine

Note. in this that very seldome they faile, for when they are seene, ordinarily within twentie or thirtie daies the ships doe come.

Gauca

Guaca is properly the *Sea-mew* of *Portugall*, their ordinarie food are *Cockles*, and because they are hard, and they cannot breake them, they take them in their bill, and letting them fall many times they breake them and eate them; of these *Sea-meawes* there are an infinite number of kinds, that the Trees and the strands are full of them. *Guaca.*

Guiratecontecon is called in *Portugall Scald-pate*, it is called *Guiratecontecon*, that is, a *Bird that hath deadly accidents*, and that dieth and liueth againe, as though it had the Falling sickneſſe, and these fits are so great that many times the *Indians* doe find them along the strands, and take them in their hands, and thinking they are dead doe sling them away, and they assoone as they fall doe rise and flie away, they are white and faire, and there are other kinds of these that haue the same accidents. *Guiratecontecon.*

The *Calamar* are as bigge as Turtle-doues, or Pigeons; the men of the Countrie say, that they lay their Egges in the Sea, and there they hatch, and breed their young; they flie not, but with their wings and feet they swimme very swiftly, they foreshew great calmes and showres, and in calme weather they are so many along the shippes that the Mariners cannot tell what to doe; they are euen the very spite it selfe, and melancholy. *Calamar, of Sea-stampers.*

The *Ayaya* are as bigge as a *Pye-annet*, more white then red, they haue a faire colour of white bespotted with red, the bill is long and like a Spoone. For to catch the fish, it hath this slight; it striketh with the foot in the water, and stretching out his neck, tarrieth for the fish and catcheth it, and therefore the *Indians* say it hath humane knowledge. *Ayaya.*

The *Caracara* is small and gray, it hath faire eies with a verie faire red circle, it hath a strange note, for he that heareth it thinketh it is of a verie great bird, it beeing verie small; for it singeth with the mouth, and iointly behind it maketh a noise so sounding, loud and strong, though not smelling verie well, that it is a wonder, it maketh this sweet Musicke two houres before day, and at Euening till the Euening twilighe be done, and ordinarily when it singeth, foreshoweth faire weather. *Caracara.*

The *Guara* is as bigge as a *Pye-annet*, it hath a long bill with a crooked point, and his feet of a quarter or span long, when it is hatched, it is blacke, and after becommeth gray, when it alreadie doth flie, it becommeth whiter then any Doue, afterward it turneth to a bright red, yet at length it becommeth redder then Scarlet it selfe, in this colour he continueth till his death, they are many in quantitie, but they haue no other kind. They breed well in Houses, their food is fish, flesh, and other things; their food must be alwaies in water, the *Indians* esteeme greatly the Feathers of these, and of them they make their Diademes, Fringes wherewith they couer the Swords they kill withall, and they make Bracelets to weare on their armes, and fasten them to their haire like Rose buds, and these are their Iewels, and Chaines of Gold wherewith they adorne themselues in their Feasts, and they so much esteeme, yea, they beeing so much giuen to eat humane flesh, they giue many times the enemies they haue for to eat in change for these Feathers. These birds goe in flights, and if the Sunne doth shine on them vpon the Sands, or in the Aire, it is a faire thing to behold. Many other birds there are that do feed on the Sea, as *Heauenshewes*, *Cormorones*, and a certaine kinde of *Eagles* (which are our *Asprenalles*) which would bee tedious to recite. *Guara.*

The maine Riuers wherewith this Prouince is watered are innumerable, and some verie great, and haue verie faire barres, not wanting in the Riuers, Brookes and Fountaines, whereof the Countrie is verie plentifull, and the waters ordinarily are verie faire, cleere and healthfull, and plentifull of infinite fishes of sundrie kinds, of the which some are of an exceeding greatnesse, and of great value, and verie healthfull, and are giuen vnto the sicke for Medicines. These fishes doe the *Indians* catch with Nets, but ordinarily with Hooke and Line. Among these there is a royall fish of a good taste and sauour, that is verie like the *Sturgeon* of *Spaine*, this is called *Iau*, they are of fourteene and fifteene quarters long, and sometimes bigger, and verie fat, and they make Butter (or Grease) of them. And at sometimes the fish is so much, they fat their Hogges with it. In the small Creekes are manie *Shrimpes*, and some of a quarter and more in length, and of a verie good taste and sauour. *Of the fresh Riuers, and the things that in them are.*

Fresh water Snakes (and Creatures of the water.)

THe Snake *Cucurijuba* is the greatest, or of the greatest that are in *Brasill*, notable as well for greatnesse as beautie, some are taken of fiue and twentie or thirtie foote long, and a yard in compasse. It hath a Chaine along the backe, of notable Pictures and verie faire, that beginneth at the head and endeth in the Taile; it hath Teeth like a Dogge, and laying hold on a man, Cow, Stagge, or Hogge, winding it with certaine turnes of her Taile, it swalloweth the said thing whole. And after she hath it so in her belly, she lets her selfe rot, and the Rauens and Crowes do eate her all, so that there remaineth nothing but the bones, and afterward it breedeth new flesh againe, and renewes as before it was. The reason whereof is (say the men of the Countrie) because while it putrifieth it hath the head in the mire, and hauing life in the noddle they liue againe; and because this is knowne alreadie, when they finde them putrified, they seeke out the head *Cucurijuba* a great Snake many wayes wonderfull.

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head and kill it. The manner of their feeding is to waite for their prey, either beaſts or people laide along by the waies, and when it paſſeth, it winds it ſelfe about it, and killeth and eateth it. After they are full they ſleepe in ſuch ſort, that ſometimes they cut two or three pieces of their Taile, they not waking, as hath happened that after they had cut two pieces of the Taile of one of theſe, the next day they found her dead with two wild Bores in her belly; and it was about twelue yards and an halfe long.

Manima. The Snake *Manima* keepeth alwaies in the water, it is yet greater then the other abouesaid; it is much painted: and from his Pictures did the *Gentiles* of *Braſill* take the painting of themſelues. That *Indian* holds himſelfe for bleſſed, that it doth ſhew it ſelfe vnto, ſaying, they ſhall liue long, ſeeing the *Manima* did ſhew it ſelfe vnto him.

Many other kinds of Snakes there be in the Riuers of freſh water, which I leaue for breuitie ſake, and becauſe there is nothing in particular that can be ſaid of them.

Water *Lizards.* *Iacare* (or Crocodile.) The *Iacare Lizards* are of a notable greatneſſe, and ſome are as bigge as Dogges, their ſnowt is like a Dogge, and ſo haue they their Teeth verie long, they haue ouer all the bodie certaine plates like an armed Horſe, and when they arme themſelues, there is no Arrow can pierce them, they are painted of diuers colours, they doe no hurt to the people, but rather they take them eaſily with Snares, ſome haue beene taken of fifteene quarters (or ſpans) long, and the *Indians* eſteeme them much, and hold them for eſtate as the *Rimbabas*, that is, Dogges, or any other thing of eſtate. They keepe in the water, and on the land, they lay Egges as bigge as Geeſe, and ſo hard that ſtriking one againſt another, they tingle like Iron. Where theſe doe haunt they are preſently perceiued, by the great cries they giue; the fleſh of theſe ſmelleth very much, eſpecially his Cods of Muske, and they are of eſteeme, their dung hath ſome vertue, eſpecially it is good for the *Lelidas*.

Hard Egges.

Iaguarucu. A great Dogge. This ſeemeth ſome kind of the *Hippopetamas*. The *Iaguarucu* is a beaſt greater then any Oxe, it hath Teeth of a great quarter long, they keepe in and out of the water, and doe kill men; they are rare; ſome of them are found in the Riuer of Saint *Francis*, and in *Paraguacu*.

Atacape. The *Atacape* are Woolues ſmaller, but much more hurtfull, for they come out of the water to watch for men, and being verie ſwift they kill ſome perſons and eate them.

Iaguapopeba. The *Iaguapopeba* are the true *Otters* of *Portugall*. There is another ſmall beaſt of the bigneſſe of it is called *Zariguenein*, theſe haue rich Skinnes for Furres; and of theſe water beaſts, there are many other kinds; ſome doe no hurt, others are verie fierce.

Baepipa. The *Baepipa* are a certaine kind of *Mermen* as bigge as children, for they differ nothing from them, of theſe there are many and doe no harme.

Water-hogge. There be many of the water Hogges *Capigoara*, and are of the bigneſſe of land-hogges, but they differ in faſhions; in the roofe of the mouth it hath a very great ſtone that doth ſerue him for great Teeth. This the *Indians* hold for a Iewell for their children, ſonnes and daughters. It hath no taile, they continue long vnder water, but they lodge on the Land, and in it they bring vp their young; their foode is graſſe, and fruites that they find along the Riuers.

In the freſh Riuers of waters are many kinde of *Igta* Scallops, great and ſmall. Some are ſo bigge as good Siues, and ſerue to ſift their meale with them; other are ſmaller, and ſerue for Spoones, all of them are long, and of a ſiluer colour, in them are ſome Pearles.

In the Riuers are found many of the *Cagados*, (a Sea bird ſo called) and they are ſo many in number, that the *Tapuyas* doe feed fat in a certaine time of the yeere with the Egges, and doe ſeeke for them as for ſome other daintie food.

Guararick. Men dye with hearing it. There want no Frogges in the Riuers, Fountaines, Puddles, and Lakes, and they are of many kinds eſpecially theſe *Guararici*. The feare that the *Indians* haue thereof is a wonderfull thing, that of the onely hearing it they die, and tell them neuer ſo much they haue no other remedie, but let themſelues die, ſo great is the imagination and apprehenſion that they take of the hearing it ſing, and whatſoeuer *Indian* that heareth it dieth, for they ſay it doth caſt from it ſelfe a brightneſſe like a lightning.

All theſe maine Riuers haue ſo great and ſo thicke Woods on the one ſide and the other, that they ſaile many leagues by them and ſee no ground, on either ſide, in them are many things to be told, which I omit for breuities ſake,

Of the Beaſts, Trees and Herbes, that came from Portugall, *and doe grow and breed in* Braſill.

THis *Braſill* is alreadie another *Portugall*, and not ſpeaking of *China*, which is much more temperate and healthfull, without great heates or colds, where the men doe liue long, with few ſickneſſes, as the Collicke, of the Liuer, the Head, the Breaſt, Scabs, nor any other Diſeaſes of *Portugall*. Neither ſpeaking of the Sea, which hath great ſtore of fiſh, and wholſome, nor of the things of the Land, which God hath giuen to this Nation, nor of many other commodities which the men haue to paſſe their liues withall; though the commoditie of houſes is not great,

for

for the most of them are of mud walls, and thatched, though now they beginne to make buildings of lime and stone, and tile, neither are the commodities for apparell many, because the Countrie yeeldeth no other cloth but Cotton-wooll. In this place the people are in great need, especially from the Riuer of *Ianuarie*, vnto Saint *Vincent*, for want of ships to bring Merchandize and Clothes, but in the most Captaineships they are prouided of all kinde of clothings and Silkes, and the men goe well apparelled, and weare many Silkes and Veluets. But it is alreadie *Portugall* as I said for the many Commodities that from thence doe come vnto it.

Horses. In this Prouince is a good breed of the Horses, and there be alreadie great abundance of them and very good Iennets of a great price, that are worth 200. and 300. Duckets and more, and there is alreadie running at the Geese, at the Ring, at Canes, and other Sports and Skirmishes, and from hence they beginne to prouide *Angola* of Horses whereof they stand in great want.

Kine. Though this Countrie hath weake pastures, and in *Port Seeure* is an Herbe that killeth the beasts if they doe eate it, notwithstanding there is a great number of them alreadie, and all *Brasill* is full of great Heards, and some haue 500. some a 1000. heads, especially in the fields of *Piratininga*, because it hath good pastures, and are like to them of *Portugall*, and it is a pleasant thing to see the young breed that is there.

Swine. The Swine doe like very well heere, and they beginne to haue great multitudes, and heere it is the best flesh of all, yea, better then Hennes flesh, and it is giuen to the sicke, and hath a very good relliſh and taste.

Sheepe. Vnto the Riuer of *Ianuarie* are many sheepe found alreadie, and Weathers, and they fatten so much that they burst with fatnesse: it is not here so good flesh as in *Portugall*.

Goates. The Goates are yet but few, but yet they like well in this Countrie, and doe multiply verie much, and in a short time there will be a great multitude.

Hennes. The Hennes are infinite, and greater then in the Realme of *Portugall*, and because the Countrie is temperate they breed well, and the *Indians* doe esteeme them, and breed them within the Maine, three hundred and foure hundred leagues, the flesh here is not so good as in the Realme.

Turkies. The Hennes of *Peru*, like well in this Countrie, and there is great abundance of them, and there is no Banquet where they are not a dish.

Geese and Duckes. The Geese doe like well in this Countrie, and are in great abundance, there is also here another kind of the Countrie it selfe, and are farre greater and fairer.

Dogges. The Dogges haue multiplied much in this Countrie, and are of many kindes; they are esteemed heere as well of the *Portugals* which brought them, as of the *Indians* that esteeme them aboue all the things they haue: because they helpe them in their hunting, and are domesticall creatures, and so the women doe carrie them on their backe from one place to another, and nourish them as Children, and giue them sucke at the breast.

Trees. Trees with prickles, as Orenges, Pomecitrons, Limons * of both kinds, of sundrie sorts do grow well in this Countrie, which almost all the yeere haue fruit, and there are so great Orenges and Pomecitron Groues, that euen among the Woods they grow, and the abundance is so great of those things that they are not set by. They haue a great enemie, the Ants, notwithstanding there is great abundance, without euer being watered, and as there wanteth no Sugar, they make infinite Conserues, to wit, of Citrons, Limons, the flowres, &c.

* For one kind are called *Limas*, as it were the Female.

Fig-trees. The Fig-trees grow verie well heere, and there bee many kindes, as long Figges, blacke Figges, Figge-Dates, and many other kinds, to the Riuer of *Ianuarie*, that are hotter ground, they yeeld two crops in the yeere.

Quinces. In the Riuer of *Ianuarie* and Saint *Vincent*, in the fields of *Piratininga*, doe grow many Quinces, and yeeld foure crops a yeere, one after another, and there are men that with verie few Quince Trees doe gather, ten, and twelue thousand Quinces, and here they make great store of Marmelets and verie shortly will those of the Iland of *Madera* be spared.

Vines. There are many sorts of Grapes, as *Feriads, Boaes, Bastard, Greene, and Gallizian Grapes*, and many other. To the Riuer of *Ianuarie* they haue all the yeere Grapes, if they will haue them, for if they cut them euerie moneth, they beare euerie moneth Grapes successiuely. In the Riuer of *Ianuarie* especially in *Piratininga*, are Vineyards, and are so loaden that they bow to the ground, they yeeld but one crop. They beginne alreadie to make Wine, though with trouble to preserue it, for in wood the Worme doth presently eate thorow, and earthen vessels they haue none, but seeke remedies of their owne, and doe continue it, and in a short space they will haue many Wines.

Roses. In the Riuer of *Ianuarie* and *Piratininga*, are many Roses; one, Damaske Roses, whereof they distill great store of Rose-water, and Conserue of Roses for to purge, and not to purge, for of the other they haue not, they seethe the Damaske Roses in water, and straining them they make Conserue of Roses very good wherewith they doe not purge.

Plants and Herbes. Muske Melons want not in many Captaine ships, and are good and fine, many Gourds whereof they make Conserues, many Beets whereof they make it also, Cabbages, Cowcumbers, Raddishes, Turnops, Mustard, Mintes, Coriander, Dill, Fennell, Pease, Leekes, Onions,

Garlicke, Borrage, and other Pulses which were brought from *Portugall*, and grow well in this Countrie.

Wheate.

In the Riuer of *Ianuarie*, and fields of *Piratininga*, groweth Wheate, they vse it not because they haue no Horse-mils, nor Water-mils, and they haue also great trouble in the gathering of it, for because of the many waters, and rankenesse of the ground it commeth altogether, and it multiplieth so much, that one Corne beareth sixtie and eightie Eares, and some beeing ripe, others grow anew, and it multiplieth almost *in infinitum*. Of lesse then a [i] quarter of Barley that a man sowed, in the field of *Piratininga*, hee gathered sixtie and odde [k] *Alqueires*, and if men would giue themselues to this commoditie, the Countrey would be verie rich and plentifull.

[i] That is foure bushels and an halfe.

[k] Note that the *Alquerque* containeth 18. bushels.

There are many sorts of *Basill*, and Gilliflowres Yellow, and Red, and doe grow well in *Piratininga*, and other smelling herbes, as the [l] Onion *sese, &c.*

Smelling herbes.

[l] An herbe so called.

Aboue all this, *Brasil* hath one commoditie for men to liue, that in it doe liue disorderly, that there are but few Lice or Fleas, but among the *Indians*, and *Guinne Moores* there are some Lice; but there want no Hornets, Dorres, Waspes, Flies, and Gnats of so many kinds, and so cruell and venemous, that stinging any person, the place swelleth for three or foure dayes, especially in the fresh men, which haue their bloud fresh and tender, with the good Bread, Wine and delicate fare of *Portugall*.

Vermine *Insecta*.

CHAP. II.

Articles touching the dutie of the Kings Maiestie our Lord, and to the common good of all the estate of Brasill. *Written (as is thought) by the Authour of the former Treatise.*

The first Article.

IT greatly behoooueth for the vniuersall good, and preseruation of the estate of *Brasill*, that the King our Lord doe take all the Captainesships for his, satisfying the Lordships. For as the Tenths are all his Maiesties, and the Lordships haue no more then the tenth, which is verie little, at the least in the Captainesships of the *Holy Ghost*, Saint *Vincent*, Port *Secure*, and the Ilets, the said Captainesships are neuer prouided, neither haue Powder, Bullet, or Caleeuer, &c. for to defend themselues from the enemies, and whatsoeuer *French* or *English* shippe that goeth thither, doth put them in such danger, that either they must giue them entrance, and traffick with them, or leaue them the Towne and goe to the Woods, as now it was seene in the Captainesships of the *Holy Ghost*, and Saint *Vincent*, and being the Kings they be otherwise prouided, making Fortresses in the barres for their defence, at the least in those of the *Holy Ghost*, and the Riuer of *Ianuarie*, as it was done in that of Saint *Vincent*, in the which ships may come in at any houre, and in this manner will haue a delight to dwell, and labour in them the which now doe liue in trouble and complaints, seeing themselues so disfauoured, and in any danger of warre they rather thinke how to flee away, and escape with their Wiues and Children, then how to defend the Countrey, whose safetie, preseruation, and augmenting importeth so much, as is notorious to the good of all *Peru*.

Weakenesse of the *Portugals* in *Brasill*, how much and whence.

The second Article.

It seemeth necessarie that in *Brasill* there be a Court Royall, where many causes may be determined, as there is in *Peru*, *New Spaine*, and in all his Maiesties Prouinces.

The first reason that for this is offered, is, that the people whereof at the first this Countrey was inhabited, commonly were banished for facts committed in *Portugall*. And as at the beginning there was no Iustice Royall in it, at the least in the Captainesships, and Lands of the Lords, as all of them were, but onely Captaines and Iudges, placed by the Lords of them, there was little regard of Iustice, as well in them which ruled, the which had authoritie for to kill, hang, &c. and as they had no Science, nor peraduenture Conscience, ruled rather by humane respects, friendships, hatreds, and proper gaines, then by direct reason, as in the subiects, the which as there was no Iustice but of Gossips, (as the speech is) did liue at large as they listed, hauing no bodie to contradict them, and though the Kings afterward did take & reserue the Iustice to themselues sending Gouernours, and generall Iudges, and though there come many men of more qualitie to continue the inhabiting of the Countrey, notwithstanding a great part of that first libertie and licence remained still, with the which many euils were, and are committed without punishment. For many of them haue alreadie so much power with their riches (gained God knoweth how) that I know not whether those that now doe rule dare meddle with them, bee it that they feare their power and might, or because *fere omnes diligunt munera*: and the Iustices that went, and will not be interessed but beare the Rod vpright, let them prepare themselues to suffer troubles in this Countrey.

Brasill peopled with exiles.

The second reason is, that many Sutes may here be determined definitiuely, in the which are delayings of many yeeres, without any obtayning of Iustice by Appeales and Grieuances to *Portugall*. Now if the Gouernour (as many times it hapneth) will put himselfe in the office of the

the generall Iudge, and with his power binds his hands, all goes topsieturuie, without any ciuill peace in the Countrey, but rather a continuall confusion, and perturbation, and the matter commeth to this point, that the Gouernour apprehendeth the Iudge himselfe (as alreadie it hath hapned) and sendeth him to *Portugall*, and in the meane while the Iustice of the Countrey remayneth in the hands of him that cannot administer it, and in stead of reason entreth affection, or passion, and then nothing is done but what the Gouernor listeth. The same behoueth, and peraduenture more, to that which appertaineth to his Majesties goods, wherein are difficult matters, and haue need of a man of knowledge and conscience, for to decide them.

The third reason is, that there may learned men of conscience bee there for to determine the Iustice of warre, for want of that haue many been made in *Brasil*, against all Iustice, which was a great cause of the destruction of the men of the Countrie, and so all the Coast is almost vnhabited, And although the Kings past commended this greatly, and commanded that no warre should be held lawfull, but that which should be made by order of the Gouernour generall, hee taking first counsell with the Bishop, and Fathers of the company, and experienced persons of the Countrey, and of good consciences, and the Iustice of the warre being determined by them, notwithstanding many times it is not done with such examination as the cause requireth: and so either the Fathers of the company are not called thereunto, or if they be called, it is for a complement of Iustice; and they haue more regard to the hope of the profit that is offered them, of getting of slaues in the said warre, then vnto the Iustice of it, and to the common good, and danger they put themselues in, for sometimes they fare euill in the broyle, with the death of many *Christians*, both *Portugals* and *Indians*. With these warres especially all the Coast of *Pernambuco*, which beginneth from the River of Saint *Francis* thitherward, which are fiftie leagues, and the greatest part of the Maine is disinhabited, hauing before a most copious number of *Indians*: and so now that Captaineship wanteth *Indian* friends, to helpe them to defend, and it is, euery day wasted, slaine, and eaten of the *Indians Pitiguares* of *Paraiba*, which before were their friends, whom they did also great injustice to.

Iesuites complaint for not being called to counsels of warre.

Depopulations.

The third Article is about the Kings Customers Accounts, &c.

His Majestie hath a great obligation to the *Indians* of *Brasil*, to aide them with all corporall and spirituall remedie. For almost all those of this Coast are almost consumed with sicknesses, warres and tyrannies of the *Portugals*, and those which escaped, went into the Maine to their kindred, and neither haue these their liues there. For when the ransomes of slaues did end, which were held for lawfull, they inuented Armies forced goe to the Maine to bring them to the Sea for to serue themselues of them perpetually.

The fourth Article. Wast of the *Indians* by *Portugals*.

These companies are made in this manner, three or foure or more persons doe joyne, and euerie one of them doe put in so much stocke, and aske licence of the Gouernour to goe into the Maine to bring free *Indians*, the Gouernour grants it, with his order, to wit, that they bring them without any force or deceit, but with their owne good will, declaring to them, that they come to serue the *Portugals*, and to helpe them in their labours, Sugar-mills and other workes. Hauing this Licence, the Venturers doe ioyne people to send into the Maine, to wit, Interpreters, and other persons, that sometime came to fiftie or sixtie with their pieces and other weapons, and with many *Indian* Archers both free and bond, that doth carrie their burdens of the ransome and the victuals, and with helpe if by deceit they cannot bring the people they goe to seeke, they may bring it by force.

Portugals wily manner of wronging the Natiues.

With this Licence in this manner they depart, and neuer keepe the order set downe, as it is manifest and all doe openly confesse without contradiction, for presently when they are departed they say, that if that should be declared vnto them there, that certaine it is, that no *Indian* will come, and therefore they must vse deceits and force, for they haue no other meanes to moue them from their Countries, and with this purpose they goe, without any regard of the order, neither of them that goe to the Maine, nor of the Iustices when they come from thence, and so they vse these Licences, without any examining of them. Now when they come to the Townes of the *Indians*, that are within the Maine, 100. and 200. leagues, they beginne presently their deceits, saying that they come for them by commandement of the Gouernour, that they may come to enioy the good things of the Sea, and that they shall bee together in their Villages by themselues, and at their will (without making any manner of repartition) and that from thence they shall helpe the *Portugals* in their warres, and other things. Other whiles they tell them that the Gouernour, and the Fathers of the company doe send for them for to bee in the Churches of their kinsmen, which doe learne the things of God, naming some ancient principall *Indians*, whom they much esteeme, and hold as Fathers, and that they wil be with them, and for this there hath beene some of these Interpreters, that ordained among themselues one, whom they fained to be a Father of the company, with a shauen crowne, and a long habit to deceiue them more easily.

When these deceits, & other such do not preuaile, they vse violence, labouring to kil some, that doe hinder this comming, for the which it hath hapned to put poison in the vessels of their wine, with many other inuentions, wherewith they feare them. At once, that comming alreadie by the way, because one of the principall *Indians* did shew to come with an euill will, and did impute it

Manifold iniuries.

with the reſt, it is ſaid that they tooke for a remedie two or three to remaine behind with him alone, and being aſleepe they choaked him with a Towell, and gaue out, that hee died ſuddenly, becauſe he would not come. Other whiles they kill ſome of other Nations, that are by the way, all to the end, that thoſe which they bring doe not goe backe, and in this manner they bring ſuch a number of them, without prouiſion of neceſſarie food, that by the way with hunger and euill vſage, a great part of them doe die, and thoſe that doe come are in ſuch a caſe, and ſo weake, that it is needfull before they come into the houſes, the Fathers of the company to goe about the Woodes chriſtening the children at their Mothers breaſts that they may not die vnbaptized, and others they find halfe dead, and full of flies, that the Mothers haue left, as not able to bring them.

Who now are the *Canibals*?

Vnchriſtian Antichriſtian wickednesse.

Being come to the Sea thoſe that ſcape aliue, hauing promiſed them that they will put them in Townes, at their owne will, preſently the venturers doe diuide them among themſelues, and many times they ſeparate fathers from children, wiues from husbands, brethren from brethren, &c. and euery one carrieth his part to their places, ſome one hundred, another two hundred, another thirtie, &c. euery one according to the ſtocke he putteth in. Beſides this, they giue their ſhare to the men that went to bring them (for this is the money they pay them withall) to one foure, to another ten &c. and as many of theſe haue no lands for to maintaine them, they ſell them preſently to others, and ſo they haue marked and ſold a great number to theſe and other Captaineſhips, and as the poore men doe ſee themſelues deceiued, and toiled with ouer-much labour, with pure griefe they die, and ſome runne away and goe euen to their enemies, willing rather to be eaten of them, then to abide ſuch vſage among the *Portugals*, and in this ſort of 30. or 40000. ſoules, that haue beene brought, I know not whether 9000. bee aliue, and with this a great part of the Maine is deſtroyed. For the ſame licences doe the Captaines giue in their Captaineſhips, and the ſame is vſed.

Effects of tyrannie.

Theſe vexations and tyrannies, are the cauſe that the *Indians* loſe the patience, which alwaies they haue had exceeding, and doe kill ſome *Portugals*. Now in the Maine of the Bay the *Tapuyas* a people which alwayes had great friendſhip with the *Portugals*, and gaue them paſſage through their Countries, and aide to bring the *Indians* aboueſaid, did riſe with the deceits and lies of certaine *Portugals*, that went thither with title of bringing Salpeeter, and killed ſome eighteene or twentie of them. Some of the Maine of the Captaineſhip of the *Holy Ghoſt*, did kill certaine *Indians* that certaine *Meſtizos* did carrie with them, going thither to play their accuſtomed prankes, for within their owne houſes they would haue killed them, and the Mungrels eſcaped by flight, and with this that people is already an enemie of the *Portugals*. The Maine of the Riuer of *Ianuarie* with ſuch other lyes did reuolt, being before our great friends, and killed ſome *Portugals*, hauing a little before a Father of the company gone thither at the requeſt of the Inhabitors of the Citie, and had beene ſixe moneths with them, confirming them in the friendſhip of the *Portugals*, and preaching the faith vnto them and brought from diuers and remote places ſome 600. ſoules which now are *Chriſtians* baptized almoſt all in their Towne with a Church made within the Riuer of *Iannarie*, which are great helpe for the defence of that Citie, and they helpe euery one to doe their worke: and many other remayning moued for to follow their Kinſmen, with this reuolting all ceaſſed, and ſo there as alſo in other places, the gates vnto Conuerſion are altogether ſhut vp.

Conuerſing.

Reuerſing.

To the Maine of the Bay, twice the Fathers of the company haue gone at their owne coſt, (with helpe of the *Indians* chriſtened, which doe teach,) to bring ſome people for to furniſh the Churches, which beginnes to diminiſh, and to preach the Law of God vnto them. And there they found of this Soule-leſſe people, that were in the Townes of the *Indians*, as in their owne houſes, and the Fathers bringing ſome number of *Indians*, which came from verie farre to become *Chriſtians*. Theſe *Portugals* laboured by all meanes poſſible to diſſwade them. Sometimes preaching to the *Indians*, that the Fathers brought them deceiued, and that heere they would take away their Cuſtomes, as the drinking of their Wines, their many Wines, and whip their children, &c. the which is an vſe and cuſtome among theſe prattlers for to diſcredit the Fathers. Not being able to preuaile by this meanes, they tooke another way and did contract with ſome other *Indians*, of the principalleſt of thoſe that remained there, that they ſhould ſell them thoſe which the Fathers carried, giuing them great ranſomes for them, and with this they pretended to take them away perforce, before their eies, ſo that it was needfull the Fathers to bid the *Indians* to defend themſelues, and with this remedie they left them. Others came to the high waies and did ſteale them that the Fathers brought, as one *Adeſtido* which tooke ſome twentie and odde, and tranſported them by another way, taking wife and children, brethren, and all the Family from a principall *Indian*, and left him alone becauſe he was ſore hurt in one foot, and was not able to goe.

Diuerſing.

Inuerting.

Aduerſing.

Auerſing.

With theſe iarrings of theſe men of this trade, the *Indians* know not whom to truſt, nor whom to beleeue, and by the fame that they heare already of the vſage that is done here to theirs, that come to the Sea. For this cauſe a great principall *Indian* of the Mountaine of *Rari*, that is from hence about two hundred leagues, where now is the greateſt force of people, that eſcaped from

from the tyrannies, sent hither a Sonne of his to see how it went, and being true that which the Fathers had said, that he should make heere some prouision for food sowing some grounds, and to returne thither with some Father for him and for all his Family; for to come and receiue the law of God. The Sonne came, and finding the truth, and seeing the vsage that is done to theirs in the Sugar-workes, and other labours of the *Portugals*, he presently husbanded some grounds in one of the Townes of the *Christians*, that are in protection, and doctrine of the Fathers, with a determination to goe and bring his Father as he commanded him. Many other of this Port did leaue their Fathers, being mooued in that Mountaine, but with feare of these assaults aboue said they dare not come. Likewise they haue here no grounds fitting for their maintenance, for it is all occupied by the *Portugals*. Besides this the Nation of the *Tapuyas*, which haue diuers Languages, doe not agree well in the Sea Coast, for ordinarily they liue here of the Mountaine, and in their owne Countrey they might haue the Euangelicall Law preached vnto them. Peruerting.

All the aboue said well considered, it seemed necessary that his Maiestie should forbid these aduenturings, sending a commandement, that none might goe thither without expresse warrant of his Maiestie, vnder great penalties, the which with effect might be executed, and that neither the Gouernours might giue any licence for them, seeing how they which carrie the said Licenses neuer kept, nor will keep the order giuen them, as aforesaid. For all men know and say, that if it be kept, neuer will any *Indian* come from the Maine, as vntill now none came but deceiued, and this bring so publicke, and daily, and not the fault of one or two particular men, but a common vse of all the Countrey, that it passeth before the eies of the Iustices, neuer vntill this houre did the Gouernours forbid them, rather past by it not punishing any of them that so brought them, nor redressing the poore *Indians*. These aduenturings taken away, the Fathers would aduenture themselues to goe among them, to preach the faith of Iesus Christ, and make a Christianitie, and in time, *Portugals* or *Spaniards*, might goe thither, but such as were men of a good conscience with order from his Majestie, that might inhabit, and helpe in the conuersion, and in this manner, by the grace of God all that people would bee subject to the yoke of the faith, and obedience of the King our Lord. An admonishing.

The *Indians* that are brought from the Maine, and are in the power of the *Portugals*, and all that are by the Coast of *Brasill*, as wel free as slaues, haue no kind of doctrine by obligation, that is imposed vpon them; for neither Bishops, nor Curates haue any care of it, bearing themselues vpon the Fathers of the company, and in thirty foure yeeres since that the company was sent to these parts by the King *Don Iohn* the third, no Curate in all *Brasill* did euer say Masse in respect of the *Indians*, or slaues borne in the Countrey; only they baptize the children with their offerings, and those that are already growne they need no more preparation, then to bring them to be baptized, without giuing them any other knowledge of the faith, & so it hapneth by their ignorance, that not only they receiue not the grace of Baptisme, but also sometimes not the character. It is pittie to see the little regard that is had in this, being the principall dutie of the King our Lord. The fift Article. Note. Subuerting.

The Fathers of the company since they entred in to *Brasill*, tooke this matter effectually, and in all places where they haue houses, there is alwaies a particular Masse said for the slaues all Sundayes and Feast dayes, catechising them euery day, and sometime Morning and Euening: They labour to learne the Countrey Language, and instruct them in the matters of faith, and law of God, they baptize, marrie, and doe shriue, and administer other Sacraments vnweariedly. But because they cannot accomplish all, and many doe perish in want for the Curates take no care of them as if they were not their sheepe) it is necessary that his Majestie doe prouide in this some more effectuall remedies.

The first remedie offered was, that his Majestie should command to make a Catechisme in that *Brasilian* Language, which is vniuersall from the Riuer *Maranyon*, vnto the Riuer of *Plate*, and should be imprinted at his Majesties cost, and to enjoyne euery Curate to haue it, and to teach by it. For though the most of them haue not the language, they may notwithstanding learne to read it very well, and to teach by the Booke, as at the beginning, and euen now some Fathers of the company doe, that the *Indians* hearing him reade will vnderstand, &c. Catechisme in the *Brasilian* Tongue.

It is very necessary that his Majestie doe command to examine the Iustice that these *Portugals* haue to serue themselues of these free *Indians* they bring from the Maine in the manner aboue said, for although they hold them with a title of free, they haue no libertie but in name, for in truth they are more then Captiues, according to the vsage they haue. For first, as touching the soules, they care not for their doctrine, nor that they bee baptized, married; or liue, like *Christians*, they haue no other respect but of their seruice, as of any other brute beast, and so let them liue in adulterie, without hearing Masse, or shrieuing, and many die without Baptisme. As touching their bodies, their labours are immoderate and perpetuall by night and by day, contrarie to the nature of the *Indians*, which are sustained with very little labour in their Countries. If they fall sicke they haue then lesse care of them then of their slaues, for of these because they cost them their money, they haue more regard, as the Masters themselues doe confesse. The fixt Article. Slauerie of the *Indians*.

Those that haue them in their power, are serued of them, as of slaues, all their liues, not letting them goe to another Master or place, though it be to the Churches of their kinsmen, that are

Christians, where they may be better instructed in matters of the faith, and of their saluation; and if they doe goe to any place, though it be to the said Churches, they labour by themselues, and by the Iustices, to bring them againe, as indeede they doe bring, and put them in Irons, as though they were slaues. Whence ariseth a great scandall to the *Indians* Christian, their kinsmen, some of the which, as yet are tender Plants in the faith, forsake the Churches and flee with their familie about the woods, grieued with the iniuries that are done to theirs, especially in matter of libertie, which they so much esteeme, and for feare they will doe the like with them, and so wandering are lost and neuer seene againe; and truth it is, that if it were not for the continuall care and vigilancie that the Fathers of the companie haue ouer them, and the loue the *Indians* doe beare them, because they are their masters; and seeing that for their defence they are hated of the *Portugals*, and murmured at, they had not continued, no not these three small townes of Christians of the Baye, wherein may be about 2500. soules, which onely escaped of eleuen Churches, that there were, wherein were gathered more then 40000. not other Townes likewise of Christians, that are about the Captaine shippes. Neither had Gouernors nor Captaines sufficed for to haue sustained them (as the experience hath showen) for they would not haue suffered such vexation, though they had died for it, as others did already at the beginning, running away and dying, wherewith the coast was disinhabited.

Wicked manstealing.

Not onely doe the *Portugals* serue themselues of the free *Indians* aboue said, which they bring from the maine; but they sell them also to others, and they say with title of free, but the price is such, that a lawfull slaue is sold no deerer, and so the goods, that without them was worth. I put the case 2000. Duckets, with them they giue it for 4000. and these that doe buy it, doe take already mastership of them, as of slaues, that cost them their money, and so from hand to hand their captiuitie increaseth, and though they say that they are serued of them, as of hired men, the pay for their seruice is nothing; for if they giue a cotten garment to one or two of the principallest of them, which they weare in their seruice, they doe not neither is it possible to giue it to 100. or 200. that they keepe, as they themselues confesse; with the like vsages many of the said *Indians* either eate earth till they kill themselues, or let themselues dye verie easily with meere griefe, and sadnesse. And because iointly with this the punishments they giue them are like the slaues, and these buyings and sellings are not vsed particularly betweene one or two persons secretly, but it is an vse and custome in all the Countrie, without any iustice looking into it. Finally, they are not onely serued of them all their life, but they giue them also in mariages to Sonnes and Daughters as a dowrie; and at their deaths they remaine in their wils with the name of free, but bound to serue their children perpetually, whom they leaue them vnto as *hereditario iure*, and to the heires goe to law about them, and haue iudgements, as if they were lawfull slaues.

Through you is my name blasphemed amongst the Gentiles.

The seuenth Article.

As touching the iustice that is vsed with the *Indians*, the King our Lord is to vnderstand, that although his Maiestie as all the Kings his predecessors doe recommend alwaies this matter of the *Indians* to the Gouernours aboue all as their principall duetie, with very effectuall words, notwithstanding the iustice that vntill now hath beene in *Brasil* toward them was none or verie little, as it is plainely seene by the assaults, robberies, captiuities, and other vexations that alwaies were done to them, and euen now are done. Against the *Indians* was alwaies a rigorous iustice, they haue already beene hanged, hewen in peeces, quartered, their hands cut, nipped with hot pincers, and set in the mouth of peeces, and shot away the *Indians* for killing or helping to kill some *Portugall* (which peraduenture had well deserued it at their hands) but hauing persons, not a few in *Brasil*, as alwaies there were, and yet there are, notoriously infamous for robbing, stealing, branding, selling, and killing many *Indians*, neuer vntill this time was there any show of punishment, and it is to be feared, seeing it wanteth on earth, that it will come from heauen on all the inhabitants of *Brasil*.

The mercies of the vngodly are cruell.

The eight Article is touching the *Indians* exceeding seruices without reward.

The ninth Article is to preuent their totall destruction, which cannot but follow the practise of *Portugals* in making slaues of them by sowing quarrels, and interessing themselues on one side, by burning, &c.

The tenth Article.

All the coast of *Brasil* doth want and is destitute of Priests that may be Curates for the soules, for in the Bay, except three or foure that doe serue in the high Church, and one that serueth for Curate in one Parish, that did learne in the colledge of the Companie: there are no Priests that know how to doe their office, and their customes and liues are much blemished, for many of them came suspended from *Portugall* for grieuous crimes, and also for incorrigible; and here as they want Priests they are presently enabled and made cures of soules, and although in the three Colledges of the companie that are in this Countrie, *S^t.* in the Bay, *Pernambuco*, and the Riuer of *Ianuario*, are ordinarie lectures of matters of conscience, there is no Priest that will heare it, and as they are most ignorant, they doubt nothing, and so they absolue and dispence more then Popes with great losse of the soules; and such there was, that dispensed with a parishioner of his to communicate after he had drunk, whereby may be coniectured what the rest will doe. And with this they doe other follies, and misbehauiors in the celebrating of the masse before the people, that they

they ſeeme altogether fooles. And their life is pittifull, for finally their care is to fill themſelues with money, meate, and drinke, and to follow the luſts of the fleſh, with a great ſcandall of the ſecular.

Thoſe are very rare, and may bee told with the finger through all the coaſt, which doe liue a life worthie the Prieſtly function, and thoſe which the Biſhop baniſh from hence for their faults or ſuſpenſions to the Riuer of *Ianuarie*, preſently they are there receiued by the Ruler, as now he did particularly to one that being a Friar come from *Portugall* expelled from the Order for incorrigible, and afterward hee was enabled here by the Biſhop, hee was put in the viſitation, becauſe he was not ſhriuen in three yeeres, celebrating almoſt euery day, and this being another time condemned by the Biſhop in his Court, and brought to the eſtate that he came in from *Portugall*, expelled his Order, and baniſhed from his Biſhopricke, and his life infamous and ſcandalous to all the Secular, the Ruler enabled him preſently in the Riuer of *Ianuarie*, (not without great ſcandall of the good) not onely for fellow-helper of the Curate of that Citie, but alſo for a Preacher. And the Prelates ſay they doe all this becauſe they haue no other, whom to giue the Pariſhes vnto, which are many.

CHAP. III.

Extracts out of the Hiſtorie of IOHN LERIVS * *a* Frenchman, *who liued in* Braſill *with Monſ.* VILLAGAGNON, *Ann.* 1557. *and* 58.

* *Lerius* with other Proteſtants went at *Vil.* his requeſt to M. *Calum*, to *Braſill*, he there fortifying and pretending Euangelicall reformation, from which he after apoſtatiſed. The Story is long, which I had by mee wholly tranſlated; but ſtore hath bred a ſore; and the moſt of it I haue omitted; as alſo all *Thevets* Voyage thither, and that of *Stadius* in thoſe parts, though al Engliſhed, and ready die for the Preſſe.

Q. I.

Of the Beaſts, and other liuing creatures, and Plants, of Braſill.

BEfore I proceed any further, preſently in the beginning of this Chapter, I thought good briefly to admoniſh the Reader, that no liuing creatures of the kinde of foure-footed beaſts are found in all the *Braſilian* world, altogether like vnto ours in ſhape: and that the *Toüoupinambaults* vſe not, but very ſeldome, to bring them vp tame at home. But, that I may generally deſcribe the wilde beaſts, which the *Barbarians* call *Soo*, I determined to beginne with them which are applyed to the vſe of man. It ſeemeth, that that is to bee ſet in the firſt place, which alſo is moſt common: they call *Tapirouſſou*, of a reddiſh, and long-ſhaggie haire, greatly reſembling a Kow in bigneſſe and ſhape: yet, ſeeing it wanteth hornes, and hath a ſhorter necke, with longer and hanging eares, and more withered and ſlender legs, with an whole hoofe, very like vnto the hoofe of an Aſſe, a man may rightly ſay, it participateth the nature of the Kow, and Aſſe. Notwithſtanding it differeth very much from either, both becauſe it hath a very ſhort taile (here the Reader is by the way to be admoniſhed, that very many beaſts are bred in *America*, which haue no taile at all) and hath much ſharper teeth: nor may any danger bee therefore procured vnto men by this beaſt, ſeeing it vſeth to repoſe ſafety rather in flight, then in ſtrength. The *Barbarians* kill them, as alſo many others, ſhooting them through with Arrowes, or vſe to catch them in an hollow trench, or with other manner of Traps and Gins ingeniouſly and cunningly made.

But that wilde beaſt is greatly eſteemed by the *Barbarians*, by reaſon of the skinne, which as ſoone as they haue taken away, cutting the backe of the hide in a round circle, they drie it in the Sunne, and faſhion it like vnto a Target of the bigneſſe of the bottome of an indifferent veſſell, wherewith they repell the Arrowes, of the enemies, receiued in the warres. And the skinne dried in the Sunne becommeth ſo hard, that I eaſily beleeue that it cannot bee pierced through with the ſtroke of any weapon, although it bee caſt with great violence. I carefully deſired to bring two ſuch Targets into *France*, but the famine ſo oppreſſed vs returning, that all the prouiſion of victuall being ſpent, not excepting Monkeyes and Parots, and other liuing creatures of the ſame kinde, which we brought with vs out of that Countrie, thoſe two Targets, being laid vpon the coales, were alſo eaten to expell hunger; vnto the which the reſt of the skinnes that were in the ſhip (as I ſhall declare in their proper place) were added.

Moreouer, the fleſh of the *Tapirouſſou*, commeth almoſt neere vnto the taſte of Beefe: this the *Barbarians* broyle after their manner, and in their Country language call it, *Boucanare*. But becauſe I haue now vſed that word, and that hereafter it ſhall bee often repeated, leſt the Reader ſhould any longer remaine doubtfull, occaſion being offered, I will declare what this thing is.

Chap. 10. Beaſts are bred in *America* altogether vnlike vnto ours. The wild beaſt *Tapirouſſou*, which reſembleth a Kow, and an Aſſe. Moſt *Americans* beaſts without tailes. Targets of the hide of the wilde beaſt *Tapirouſſou*. Grieuous famine. The taſte of the fleſh of the *Tapirouſſou*.

The

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Boucan, and the *Barbarians* Kitchin.

The *Americans* fastning foure woodden forks in the ground, of the thicknesse of an arme, three foote asunder, in the figure of a square, and almost of the equall height of three feet, lay stickes acrosse ouer them two fingers distant each from other, and so make a woodden Grate: this, in their language they name *Boucan*. They haue many such Grates in their houses, whereon they lay flesh cut into gobbets or pieces, and making a soft fire of dry wood, that there may bee no smoake almost at all, they suffer them to bee broyled as long as they please, after this manner, hauing twice turned them in the space of an houre. And because they doe not powder meates with salt, as the manner is here, they vse the onely remedie of broyling, for the preseruing of them. Therefore, although they had taken thirty wilde beasts in one day, (such as we will describe in this Chapter, they would lay them all cut in pieces, vpon those Grates, as soone as it might be done, lest they should be tainted and corrupted) and there, being often turned, they are sometimes broyled and scorched aboue foure and twenty houres together, vntill the inside of the flesh be as well rosted as the outside, and by this meanes they are all preserued from corruption. Nor is there any other manner of dressing or preseruing fish, which when they haue gotten, they dry them in great plenty, to make Meale, especially those which in their Country language they call *Praparati*, which are the very true and naturall *Mullets*, of the which I shall hereafter speake in another place. And these Grates among the *Barbarians* are rightly to bee accounted the Shambles, and Store-house: and therefore you shall scarce come to their Villages, but you may see them laden with the flesh of wilde beasts, and fishes: and it vsually happeneth also very often, as wee shall hereafter speake, if you come vnto the *Barbarians*, that you shall behold these Grates filled with mans flesh, which, I thinke, they bring as spoyles taken from the conquered enemies, to be slaine, and eaten.

The manner of preseruing meats among the *Americans*.

Meale of fishes

Mans flesh laid vpon *Boucan*.

Seouassou a kind of Deere.

Taiassou a Bore.

But, that I may prosecute the intended description of wilde beasts, the second degree of bignesse seemeth to be giuen vnto a certaine kinde of Deere, which they name *Seouassou*, but herein they differ from ours, both that they are much lower, and haue lesser hornes, and also in this, that they haue as long shagged haire, as our Country Goates. But the *American* Boare, which they call *Taiassou*, is very like in shape vnto those which are bred with vs, in bulke of body, eares, head, and feet, very hurtfull also, through his long and sharpe teeth: yet seeing hee is more leane and slender, and terribly gnasheth and grindeth his teeth together, hee is notorious also through that deformitie. He hath an hole in the backe, by nature, as the *Sea-swine* haue in the head, whereby he draweth in breath, and letteth it out. These three are their greatest beasts.

Swine, with an hole in their backe.

Agouti.

There is also among the *Americans*, a certaine red wilde beast, which they name *Agouti*, of the height of a weaned Pig of thirty dayes old, with a clouen foot, a very short tayle, and with the nose and eares almost of an Hare, most delightfull to the taste. There are also others of two or three kindes, which they call *Tapitù*, not much vnlike our Hares, but somewhat of a reddish haire.

Tapitù, a kinde of Hare.

Reddish Mise.

They catch great Rats also in the Woods, of the bignesse and haire of Squirrels, which come neere vnto the delicate taste of Conies.

Pag, a beast marked with spots.

Pag, or *Pague*, (for after what manner they pronounce it, you can scarce, or not at all vnderstand) is a wilde beast of the indifferent height of an Hound, with a deformed head, the flesh comming neere vnto the taste of Veale, with a very faire skinne, distinguished with white, russet, and blacke spots, so that it would be of great price with vs, if they were to be gotten.

Sarigoy, a stinking beast.

There is another also found, which they call *Sarigoy*, which the *Barbarians* eate not, by reason of the noysome stinke thereof: but flaying some of them, and taking away the fat of the kidneyes, whence that stinke proceeded, wee eate them without loathing: for, they are both tender, and also excellent flesh.

Tatou, armed with scales. The *Armadillo*.

There is also that which they call *Tatou*: this is not very well able to runne, yet (as Hedgehogs with vs) creeping through the bryars and bushes, shee is armed with very hard scales, so that shee cannot be pierced with a sword, if also you wrap the skinne together being taken off, (wherewith the *Barbarians* make very many Chists, which they call *Carameuos*) you would say they were warlike Gauntlets. It is of a white flesh, and of an excellent taste.

Iacare, or Crocodiles, kept tame.

Moreouer, vnto these beasts, which are most common with the *Americans*, Crocodiles, called *Iacare*, are added, of the bignesse of a mans thigh, and proportionable length: but they are so farre from doing any hurt, that the *Barbarians* houses are full of these *Iacare*, and the little children play with them without any danger. Those Crocodiles which I happened to see, had a very wide mouth, long legs, with a tayle neither round nor sharpe, but very small at the end: and whether, as some haue written, they moue the vpper chap, I freely confesse, that I haue not obserued. Moreouer, the *Americans* take Lizards, they call them *Tonous*, not greene, but russet, and of a spotted skinne, like our Countrie small Lizards. And although they bee foure or fiue foote long, and proportionable in bignesse, and therefore of a terrible forme, yet notwithstanding like Frogs, they abide in the Riuers, and Marishes, hurtfull vnto none. Furthermore, the skinne being plucked off, if they be bowelled, and sodden, they are very delicate meate, so that I haue not tasted any thing more sweet in *America*. For, they are of as white a flesh as Capons are with vs, delicate, tender and sweet, that nothing excelleth them: yet in the beginning I abhorred

Tonous, Lizards

The greatest Lizards in *America*, edible.

horred the taste thereof, but afterward when I had tasted them better, as touching meates, the Lizards were chiefly commended of mee.

The *Tououpinambaultij* haue also very great Toads, which they eate being rosted, without bowelling. But seeing both Physicians teach, and it is also commonly knowne, and apparent, that the flesh, and corrupt bloud, and whatsoeuer else belongeth to the Toade, is deadly, any one, although I hold my peace, may easily coniecture, that by reason of the temperatenesse of that Countrie, or some other cause, whereof I am ignorant, it happeneth, that Toades, there, are not venomous, and dangerous at all, as they are with vs. Toades eaten in *America*.

They eate Serpents also, of the bignesse of a mans arme, fiue foote long almost. Moreouer, I haue obserued, that the *Barbarians* (as I mentioned concerning Crocodiles) brought home a certaine kinde of them, party-coloured, with blacke and red, and cast them downe among their wiues and children, so secure, that they handled them with their hands. These monstrous Land-Eeles, they cut into pieces, and dresse: but they are vnsauoury, and of very little taste. The *Americans* vse to eate very great Serpents.

Diuers kindes of Serpents also are bred with them, and specially in the Riuers, where they appeare greene like pot-herbes, long and slender, whose stinging is very hurtfull. There are also Lizards in the Woods (besides those which we mentioned before) very dangerous, as it shall manifestly appeare by the discourse which I will here set downe. When therefore I sometimes trauelled to see the Countrie, with two *Frenchmen* in my companie, and that, as the manner was, wee had not the *Barbarians* to guide vs in the way, and therefore wandred in the Woods, and passed through a deepe Valley, hearing the noise of a certaine beast comming towards vs, supposing it to bee some timerous and harmeleſſe wilde beast, notwithstanding, proceeding on our intended Iourney, wee were secure and quiet in minde: but presently, thirtie paces distant almost from vs, on the right hand, wee saw a Lizard on an hill, bigger then the body of a man, and fiue or sixe foot long. Hee, being spread all ouer with white and rough scales like Oyster-shells, holding vp one of his fore-feet, with his head aloft, and shining eyes, began to behold vs. Wherefore being astonished (for none of vs, as it then fell out, carried a Hand-gunne, but had onely our Swords at our sides, and Bowes and Arrowes, which weapons could not greatly hurt that Monster armed with such hard scales: Neuertheleſſe, fearing leſt if wee shifted for our selues by flight, being swifter then wee, he would dispatch vs altogether) when the one fearefully beheld the other, we stood still in the same place. But after that prodigious and fearefull Lizard had beheld vs a quarter of an houre, with an open mouth, and because it was exceeding hot weather (for it was a cleere day, almost at noone) fetching a deepe groane, that wee might easily heare it, vpon a sodaine, he went vnto the top of a Mountaine, with so great noise of the crashing and breaking of twigs and boughs, as a Deere running through a Wood, would scarce haue made. Wee therefore, who then were much affrighted, not being very carefull to pursue him, gaue thankes vnto God who had deliuered vs, and proceeded againe on our intended Iourney. And embracing their opinion who affirme, that the Lizard is delighted with the sight of a man, it seemed to me, that the beholding of vs pleased that Monster as much as we were tormented through his presence. There is also a wilde beast bred with them, that liueth vpon the prey, which they call *Iau-ouare*. This beast hath legs almost as long as an running Dog, and matcheth him almost in swiftnesse; but about the chinne hath long shagged haire, with a spotted skinne, and faire, like vnto a Lynx, and also very like in the rest. The *Barbarians* not without iust cause, greatly feare that wilde beast. For seeing shee is accustomed to the prey, as also, the Lion, if shee catch any of them, she teareth him in pieces, and deuoureth him. But as they are desirous of reuenge, and suffer not any of those things vnreuenged which are troublesome vnto them: if they take any, in hollow trenches which they make for that cause, or with any other kinde of Traps or Gins, they put her to a lingring death, shooting her through with many Arrowes, that shee might the longer languish: and that it may the better appeare, how cruelly that wilde beast dealeth with the *Barbarians*, when sometimes fiue or sixe *Frenchmen* of the companie passed by this way, the *Americans* aduised vs, to beware of the *Iau-ouare*, because that very selfe-same weeke, shee had cruelly deuoured three men in a certaine Village of theirs. *Iau-ouare*, a wilde beast, dangerous to men.

I thought good to adde to this Edition, that the *Americans*, before the Voyage of *Villagagnon* had neuer seene Dogs: and therefore, when they beheld a Dog of the kinde of Hounds, which with certaine whelpes we brought thither, and that he faulted on vs, they were astonished, and fled away from him, because (as I mentioned before) hee came neere vnto the shape of the *Iau-ouare*. For that cause also, *Gomara* in his Generall *Indian* Historie, testifieth, that in the yeere 1509. when *Christopherus Columbus* first arriued at the Iland *Beringua*, called also by the name of Saint *Iohn*, the *Indians* of this Countrie, who made warre with the *Spaniards*, greatly feared a red Dog, and that he stood them in as good stead almost as two Harquebuſſers: because he did not onely fiercely assaile the *Barbarians*, but also discerning his companions from the Enemies, although being prouoked, he was not offensiue vnto them, but also taking notice of the *Caribes* (the worst, and most detestable nation of all those Countries) pursued them, fleeing into the middest of the Armie of the Enemies, and being so much prouoked, tooke no rest, vntill he Dogs, strict seen by the *Americans*.

The Authors report of a prodigious Lizard.

cap. 4.

he had torne the Enemie in pieces on whom he seized: fighting so fortunately for the *Spaniards*, that being accompanied with him, they fought so cheerfully against the *Indians*, as if they had had three horsemen in their companie. Yet this Dog, while hee swam after I know not what *Cariba*, being shot with a poisoned Arrow died, and made his Master very sorrowfull, and the *Indians* ioyfull and glad. So, *Vallouas* also, the most valiant Captaine of the *Spaniards*, when he first discouered the South Sea, letting slip the Dogs which hee had, against the *Indians*, who withstood him, from entring on the Land, the *Barbarians* were stricken with so great a feare, that they were compelled to prouide for themselues by flight: and the Dogs of *Vallouas*, preuailed as much as the best Souldiers of them all. Moreouer, many Monkeyes are found on the *Brasilian* coast, little and blacke, which they call *Coy*, which I cease to describe, because they are very well knowne vnto vs. I will onely declare this one thing, that seeing they continually liue in the tops of trees, bearing fruits in cods like vnto our Beanes, wherewith they are nourished, and meete together there in companies, especially when the smoaking showres fall, it is a pleasant thing to heare them crying, and making a noise. But seeing at one birth they onely bring forth one young one, the Monkey, as soone as he commeth into the world is indued with that naturall industrie, that he firmely hangeth about the necke of the Syre, or the Damme: therefore if Hunters come suddenly vpon them, the Syre or Dammes leaping through the boughs, he also taketh his flight together with them. For which cause, the *Barbarians* cannot easily catch Monkeyes of any age whatsoeuer: yet they cast them downe from trees wounded with Arrowes, and afterward hauing healed them, and made them tame a little while at home, they exchange and barter them for Merchandises. But at the first, they are so fierce, that they wound the fingers of them that handle them, with their teeth, so that being bitten, they are very often compelled through paine, to kill them with strokes.

Cap. 62.

Of Monkeyes.

The industrie of the Monkeyes in deliuering their young from danger.

The manner of taking Monkeyes.

Sagouin a beautifull little beast.

There is also another kinde of Monkey among the *Americans*, which they call *Sagouin*, of the bignesse of a Squirrell, and of a red haire: but as touching the shape, in the snout, breast, necke, and almost all the other parts, being very like vnto a Lion, and also hardie, it giueth place in beautie to none of the little beasts, which surely I saw there. And if it were as easily brought ouer the Sea as the rest, it would be of farre greater price and estimation. But seeing it is of so weake a little bodie, that it cannot indure the working of the ship; for it is of that haughtinesse of spirit, that if it be offended neuer so little, it would die through discontentment: yet some are here to be found. But, that I may freely confesse the matter as it is, although I haue beene curious, I was not so diligent in obseruing all the liuing creatures of *America*, as I desired, neuertheless, that I may once make an end, I will yet describe two kindes, which are monstrous in shape, as those that art most.

Hay, a deformed beast.

The one which the *Barbarians* call *Hay*, is of the bignesse of a Dog, with an hanging bellie, like a farrowing Sow with pigge, of an ash-colour haire very much washed, with a very long tayle, hairy feet after the manner of a Beare, and long clawes: but as, while it liueth in the Woods, it is very fierce; yet being taken, it is very easily tamed. But the naked *Tououpinambaultis* doe not willingly play with him, because he hath both long, and also sharpe clawes. They say, it liueth onely on aire.

Coaty, with a monstrous great snout.

The other, whereof I am also to speake, called by the *Barbarians*, *Coaty*, is of the height of an Hare, with short and spotted haire, little and sharpe eares, both of a little head, and also with an eminent snout from the eyes, more then a foote long, round like a walking-staffe, suddenly decreasing at the end, so that it is altogether of an equall thickneſse, with so narrow a mouth, that is can scarce receiue the little finger. None may be found more monstrous: afterward, when this wilde beast is taken, gathering her foure feet together, shee bendeth her selfe to the one side or the other, or falleth flat downe: nor can shee euer bee raised, nor compelled to eate, vnlesse Ants be giuen her, on which shee also feedeth in the Woods.

Chap. 11.

Oura, birds.

This Chapter also, wherein I will intreate of Birds, I thought good to beginne with those which are fit for the maintenance of mans life, and by a generall name, are called *Oura*, by the *Tououpinambaultis*: they haue great plentie of those Hennes, vnto the which wee gaue the name from *India*, and they call them *Arginau-oussou*: from that time also since the *Portugals* liued among the *Barbarians*, our Countrymen vsed to nourish Hennes, called by them, *Arginau-miri*. And although (as I haue else-where mentioned) they esteeme the white ones very much, that plucking off the feathers, and dying them red, they might clothe and decke themselues; yet for the most part they abstain from both kinds, as touching the eating of them. Moreouer, seeing they perswade themselues, that the Egs, which they call *Arginau-ropia*, are, as it were, poison, they were not only astonished, if we supped Egs before them, but also reprouing vs, added moreouer, that it was not to be suffered; for, while we preuented the hatching of chickens, we eate an Henne in an egge. Therefore, they are almost as carefull of their Hennes, as of the Birds, which liue in the Woods. they suffer them to lay whereſoeuer they are disposed. But the Hens in like manner, bring home their chickens out of the briars and bushes, so that the *Americane* women may be without trouble.

Arginau-oussou, *Indian* Hennes.

Arginau-miri, our Countrie Hennes.

Arginau-ropia, an egge.

Together with the Hennes, the *Barbarians* also nourish *Indian* Duckes at home, they call them

them *Upec*. But because the *Tououpinambaultij* are so superstitious, that they thinke, if they should eate so slow a creature, they should get the same slowneſſe, so that if the Enemies should assaile them, they could not seeke their safetie by flight: no man may easily perswade them to taste the least morsell of them, and for that cause they abstaine from all those creatures which goe slowly, and also from fishes, as Raies or Thornebacke, and others which cannot swimme swiftly. As touching these Birds which liue in the woods, they take them as great as Capons, and those of three sorts, which the *Barbarians* call *Iacoutin*, *Iacupen*, and *Iacou-ouassou*. They haue all blacke and ash-colour Feathers, and come neere vnto the Pheasants in taste, and I may truely affirme, that no sweeter or more delicate meate can euer be eaten, then those *Iacoas* are.

Upec, Indian Ducke.

Iacou, a kinde of Pheasant.

Besides, there are two kindes of most exquisite and choice Birds, which are named *Mouton*, of the bigneſſe of Peacocks, with the same Feathers which the former had, and they are very seldome found.

Mouton, a rare Bird.

Macacoua, and *Inambou-ouassou*, are two kindes of Partridges, of the bigneſſe of our Country Geese, not much vnlike the taste of Mutton. These three following haue one and the same taste almost, *Inambour-miri* of the height of Partridges: *Pegassou* Stockedoues, and *Paicacu* the Turtle Doue.

A kinde of great Partridges.

But that I may briefly finish the discourse of Birds, which are found in great plentie, both in the Woods, Riuers, and also in the shoares, I will come vnto those which are not so fit for foode. Among the rest, there are two kindes of the same bigneſſe, which come neere to the greatneſſe of a Rauen or Crow: which as the rest of the *American* Birds, haue crooked bils and talons, as also Parrats, in which number they might be reckoned. As touching the Feathers, as it is easily iudged, I scarce thought that Birds of such excellent beautie were to be found in the whole world, in the beholding whereof, abundant matter offereth it selfe, not as prophane men, to commend nature, but the creator: and that it may manifestly appeare, the first which the *Barbarians* call *Arat*, hath the feathers in the traine and wings, of a foote and a halfe long, partly purple like vnto red, and partly of a blew colour, greatly shining; to the which also, the other parts of the body are correspondent. When this Bird moueth in the Sunne, where she very much abideth, no man can euer be satisfied with her sight.

Arat, a Bird with excellent Feathers.

The other called *Canide*, with the inferiour Feathers, and those that are round about the necke shining of the colour of gold, and those that couer the backe, wings, and traine of an excellent blew colour, seeing they seeme to be vnder-laid with embrodered gold, and ouer-laid with a Veluet Mantle, aboue it causeth great admiration to the beholders.

Canide, a Bird with blew feathers.

But although these Birds be not domesticall, yet they oftner build their nests in the tops of the trees which are in the middle of the Villages, then in the woods, whereby it commeth to passe, that the *Barbarians* plucke their Feathers three or foure times in the yeare, of the which Feathers they make Cappes, Garments, and Bracelets, decke the handles of their clubbes, and adorne their bodies. I brought many such Feathers with me into *France*.

Feathers, of the which, caps, garments &c. are made.

Three or foure sorts of Parrats are taken there: the greatest and fairest whereof the *Barbarians* call *Aiourous*. These haue the head intermingled with red, yellow, and violet colours, the ends of the wings scarlet or crimson, the taile, which is very long, yellow, and the rest of the body greene; very few such are brought vnto vs.

Aiourous, great and very faire Parrats.

A Woman in a certaine Village, some foure miles distant from our Iland, had brought vp one of this kinde, which as if she had beene indued with reason, conceiued those things which she was commanded. As often as we went that way, we presently heard the Mistresse of that Bird say, will you giue me a Combe, or a Looking-glasse, and I will presently command my Parrat to sing and daunce before you? If happily we granted her request, the Parrat presently hearing certaine words of her Mistresse, did not onely dance on the pearch where she sat, but also prattled, and whistled; and lastly, she wonderfully counterfeited the *Barbarians* going to the wars. To be short, if her Mistresse thought good to bid her sing, she sung, if to daunce, she danced: contrarily, if not rewarding her, with a little sharper speech she had commanded her their *Auge*, that is, be still, then she presently held her peace, nor could we make her with any words to mone either her tongue, or feete neuer so little: wherefore I leaue it to the Readers to be considered whether if the *Romans* had had such a Parrat they would not highly haue esteemed her, who, as *Pliny* recordeth, sometimes solemnized the death of a Crow with innumerable rites of funeral, by which, at the place of Common Pleas, they were euery morning by name saluted, and punished him with death, who killed the same. The *Barbarian* woman called this Parrat *Cherimbaué*, that is to say, her best beloued. And surely she was so deere vnto her, that demanding at what price we might buy her, she answered in scoffing manner *Mocaouassou*, that is to say, a great brasse piece, and therefore we could not wrest her from her at any price. I found that they made their Nests in the holes of hollow Trees.

A wonderfull storie of a Parrat.

Lib. 10. cap. 63.

Among the rest of the *American* Birds, the first place shall be giuen to a certaine Bird named *Toucan*, whereof we made mention of before. It is of the bigneſſe of a Pigeon, of a blacke colour like a Crow, except the breſt, which is of a yellow colour, compassed from the lower part with a ring

Toucan, a Bird of the bigneſſe of a Pigeon.

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a ring of red feathers, which being taken away, the *Barbarians* vse it for ornament of the cheeks and other parts of the body. And it is highly esteemed with them, because they vse it when they intend to daunce. From thence it hath taken the name *Toucan-tabourace*, that is, a Feather to daunce with. Yet notwithstanding, they haue such store of them, that they refuse not to change them for our Merchandizes. The bill of this Bird exceedeth the rest of the body in length, wherewith a Cranes beake is not to be compared, and therefore it is to be accompted the most monstrous bill of the whole world.

The monstrous bill of a Bird.

There is another of the bignesse and colour of a Black-bird, except the brest, which is as red as Oxe bloud; this, the *Barbarians* take away after the same manner that they did the former, and call the Bird *Panou*.

Panu a Bird with a red breast.

There is also another of the bignesse of an Owzell, with all the Feathers of a scarlet colour, this they call *Quampian*.

Quampian, a Bird of a scarlet colour.

But one very little Bird is not to be omitted, of no lesse admiration then smalnesse, which the *Barbarians* call *Gonambuch*, with white and shining Feathers: it exceedeth not a drone Bee, or Beetle in bignesse, yet maketh wonderfull melodie in singing. Sitting vpon that great *Milium* which the *Barbarians* call *Anati*, or other high plants, she singeth so loud, that vnlesse she be seene you would scarse beleeue that so loud, and sweete melodie could proceede from that small body. She is not inferior to our Nightingale.

Gonambuch, a very little bird.

But because I cannot particularly describe all the *American* Birds, which differ not a little from ours, not onely in kinde, but also in variety of colour, as rose colour, red, violet, white, ash-colour, purple, &c. I will at length describe one, which the *Barbarians* so obserue and esteeme, that they will not onely not hurt her, but suffer them not to escape vnreuenged who doe her any wrong. She is of the bignesse of a Pigeon, and ashcolour, the *Tonoupinambaultij* heare her more often in the night then in the day, with a mournefull voyce, and beleeue that she is sent from their friends and kindred, vnto them, and also declareth good lucke, and especially, that she incourageth and admonisheth them to behaue themselues valiantly in the warres against their enemies. Besides, they verily thinke that if they rightly obserue these diuinations, it shall come to passe, that they should vanquish their Enemies, euen in this life, and after death, their soules should flye beyond the Mountaines, to their ancestors, perpetually to daunce there.

The variety of the *American* Birds.

I chanced once to lodge in a Village, named *Vpec* by the *French* men, there, in the night I heard those Birds, not singing, but making a lamentable noise. I saw the *Barbarians* most attentiue, and being ignorant of the whole matter, reproued their folly. But, when I smiled a little vpon a *French* man standing by me, a certaine old man seuerely enough restrained me with these words: *hold your peace, least you hinder vs, who attentiuely harken to the happy tidings of our aunce-stours.* For, *as often as wee heare these Birds, so often also are we cheered, and our strength receiueth increase.*

The dotage of the *Barbarians* who obserue the singing of a Bird.

The *Americane* Bees differing from ours, are like vnto the lesser blacke flyes wherewith we are troubled in the time of Summer, and make their hony combes in the hole of a rotten tree. The *Barbarians* are skilfull to gather hony and waxe. Being gathered, intermingled, they call it *Yra-yetic*, for *Yra* signifieth hony, and *Yetic* waxe. The hony being seuered, they eate it after our manner, but keepe the waxe which resembleth the blackenesse of Pitch made into lumps of the bignesse of a mans arme. Yet, not that they make Torches or Candles therewith, for, there is no other vse of a Candle with them, then of a certaine wood which sendeth forth a most cleere and bright flame. But they chiefly vse that Wax to stop those huge canes, wherein they put their Feathers, least they should be eaten, and gnawed with the Butter-flyes, which also we will describe in this place.

American Bees.

Yra, Hony.

Yetic, blacke Waxe.

They are called *Arauers* by the *Barbarians*, of the bignesse of Grashoppers, they also come in great multitudes to the fire as Creekets doe, and if they finde anie thing they eate it, but especiallie they so gnaw leather doublets and shooes, that they whollie consume the superficies and vpper graine thereof. But, if we negligently set vp Hennes, or other meates of that kinde, in the morning the bare bones were found without flesh.

Arauers, Butter-flies.

The *Barbarians* being stung with Scorpions applie bruised Scorpions to the wound, if they can get them. Moreouer, as we haue elsewhere said, that they are most desirous of reuenge, nay, I might almost say, that they are made against all hurtfull things, so that if vnawares they stumble at a stone, they bite them after the manner of mad Dogges, and diligently seeke out all liuing creatures hurtfull vnto them, and vtterly roote them out as much as they can.

The *Barbarians* most desirous of reuenge.

The Countrie of *America* hath also land Crabbes, the *Tonoupinambaultij* call them *Onssa*; they goe in multitudes like Locusts, vnto the Sea shoare, and fennie places, and if any one goe thither he may see them flying hither and thither: they conuey themselues into the bodies and rootes of trees, out of the which they cannot safely be drawne, for they pinch the fingers and hands of such as take them, with their clawes. They are farre leaner then the Sea Crabs, but because they smell of the Iuniper rootes, they are nothing pleasing to the taste.

Land Crabs.

His discourse of America *fishes I haue omitted, except this which you shall now heare.* I will not omit a storie which I heard reported by a *Barbarian*. When, saith he, on a certaine day, I was carried

carried in a Boate with certaine others, in a verie calme Sea, a certaine huge fish tooke hold with the hand on the brim of the Boate, and in my iudgement, it would either haue ouer turned it, or gotten vp into it. I seeing that, cut off the hand with a sickle which I had in a readinesse, so that it fell into the Boate, and it had fine fingers verie like vnto ours: besides, for paine which that fish felt, putting the head aboue water, which was like vnto the head of a man, it squeaked a little, and made a certaine noise.

The report of a *Barbarian*, concerning a fish with hands and countenance, resembling the shape of a man.

First, because the Brasil tree is the most famous of all that soile (from whence also that Countrie hath taken the name) especially for the colour which our Dyers make therewith, I will describe it in this place. This Tree therefore is called by the *Barbarians*, *Araboutan*, and equalleth our Oake in height and plentie of Boughes. Some of these are found, the thicknesse whereof containeth full as much as three men can fathome.

Chap. 13. Of the trees, hearbs, roots, and most exquisite fruits which grow in the *American* soyle.

After what manner that Timber vseth to be brought into the Shippes, I thought good in this place to describe. But first you are to vnderstand, that except the Merchants were holpen by the Inhabitants, they could scarce lade a Ship with that Timber within a yeare, both for the hardnesse, and therefore the difficultie in cutting, and also chiefely, because that Countrie wanteth all labouring Beasts, and therefore it is to be carried vpon the shoulders of men. The *Barbarians* being hired for Garments, Shirts, Cappes, Knives, and other Merchandizes, doe not onely cut, cleaue, and make round that Timber, but also laying it vpon their bare shoulders, carrie it into the Shippes, and sometime in most cumbersome places, lying three or foure miles distant from the wood to the shoare. But I expressely say, that the *Barbarians*, since the *French* men and *Portugals* came vnto them, cut their Brasil trees, for before that time (as farre as I vnderstood from the elder sort) they had no other way of felling them, saue that they ouerthrew them by putting fire vnto them. Moreouer, because I know some thinke that the timber which is brought vnto vs, hath the thicknesse of the trees, I purposely added, that the *Barbarians* made it round, that they might the more easily carrie the same.

Araboutan, the *Brasil* tree, and the forme thereof.

The Country of *America* wanteth all beasts of burden.

The *Barbarians* cut the timber and carry it into the Ships.

The ancient manner of felling trees, among the *Barbarians*.

Furthermore, it hath bin obserued by me, for so long time as I liued in *America*, and vsed a cleare fire through the benefit of this wood, that this kinde of wood was nothing moist, which vsually happeneth to most of the other kindes of wood: nay, that it was dry as it were by nature, and beeing kindled, yeeldeth very little smoake. One of our men desired to wash our shirts, and vnawares, put the ashes of the Brasil wood into the lye, whereby they were so surely died with a red colour, that although they were washed, they neuer changed the same, and being so died with that colour, we were to put them on.

The *Brasil* wood, almost without smoak.

The ashes of the *Brasil* wood dye shirts of a red colour.

Because our *Tououpinambaultis* doe not meanely wonder, when they see *French* men, and other strangers comming farre off from remote Countries, take so much paines to carrie backe their Shippes laden with their *Araboutan*, that is to say, the Brasil or red wood: Therefore a certaine elderly man of the *Barbarians*, sometimes questioned me in this manner, concerning that matter: *What meaneth it, that you* Mair *and* Peros *(that is* French men *and* Portugals*) come so farre to fetch Wood? doth your Countrie yeelde you no wood for the fire?* Then said I, *it yeeldeth full surely, and that in great plentie, but not of that kinde of trees, such as yours are; especially Brasil, which our men carrie from hence, not to burne, as you suppose, but for to dye.* Here he presently excepting; *But haue you,* said he, *neede of so great plentie of that wood? Yea surely,* said I, *for seeing euen one Merchant with vs possesseth more Scarlet Cloathes, more Knives and Sissers, and more Looking-glasses (alledging knowne and familiar examples vnto him) then all those which were euer brought hither vnto you: he onely will buy all the Brasil, to the end that many Shippes might returne laden from hence. Ah* (saith the Barbarian) *you tell me strange and wonderfull things.* Then presently remembring what he had heard, he proceeded to demand further questions of me. But, saith he, *that great rich man, of whom you make report, doth he not die? He dieth,* said I, *as also other men doe.* There, then (as these *Barbarians* loue to comment, and doe not absurdly finish their intended speech without interruption euen vnto the end) he began to demand of me: *Who therefore,* saith he, *is heire of those goods which this man leaueth when he dieth? His children,* said I, *if he haue any: if he haue none, his brethren, sisters, or his next kindred.*

The difference of a certaine *Barbarian* with the Author.

When I had said this, *surely* (saith that my discreete old fellow) *hereby I easily perceiue, that you Mair* (that is French men) *are notable fooles. For, what needs you so greatly to tire and turmoile your selues in sailing ouer the Sea, in passing whereof* (as being here arriued you report to vs) *you sustaine so many miseries? Is it, forsooth, that you might get riches for your children, or louing kinsfolke? Is not the Earth, which hath nourished vs, sufficient also to maintaine them? we surely haue both children, and also kinsfolke, and them, as you see, we loue dearely; but seeing we confidently hope, that it shall come to passe, that after our death, the same Earth which nourished vs, shall also relieue and cherish them, therein we repose our selues and rest content.*

An excellent sentence deliuered by a *Barbarian*.

But that I may present the description of the *American* Trees, foure or fiue kindes of Palme trees are found there: among which, that is accounted most common, which they call *Geran*, and another also named *Yri*: notwithstanding, as I saw none of their fruites, so, as I thinke, I eate none. *Yri* bringeth forth a round fruite like Damsens in the shape of a large cluster of so

Foure or fiue kindes of the Palmes in *America*.

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great weight, that it may hardly be lifted vp with one hand, but the kernell onely is of the bigneſſe of a Cherrie, and may be eaten. Beſides, in the top of theſe Palmes, there is a certaine white yong tendrell or branch, which we cut off, to eate the ſame: *Philippus* who was troubled with the hæmroides, affirmed, that it was a remedy for that diſeaſe, the warrantable truth whereof I leaue to the Phiſitians.

A tendrell or yong branch in the top of the Palmes to be eaten.

There is alſo another tree, called by the *Barbarians Aiyri*, which although it be very like the Palme in leaues, with the ſtocke armed on euery ſide with thornes and pricks, reſembling the points of needles. The Fruite is of an indifferent bigneſſe, in the middeſt whereof there is a kernell of the whiteneſſe of Snow, which yet is not to be eaten; and this I ſuppoſe to be a kinde of Ebeny: for beſides that it is of a blacke colour, and of ſuch hardneſſe, that the *Barbarians* partly vſe it for the making of their clubs and arrowes (which I will more at large deſcribe when I ſhall treate of their wars) it is alſo ſmoothed, and made very bright, and laſtly, is ſo heauie, that being caſt into the water, it preſently ſinketh to the bottome.

Aiyri, a thorny kinde of Ebeny

They haue diuers coloured woods, and diuers of differing ſcent: one ſmelling like a roſe; another called *Aou-ai*, of the moſt ſtinking ſmell of Garlicke, which no man is able to indure, while it is hewed or burnt: it hath leaues not much vnlike the leaues of our Apple trees: but the fruite thereof (which commeth neere in ſhape to the rough ſhell of a Cheſnut) and eſpecially the kernell, is ſo venemous, that to him that eateth it, it reſembleth the effect of the moſt ſtrong and deadle poiſon. Notwithſtanding our *Barbarians* highly eſteeme that fruite, becauſe they make their Rattles of it. Here alſo it is to be conſidered, that *Braſilia* (as we ſhall hereafter ſpeake) bearing excellent apples of very many kindes, aboundeth alſo with trees, which ſurely yeelde very goodly fruites, yet vnprofitable to bee eaten. Eſpecially on the ſhoare there are many ſmall ſhrubbes, the apples whereof being very like vnto our Country Medlers, are dangerouſly eaten. Therefore, when the *Barbarians* ſee the *French* men, and other ſtrangers comming to gather thoſe apples, often vſing the word *Ypochi*, in their Country language, they admoniſh them to abſtaine from them.

Aou-ai, a kinde of wood of a moſt ſtinking ſmell.

Very many *American* trees beare poiſonous fruits.

The tree called by the *Barbarians Choyne*, is of an indifferent height, with leaues of the ſhape and greeneneſſe of a Bay leafe, with Apples of the bigneſſe of a childes head, comming neere vnto the ſhape of the Eſtridges egges, which ſurely are no meate. Of theſe the *Tououpinambaultij*, by reaſon of the hardneſſe of the ſhell, pierſing ſome of them through whole, in length and breadth wherewith they make their *Maraca* or Rattles: they alſo hollow and diuide them into halues, for cups and other ſmall veſſels.

The tree *Choyne*, of whoſe fruite the *Barbarians* make their *Maraca*.

Sabaucaie is alſo numbred among the *Braſilian* trees, hauing an apple bigger then both a mans fiſts, and imitating the forme of a cup: in the bottome whereof certaine ſmall kernels are found, like vnto Almonds, and almoſt they reſemble the very taſte of Almonds.

Sabaucaie whoſe fruite is properly vſed for the making of veſſels.

Moreouer, there is a tree in thoſe Countries, of the height of our Seruice tree, whoſe apple the *Barbarians* name *Acaiou*, of the bigneſſe and ſhape of an Hens egge, which when it is ripe, inclining to the colour of Gold, like vnto a Quince, is not onely profitably eaten, but alſo yeeldeth ſomewhat a tart iuice, not vnpleaſing to the taſte, which moſt comfortably cooleth thoſe that are inflamed with heate.

This is a kinde of *Coco*.

Acaiou, a fruite to be eaten.

Paco-aire, is a ſhrub, of ten or twelue foote high, with a ſtocke, ſometimes of the thickneſſe of a mans thigh, which notwithſtanding is ſo tender, that it may be cut downe at one ſtroake with a Sword: the *Barbarians* call the apple *Paco*, of the length of a mans hand, not vnlike a Cucumber in ſhape, and of the ſame colour alſo, when it commeth to ripeneſſe. But theſe apples grow, for the moſt part, twentie or fiue and twenty thicke together, on euery bough, which the *Americans* gathering, carry them into their cottages, of ſo great a waight as they are able to beare with one hand. And as touching the goodneſſe of this apple, when it is ripe, the knop being plucked of after the manner of a freſh gathered Figge, it ſeemeth clottie and full of cluſters: whereby it commeth to paſſe, that to them that eate it, it reſembleth the Figge, whereupon, we called it a Figge: but in taſte it excelleth the moſt delicate *Maſſilienſian* Figges; and therefore not vnworthily it may be reckoned among the beſt fruites of all that coaſt. The forme of the leaues of *Paco-aire*, is not vnlike the leaues of water-Sorrell, but they are of ſo great a bigneſſe, that commonly the length is extended to ſix feete, and the breadth aboue two: whereby it commeth to paſſe, that I cannot be perſwaded by any meanes to beleeue that in *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, there are leaues of ſo great length and breadth. For, although I heard a certaine Apothecary affirming, that he had ſeene a leafe of *Petaſitis* of the breadth of an Elle and a quarter, that is (for this Plant is round) whoſe circumference contained in compaſſe three Elles and three quarters: yet this largeneſſe came nothing neere to the greatneſſe of our *Paco-aire*. It is true ſurely that the thickneſſe of thoſe leaues anſwere not the length, nay, they are very ſlender, yet daily lifted vp, ſo that the middle ribbe onely beareth the violence of the moſt vehement winde, wherewith that Country is very often troubled; but the reſt is ſo iagged and cut a ſunder, that to him that beholdeth them a farre off, theſe ſhrubs are ſuppoſed to be decked with Eſtridges feathers.

Paco-aire, a tender ſhrub.

Paco, a long apple.

Paco, a Figge in taſte.

The leaues of *Paco-aire*, are of an huge bigneſſe. The Author ſaith it is like the *Muſa*

Petaſitis large round leafe.

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As touching the Bombasin Cotton-shrubs, which grow vp to an indifferent heigth, they are found in great number, in *Brasill*: they yeeld flowres, like the little yellow bels of buddes of Cucumbers: but when the Apple is formed, it commeth not only verie neer vnto the Mast of Beech, but also being ripe, diuideth it selfe into foure parts, which yeeld Bombasin Cotton in flockes of the bignesse of a ball, which the *Barbarians* call *Ameni-ibil*. In the midst of those flockes certaine blacke graines are found, close ioined and verie much prest together, after the forme of a mans Kidnie, the greatnesse of which compacture exceedeth not a Beane. Moreouer, the *Barbarian* women are not vnskilfull in gathering and spinning that Bombasin Cotton, for of it they make their beds.

The Bombasin Cotton trees.

Ameni-ibil, Bombasin Cotton.

Reeds often grow in the Woods, of the bignesse of a mans legge: but as I said before of *Paccuire*, they are so tender, that while they are yet standing, any one of them may bee cut downe with one stroake of a Sword, yet being drie, they are of such hardnesse that when they are cleft, and fashioned after the manner of the Surgeons Lancets, the *Barbarians* do head their Arrowes therewith, that they ouerthrow wilde beasts flat to the ground at one shoot.

Reeds, wherewith the *Barbarians* head their Arrowes.

Matiebe also groweth in this our *America* among the briers and bushes, which together, almost, with infinite other odoriferous herbes and flowres, perfumeth the earth with a most sweet and pleasant scent. The Trees are neuer spoiled of their leaues, being not troubled at all with the cold, they flourish all the whole Yeere, as the Woods vse to doe with vs in the moneth of May.

Matiebe.

Trees continually flourishing in *America*.

The plant which bringeth forth the fruit *Ananas*, is like in forme vnto the Flowre-deluce, with crooked bending leaues, diuided round about, comming neere vnto *Aloe*, of the same forme with the greater Thistle, but the Apple which is of the bignesse of an indifferent Melon, and of the shape of a Pine Apple, bending to no part, groweth after the manner of our Artichoke.

The Plant *Ananas*, and the leaues thereof.

Those *Ananas* when they are come to full ripenesse, are of a golden colour imitating blue, and yeeldeth the smell of the fruit of the *Idean* Bramble, so that by the smell they were easily found of vs, wandring in the Woods and other places where they grow: they are of so sweet and pleasant a taste, that none of our preserued fruits excell them. Therefore I thinke it to bee the best fruit of all *America*. I sometimes wrung one of them, out of the which I drew a Cruze of iuice, which vnto me, seemed nothing inferiour vnto the Wine which they call Malmesey.

Ananas the most excellent fruit of all *America*.

Lastly, as I haue said, that among the *Americans*, no foure-footed beasts, birds, fishes, nor any liuing creatures, in all things resemble ours of *Europe*: so I now affirme, as much as I could finde by experience wandring through the Woods and Fields, that there are no Trees, or Herbes, and lastly no fruits, which are not vnlike to ours, except these three Plants, Purslane, Basill Royall, and Fearne, which grow in certaine places.

All the trees, herbs, & fruits of *America* (except three) differ from ours.

§. II.

Of the Warre, Battailes, Fortitude, and Weapons of the Barbarians: *and of their Religion.*

ALthough our *Tououpinambaults*, *Topinenquin* make immortall warre against diuers bordering Nations, after the manner of all the rest of the *Barbarians*. Notwithstanding, they contend not by warre to inlarge their bounds (for they possesse more Lands then they need) or thinke of the getting of Riches, by the spoiles, ransomes, and armes of the conquered. For as they all confesse, they are prouoked through no other affection then that they might most reuerely reuenge the death of their Parents and Friends long since taken, and deuoured by the enemie. Moreouer, when warre is first proclaimed betweene certaine of these people, all of them agreeing in this, that the enemie vnto whom injurie is done, will perpetually thinke on the reuenging of the same, and therefore that it is to be attributed to cowardize, if being brought into their power, they suffer him to escape vnpunished: their enmities are so inueterate, and of such continuance, that they can neuer be reconciled each to other.

chap. 14. For what cause the *Americans* make warre.

The *Barbarians* cannot be reconciled to their enemies.

But the manner whereby our *Tououpinambaults* assemble, being readie to goe to the warres, is this, as much as I could obserue. Although they haue no Kings or Princes among them, but are almost equall in dignitie, yet this is giuen them by nature (which also was most exactly in former times obserued by the *Lacedemonians*) that they admire and reuerence the elder sort whom they call *Peeroru Pichoh*, for their experience of things: therefore in euerie Village no contemptible seruice and obedience is performed vnto them. These occasions being offered, either walking or sitting in their Cotton hanging beds, exhort the rest with these, or the like words.

Senatus. The *Americans* yeeld obedience to the elder sort.

Whas (say they speaking by turne, without interruption of speech) *were our Ancestors who not only fought against so many enemies, but also vanquished, slue and deuoured them, an Example vnto vs, that wee should perpetually lye lurking heere at home? Shall wee suffer our Nation,*

The Oration of the elder *Americans*.

which in former times was so great a terrour to all the rest, that they could not in any sort vnder-their sight, to be so much reproached to our great disgrace, that our enemies should assaile vs by Warre euen in our owne houses? Shall we through our cowardize cause, that the Margaites *and Peros-ergaipe (that is, those* wicked Nations) *assault vs first?* Then that Orator clapping his shoulders and buttocks with his hands, addeth these words with exclamation: *Erima, Erima, Tonoupinambaults, Conomonassen Tan, Tan, &c.* that is to say, My Countrimen, and most valiant young men, wee are not so to doe; but rather let vs prepare vs for the fight, and bequeathe our selues to death and slaughter, or auenge our people.

With these Orations therefore of the elders, which sometimes are prolonged for six houres, the hearers who most attentiuely hearken, so that they forget not so much as one syllable, being increased both in strength and courage, speaking each to other in euerie Village, assemble as speedily as they may, at the prefixed place in great multitudes. But before wee bring our *Tonoupinambaults* to the Battaile, wee are to declare with what Weapons they are furnished.

Tacape, a kinde of wooden Club.

And first surely, they haue *Tacapes*, that is, Clubs, or Swords made some of redde, and some of blacke wood: they are commonly of the length of fiue or sixe feete, round at the ends, or of an ouall shape, of the breadth of a foote, and of the thickneſse of a Thumbe in the middest, but the edges are verie finely sharpened, for they are made of verie heauie wood, such as Boxe is, and are little inferiour to the edge of a verie sharpe Axe: so that I easily beleeue, that one *Tonoupinambaultian* armed with such a Clubbe, and inraged with furie, would bee able to put two of our Countrie Fencers to much trouble, and driue them to their shifts.

Orapats, a Bow.

Moreouer, they haue Bowes, which they call *Orapats*, made of the same kinde of wood, to wit, redde and blacke: and they exceed ours so much in length and thicknesse, that none of our men is able either to bend or vnbend them: insomuch as they are of necessitie to vse all their strength for the bending of the Bowes of Children of tenne yeeres old. They vse the herbe called *Tocon*, for strings, which although it bee verie slender, yet is it of so great a strength, that it may indure the force of an Horse. Their Arrowes are of the length of an Ell, made with three ioynts: the middle part consisting of a Cane or Reede, and the other two of blacke wood: and those pieces are so aptly bound together with certaine barks of Trees, that they could not bee more firmely glued. They apply two little feathers vnto them, of the length of a foote, which they binde together with a Cotton Thread, because Glue is not in vse with them: they aptly ioyne very sharpe bones to the ends, sometimes a piece of a drie Reed, of the length of a mans hand, cut smooth after the manner of a Surgeons Launce: and somtimes the verie end of the taile of the fish *Raye*, which as I haue elsewhere said, is verie venemous. But, since the *Frenchmen* and the *Portugals* came into those Countreyes, the *Barbarians*, after their manner haue accustomed to strengthen their Arrowes with Iron heads, or at the least, with verie sharpe Nailes.

The herbe *Tocon*, seruing in steed of Bow strings.

The length of their Arrowes.

We haue alreadie spoken what their dexteritie is, in handling their Clubs: but as touching the Bowes, I hope that all they who haue seene the *Barbarians*, will confirme that with their naked armes, they shoot so speedily, and so certainly, that (bee it spoken by the *Englishmens* leaue, who are yet accounted the most skilfull Archers) putting their Arrowes in the hand wherewith they hold their Bow, twelue may sooner bee shot by them, then sixe by the *Englishmen*.

The *Americans* most skilfull Archers.

Targets, of Leather.

Lastly, they haue Targets of the Hide of *Tapirussu*, which I mentioned before, broad, plaine, and round, like to the bottome of a *Germane* Drumme, with these they couer not themselues in fight, after the manner that our Souldiers vse, but fighting, receiue the Arrowes of the Enemies with them. So these are all the Weapons of the *Americans*: for they couer not their bodies with other Armour: but contrarily (excepting their Gaps of Feathers, Bracelets, and other short attire, wherewith as aforesaid, they decke their bodie, if they wore but a shirt, being about to goe vnto the battaile, they would presently put it off, fearing least they might be intangled and incumbred therewith.

The *Barbarians* little esteeme Iron Swords.

If they receiued Iron Swordes from vs, as I gaue one to a certaine *Mousacat* of mine, they presently cast away the sheathes: they did the like also receiuing Kniues, delighting in the brightnesse of them, and thought them more seruiceable for the cutting of the boughes of Trees, then for fight.

Eight or tenne thousand people being gathered together after the manner which hath beene spoken, with no small number of women, not to fight, but to carrie their bagge and baggage, and prouision of victuall, assembling vnto the Campe, they of the elder sort, who haue slaine and deuoured the greatest number of enemiess, haue the chiefe command and conducting of the forces: who being their Leaders, they prepare themselues for the iournie. And although they goe without order, yet when they march trooping, the most valiant men keeping the Front of the Armie, it is a wonder how well all that whole multitude conuey themselues

The elder *Barbarians*, Captaines of the Armie.

selues without Tribunes, and Quarter-masters, so that at the sound of the Trumpet they verie speedily assemble in battell array.

The *Barbarians* keeping no order, yet march without confusion.

But there are some, who with hornes, which they call *Inubia*, of the length of an elle and an halfe, and of the thicknesse of our Country Speare, of the breadth of an hand at the lower end like a Trumpet, raise the Souldiers, both going out of their Countrie, and when the Campe remoueth. Some also carrie Whistles made of the bones of their enemies, slaine and deuoured in former time, wherewith they continually pipe by the way, that they might stirre vp the mindes of their companions, and increase their desire to kill the enemies in like manner. But if, which often happeneth, they please to vndertake a Voyage, against the Enemie, by Boat, they passe along the shoares, and commit not themselues vnto the maine Sea. They order themselues in their Boats, which they call *Ygat*, euery one whereof consisteth of the barke of one tree, taken off, and appointed to this vse; yet are they of such largenesse, that euery one of them may receiue fiftie men. Standing therefore after their manner, they driue the Boat forward with an Oare, plaine on both sides, which they hold in the middle. Moreouer, these Boats seing they are plaine, are rowed with very little trouble: yet is there no vse of them in the maine Sea, or if a tempest arise. But, our *Barbarians* going a warfare, in a great calme, you may see a Fleet consisting of sixtie such Boats. And these passe the Seas with so swift a motion, that they are presently gone out of sight. So, these are the Armies of the *Toupinanquin*, both by Sea, and Land.

Inubia, huge hornes. Whistles, of mens bones.

Ygat, a Boat of the barke of a tree.

Being furnished after this manner, they sometimes goe fiftie miles into the Enemies borders. And first they vse this stratagem. All the most valiant, leaue the rest with the women and carriages, one or two dayes iourney behind them: they approach with great silence; and possesse the Woods, lying in waite to entrappe the Enemie, for whom they so diligently watch, that oftentimes they lie hid there, for foure and twentie houres. And if they set vpon the Enemie vnawares, as many men, women and children as they meete with, are not onely brought away, but also slaine by the Enemies returning into their Countrey, and put vpon *Boucan* in pieces, and at length deuoured. And they surprize them so much the more easily, because the Villages (for they haue no Cities) are not compassed with walls, and the Cottages (which yet are foure-score or an hundred paces long) haue no Doores, but in their stead, they set the boughs of Palmes, or the stalke of the herbe *Pinde* at their Gates. Yet they haue now learned to fortifie and intrench certaine Villages round about, which border vpon the Enemies, with postes of Palmes, of sixe foot long, besides they strengthen the entrances with woodden stakes sharpe at the end: if therefore the Enemies will assaile those Villages by night, which is common with them, then, the Inhabitants of the Village issue safely forth vpon them, whereby it commeth to passe, that whether they fight, or flee, they neuer escape, but some are ouerthrowne through the paine of their wounded feete, who are presently rosted and eaten by the Inhabitants.

The first stratagem of the *Barbarians*.

But, if they desire to fight in open warre, bringing forth their forces on both sides, it is scarce credible, how cruell and horrible the battell is: whereof my selfe was a beholder, and therefore can iustly make report thereof. I, with another *Frenchman*, somewhat more curiously, to our great danger, determined to accompanie our *Barbarians* going to the warres: for if we had beene taken, or hurt by the *Margaiates*, wee had certainely beene deuoured. These being foure thousand men in number, fought with the Enemie neere vnto the shoare, with such fiercenesse, that they would haue ouercome euen the most furious and outragious.

The *Tououpinambaults*, as soone as they saw the Enemie, brake out into so great and loude howling and exclamation, as they who here hunt Wolues, make no out-cries comparable with those: for the clamour so pierced the aire, that thunder then could scarse haue beene heard. But, comming neerer, they doubled their cries, and blew their Hornes, and lastly, whistled with their Pipes, the one threatned the other, and in a brauery shewed the bones of their dead Enemies: and also the teeth, whereof some wore them hanging about their neckes, strung vpon a threed aboue two elles long: and lastly, they terrified the beholders with their gesture. But, when they came to ioyne battell, matters fell out farre worse: for, a multitude of Arrowes was shot on both sides, like swarming Flyes in number. Such as were wounded, who were not few, stoutly plucked the Arrowes out of their bodies, which they bit like madde Dogs, and yet abstayned not therefore from the battell. For this Nation is so fierce and cruell, that so long as they haue any little strength, they fight continually, and neuer betake themselues to flight: we withdrawing our selues a little from the conflict, were contented with that spectacle. In the meane space, I protest, who haue diuers times here seene mightie Armies both of horse and foot ordered in battell array, that I was neuer so much delighted in seeing the Legions of footmen in their glittering Armour, as in beholding these *Tououpinambaults*, while they were fighting. For besides that they were pleasantly seene whistling, leaping, and very speedily and niembly gathering themselues round in a ring: a very thicke cloude of Arrowes was moreouer added; the feathers whereof being rose-colour, blue, red, greene, and of other such like colours, gaue a radiant lustre in the Sunne; their garments also, Caps, Bracelets; and other ornaments of feathers, which made a wonderfull glittering showe in the eyes of the beholders.

The howling and exclamation of the *Barbarians* comming to the battell.

The shewing of the bones of the slaine.

The *Barbarians* are exceeding fierce.

The bodies & weapons of the *Barbarians* decked with feathers.

This battell being ended in the ſpace of three houres, and many ſlaine and wounded on both ſides, our *Tououpinambaultij* carried away the victorie, and brought about thirtie captiues more or leſſe, both men and women, to their people. And wee, who performed no other ſeruice, but encouraged the *Barbarians* with our drawne ſwords, and ſmall ſhot, ſometimes diſcharging them, as we beheld them fighting (in that it was moſt acceptable vnto them if ſtrangers went with them to the warres) procured ſo great an opinion of vs, that from that time the elder ſort embraced vs with a ſpeciall good-will and loue.

The captiues are bound.

The Captiues therefore being placed in the middeſt of the Armie, and ſome of the ſtronger bound with ropes, we went vnto the Bay of *Ganabara*, from which we were diſtant about foure and twenty miles. A few dayes after, certaine *Barbarians*, who had captiues with them, came vnto our Caſtle, whom by Interpreters, we intreated that they would ſell certaine ſlaues to *Villegagnon*. So, a great part of the captiues was deliuered from the iawes of the *Barbarians*: yet hardly, and againſt the will of the *Barbarians*; which not long after was plainly declared vnto mee. I bought a certaine woman with her little childe ſcarce two yeeres old, the price was certaine merchandiſe, the value whereof amounted to three *French* pounds. But hee that ſold them, complained thus vnto mee: What will be hereafter I know not, but ſince *Paycolas* (for ſo they named *Villegagnon*) arriued here, wee haue ſcarce eaten the halfe part of our captiues. I greatly deſired to keepe that little childe vnto my ſelfe, but *Villegagnon*, reſtoring my merchandiſes, challenged both the mother and the ſonne. I ſometimes ſaid, vnto the mother, that when I paſſed ouer Sea, I would tranſport the little childe hither. But ſhee (the deſire of taking reuenge is ſo inherent in the mindes of that Nation) anſwered that ſhee had rather that he ſhould be deuoured by the *Tououpinambaultij*, then to be carried into ſo remote Countries: for ſhee hoped, that growing older, he might by ſome meanes eſcape, and conuey himſelfe vnto his Countrymen, and reuenge the death of his kindred.

Captiues bought by the *Frenchmen*.

Their feaſting with mans fleſh, &c. is here omitted, though fully handled by the Author: becauſe we haue glutted you already, &c.

Chap. 16.

Of their Religion.

Cicero 1. *de Legibus.*

ALthough that ſaying of *Cicero*, be held for a moſt certaine Axiome by the common account of all men, that *there is no Nation ſo ſauage, nor ſo fierce, that doth not know that they are to haue a God, although they be ignorant what manner of God they ought to haue:* yet, how this may appeare to be true in our *Tououpinambaultij*, I doe not ſufficiently knowe. For, they are ignorant of the true God, and neither acknowledge nor worſhip any falſe Gods, either celeſtiall or terreſtriall: and therefore haue no publike place where they may aſſemble for the cauſe of Religion. They are ignorant alſo of the creation of the World, diſtinguiſh not dayes by names, nor preferre one before another: they obſerue not weekes, moneths and yeeres, but meaſure times by the Moones. They are not onely altogether ignorant of Scripture, whether it be ſacred or profane, but alſo vtterly without Characters, wherewith they might bee able to write the meaning of the minde. When I firſt came into thoſe Countries, I writ certaine words and ſentences, to acquaint my ſelfe with their Speech, and read them preſently before them. They thinking it to be a iuggling tricke, ſpake one to another in theſe words: Is it not a wonder, that this man, who yeſterday, knew not ſo much as one word of our Language, (by the meanes and helpe of this Paper which teacheth him to ſpeake our words) ſhould now ſo skilfully pronounce them, that they may be vnderſtood of vs?

The *Tououpinambaultij* are ignorant of the true God, and acknowledge no falſe gods, nor the creation of the world.

Computation of times.

What the *Barbarians* thinke of the Scripture.

As often as we talked with them, and happened to make mention of God, we ſaid, that we beleeued in one God, Creator of Heauen and Earth, who as he hath made the World, and whatſoeuer things are therein, ſo he gouerneth all things at his pleaſure. When they heard this, looking one vpon another, and breaking out into this word *Toh*, which is a familiar token of admiration with them, they ſtood ſtill, fixed, and aſtoniſhed: Moreouer, becauſe, as wee ſhall ſpeake in his proper place, they are vehemently terrified with the noiſe of Thunder (which they call *Toupan*) if bearing with their rudeneſſe, wee tooke occaſion thereby to inſtruct them, and ſaid, that that was the God whereof we ſpake vnto them, who that he might declare his power, ſhooke Heauen and Earth after that manner: they anſwered, that that God by whom they were ſo terrified, was a naughty one: I doe not beleeue that there is any Nation in the whole World, which may be more eſtranged from all Religion. Yet, that I may alſo declare how little apparance of light I perceiued, among thoſe thicke myſts of darkneſſe wherewith they are blinded: I affirme, that they doe not onely beleeue the immortalitie of the ſoules: but are alſo certainly perſwaded, that after death their ſoules who haue embraced vertue (but they define vertue after their manner, to wit, to auenge them of their Enemies, and to eate very many) flying beyond the higheſt Mountaines, are gathered to the ſoules of their Fathers and Grand-fathers, and there, in moſt pleaſant Gardens, leade a ioyfull life in perpetuall delights, and danſing: (this is that long peregrination of *Socrates*, and the Poets *Elyſian* fields) but contrarily the ſoules of the fearefull cowards, who liued ingloriouſly, without any care of defending their Countrie, are violently carried away by *Aygnan* (for ſo they call the Deuill) and liue in perpetuall torment with him.

Toupan, Thunder.

Pſal. 29.

The *Americans* beleeue the immortalitie of the ſoule.

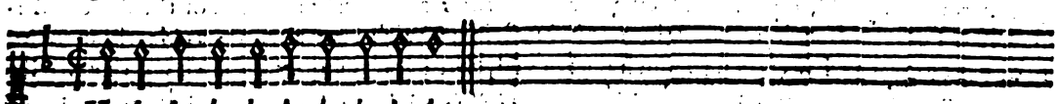
Theſe moſt miſerable *Barbarians* are wofully euen in this life tormented by the Deuill (whom by another name they call *Kaegerre*): For, I haue ſometimes ſeene them, euen while they were talking

talking with vs, immediatly crying out like frantike men, *Hei, hei*, helpe vs, for *Aygnan* beateth vs. Nay, they affirmed, that the wicked spirit was seene of them sometimes in the shape of a cruell Beast, sometimes of a Bird, and sometimes also in some monstrous forme. And because they greatly wondred that wee were not vexed by the Deuill: therefore, wee telling them that we were deliuered from those torments by that God, whereof wee often spake vnto them, who was farre aboue *Aygnan*, and hindered him from procuring vs any trouble. It somtimes happened that danger enforcing them, they promised to beleeue in God, but being deliuered, they were vnmindfull of the promise. But, that it may euidently appeare, that the torments wherwith they are vexed, are no pastimes, I my selfe haue somtimes seen them so stricken with a shiuering and quaking feare, remembring that miserie, that sweating through anguish, and clapping their thighes with their hands, they complained vnto vs with these words. *Mar Atouraſſap, Acequeiey Aignan Atoupané:* that is, My foole, my companion, I feare the Deuill aboue all other euils. But contrariwise, if any of vs spake vnto him in these words, *Nacequeiey Aygnan*, I feare not the Deuill: then, bewailing their condition, they said; Ah, how happie were we, if thereby we might be secured from him: whereupon we answered, that therefore they were to beleeue in him who is mightier then *Aygnan*. But although, as hath beene said, in the present danger they promised that they would doe it, yet they presently returned to their owne disposition of nature.

Aygnan an euill Spirit vexeth the Sauages.

Therefore, although our *Americans* confesse not God with the mouth, seeing among themselues they are conuinced that there is some diuine power; therby I gather, that they shal neither be excusable, nor iustly take occasion to pretend Ignorance. But besides those things which haue beene spoken by mee, concerning the immortalitie of the Soule, which they beleeue; of the Thunder, whereof they are horribly affraid; and Deuils, by whom they are tormented: (which three things are first of all to be noted) I will moreouer adde a fourth principall matter. That they haue Prophets or certaine Priests among them, which they call *Caraibes*, who going from Village to Village, perswade those miserable men, that they (because they haue familiaritie with Spirits) giue not onely fortitude and courage to whomsoeuer they please, whereby they might ouercome their enemies in warre, but also that through their helpe, all fruits, and those great Roots growe, which we haue said that the *American* soile produceth. Moreouer, (as farre as I vnderstood by the *Neustrian* Interpreters, who had liued many yeeres in those Countries) the *Tououpinambaultians* haue this custome, that euery third, or fourth yeere they assemble together. At which assemblie, as shall immediatly be declared, I was present vnawares: concerning which I am to report that which followeth. I, with a certaine *Frenchman* named *Iacobus Ruffus*, and also a certaine *Neustrian* Interpreter, trauelling farre from home, turned in to a certaine Village to lodge; the next day after, wee prepared our selues early in the morning for our Iourney, at which time we saw the Borderers come flocking thither from all places. So, the Inhabitants of that Village ioyned themselues with them that came, and presently wee saw sixe hundred gathered together in a certaine voide plat of ground. We demand the cause of that meeting, and saw that multitude diuided into three parts. All the men went into a certaine Cottage, the women into another, and the children also went into the third. I, who had seene certaine *Caraibes* intermingled with the men, suspecting that some vnaccustomed and strange thing should be done by them, earnestly entreated my companions, that they would stand still there with me to obserue the whole matter: which I obtayned of them. The *Caraibes*, before they departed from the women and children, with great care forbid the women to goe out of their Cottages, but diligently to attend to the singing, and also charged vs to keepe our selues close in that Cottage where the women were: Being earnestly busied about our break-fast, and ignorant of those things which they purposed to doe, we heard a certaine lowe and soft muttering noise breaking out of the house into the which the men had seuered themselues (for that Cottage was almost thirtie paces distant from ours) the women which were about two hundred in number, standing, and giuing eare, gather themselues as it were on an heape. But the men lifting vp their voices by little and little, so that their distinct words were heard of vs exhorting, and likewise repeating this Interiection,

Master *Knivet*, which liued long with the Sauages hath told me, that he knew one of their *Caraibes* or Diuiners conferre with this Spirit in tormenting one of his fellowes; and threatning if he so dealt with them, that they would all goe to the white men, &c. whereupon the man recouered, whereas many other had died. And this shewes that which *Tully* saith of the vniuersalitie of religion, howsoeuer these want solemne formes of it. *Deos ficit timor.* They which will not *Deum vereri tanquam parentem, timebunt vt hostem, & oderunt.* They are so much liker the Deuill, which worships not God, yet beleeueth and trembleth. *Iam. 2.* *Caraibes* false Prophets. A relation of a great solemnitie of the *Barbarians.*



He he he he he he he he he he.

The singing of the *Barbarians.*

we heard the women presently, with a trembling voice singing the same Interiection againe, *he, he, he*, &c. And they lifted vp their voices with so great vehemency of minde, and that for the space of one whole quarter of an houre, that they drew vs who were the beholders into admiration. And surely, they did not onely horribly howle, but also leaped forth with great violence, and shaked their paps, and fomed at the mouth, nay some of them (not vnlike vnto those that are troubled with the Falling-sickneſſe) fell downe dead. So that I thinke, that the Deuill entred into their bodies, and they suddenly became possessed with the Deuill. Moreouer, hauing plainly

The howling, and horrible gestures of the *Americane* women.

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plainly perceiued thoſe things which *Bodinus* writeth, in the Booke which he called *Demonomania*, concerning the extaſie of Witches, which hee affirmeth to bee common to all Witches, who haue made an expreſſe couenant with the Deuill, and who are often violently carried away in ſpirit, the bodie remayning voide of all ſenſe, although alſo they are ſometimes carried away both in bodie and minde. Adde (ſaith he) that they neuer meete together in any place, but they danſe, among which, as farre as he could gather by the confeſſion of certaine Witches, they all crie out together, *Her, her*, (which very well agreeth with *He, he*, of our *Americans*) the Deuill crieth, *Danſe hither, danſe hither:* and others anſwere, *Sabbath, Sabbath*, that is, A feſtiuall day, or day of reſt; lifting vp their hands, and the crops of herbes or trees which they haue in their hands, that they may ſhew a moſt aſſured token of ioy, and ſignifie that they ſerue the Deuill with all their heart: and ſo, that they imitate the adoration due vnto God. For, in the Law of God, it was preſcribed to the *Iſraelites*, that they ſhould lift vp their hands vnto the Lord, and ſhew themſelues cheerefull before him. Theſe things, I ſay, being certainly knowne, I gather, that Satan is Lord of them both: and that they are led by the ſame ſpirit, ſo that the diſtance of places hindereth not, but that the Father of lyes may worke here and there vpon them who through the iuſt iudgement of God are deliuered vnto him. Likewiſe, when I heard the children crying altogether (although I had now liued halfe a yeere with the *Barbarians*, and was almoſt acquainted with their manners) yet, not to diſſemble, I was then ſomewhat afraid, eſpecially, ſeeing I knew not what ſhould be the end of that matter. At length thoſe cries were ended, the men being ſomewhat ſilent, the children and women alſo altogether holding their peace, preſently the men began to ſing ſo ſweetly, and with ſo great harmonie, that I was wonderfully deſirous to ſee them. But when I would haue gone out of the Cottage, I was both kept backe by the women, and alſo admoniſhed by the Interpreter, that he (who had already liued ſeuen yeeres among the *Barbarians*) durſt neuer come to thoſe ſolemne meetings; and laſtly, that if I went vnto them I ſhould not doe wiſely. Whereby he cauſed me to ſtay a while, for feare of danger; yet, becauſe hee alledged no probable reaſon thereof, the women and Interpreter ſomewhat reſiſting, I went forth: relying vpon the friendſhip of certaine ancient men, Inhabitants of that Village. Going therefore vnto the place where I heard that Muſicall harmonie, I made an hole through the roofe of the Cottage, that I might the better perceiue what was done within. For, they are ſomewhat long, and round, after the manner of our Countrie gardens Arbours, and couered with graſſe from the top to the bottome. Then, making a ſigne with my finger, I called my companions, and at length wee entred into that Cottage. As ſoone as wee ſaw that the *Barbarians* were not moued through our preſence (which thing the Interpreter ſuſpected, would haue been done) and that they kept their order very well, and proceeded with their Verſes: we went apart into a certaine corner, and beheld them without feare. Theſe are their geſtures in danſing. They were ordered in a round circle, ſtanding cloſe each to other; yet ſo, they tooke not one another by the hand ſtooping, with their bodie ſomwhat bending downward, ſhaking onely one of their legs, to wit, the right, with their right hand laid vpon their buttockes, and the left hanging downe, and after this faſhion they both danſed and ſung. All that whole multitude made three ſuch round Circles, in the middle whereof were three or foure *Caraibes*, attired with Caps, Garments, and Bracelets of feathers. Each of them in either hand carried *Maraca*, that is, that rattle of a fruit exceeding the bigneſſe of an Eſtridges egge, whereof we haue made mention before, for that vſe, as they ſaid, that the Spirit might ſpeake out of them: and that they might rightly conſecrate them, they continually ſhooke them.

Lib. 3. cap. 3.

Lib. 2. cap. 3. & lib. 3. cap 8.

Deut. 12. 6. 7.

The *Americane* women are led with the ſame ſpirit, wherewith our countrie Witches are.

I once ſaw *Tomocomo* a *Virginian* dance, with ſuch extaticall viſages and diabolicall behauiour, as if the Deuill had beene in him.

The frame of the *American* Cottages.

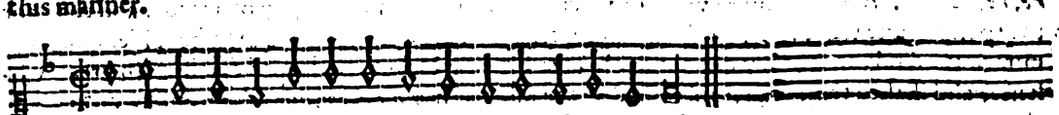
The geſture of the *Barbarians* danſing in a round circle.

The *Caraibes* conſecrating *Maraca*.

Moreouer, thoſe *Caraibes* danſing, ſometimes, went forward, and ſometimes backward, and did not continually ſtand ſtill in the ſame place, as the reſt. Further, I obſerued that with a very long Cane, wherein they put the herbe *Petum* * ſet on fire, they often turned themſelues hither and thither, and blew out the fume of that herbe vpon them that ſtood round about them, with theſe words: Receiue the ſpirit of fortitude, whereby you may all ouercome your enemies. And this was often done by theſe *Caraibes*. The celebrating of theſe Rites and Ceremonies was prolonged for the ſpace of two houres: thoſe men continually danſing and ſinging. And their tunable ſinging was ſo ſweet, that to the vnskilfull it is ſcarce credible, how excellently well that harmonie agreed, eſpecially, ſeeing the *Barbarians* are vtterly ignorant of the Art of Muſike. And ſurely, although in the beginning I was ſtricken with a certain feare, as I lately mentioned, yet contrarily I was then ſo much ouer-ioyed, that I was not only rauiſhed out of my ſelfe, but alſo now, as often as I remember the tunable agreement of many voices, both my minde reioyceth, alſo mine eares ſeeme continually to ring therewith: but eſpecially the burden of the ſong yeelded a pleaſing ſound vnto the eares, which at the end of euery Verſe, they ſung after this manner.

Petum by the Authour is thought to differ from Tabacco, becauſe it hath a pleaſing ſent, &c. I thinke it the ſame.

The *Caraibes* blowing vpon the *Barbarians*.



Hewheura, heura, heura, heura, heura, heura, heura, oueck.

Being

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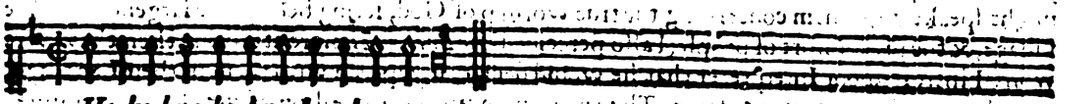
Being about to make an end of that tunable singing, shaking the ground with the right foote more vehemently then before, they all spit also, and all with one voice, and that hoarse, sing this Song often repeated.



He he hua he hua hua hua.

Then because I did not yet plainly vnderstand their Language, and conceiued not many things which had beene spoken by them, I intreated the Interpreter that hee would declare them vnto me. He signifieth, that these men, first lamented their dead Ancestors, who were most valiant, but in the end were hereby comforted, in that they hoped that after death they should at length go vnto them beyond the Mountaines, and dance with them, and celebrate merrie meetings: and that afterward they most grieuously threatned the *Ouetacaes*, (which are a people not farre remooued from them, with whom they haue perpetuall enmitie, whom also they could neuer ouercome) and foretold, that it should shortly come to passe, that they should be taken and deuoured, as the *Caraibes* luckily ghessed. Moreouer, I know not what they intermingled with their Songs concerning a flood, that the waters in times past so ouerflowed, that they couered the whole earth: and that through that inundation all men perished except only their Ancestors, who climbed vp into exceeding high Trees. Which last thing commeth very neere vnto the sacred Historie, and I neuer once heard it from them before. The confused opinion of the *Barbarians* concerning the flood.

The same day they were sumptuously receiued by the *Barbarians*, for they liberally entertained both with most exquisite meates, and plentifull drinke. *Caouin.* I also with my companions, who were present at those Feasts of *Bacchus* vnexpected, were most honourably entertained by our *Mouſſacat*, that is the Maſters of the house, who giue food to their guests. But beside those things which haue bin spoken by me, those daies being past (wherein their solemne meetings are celebrated euery third or fourth yeere among the *Tououpinambaults*) sometimes also before they came thither, those *Caraibes* goe about from Village to Village, and command three or foure of those Rattles which they call *Maraca*, to bee decked with the best feathers in euery Family: which being so decked, they sticke the longer part of the staffe, wherewith they are thrust through in the ground, and then command meate and drinke to be set before them. Whereby it commeth to passe, that those miserable people, through the perswasion of those Impostors, beleeue that those hollow fruits decked after that manner deuoure the meats. Wherefore euery *Mouſſacat* carefully setteth before them, not only meate with flesh and fish: but also *Caouin*. Moreouer, they serue those *Maracas* being so stucke in the ground, for fifteene whole daies together with very great diligence. Lastly, those miserable people after that so great bewitching of those *Maraca*, (which they continually carrie in their hands) conceiue an opinion, attributing holinesse vnto them, that while they are shaken by them, a certaine Spirit speaketh with them from the middest thereof. And they were so bewitched with those deluſions, that if we trauelling that way, seeing some more delicate meates, which they had set before their *Maraca*, tooke them to eate (which we oftentimes did) the *Barbarians* supposing that some great misfortune would thereby happen vnto vs, were offended. Moreouer, if taking occasion thereby to discouer their errours, we signified that they were deceiued by the *Caraibes*, not only because they taught them that *Maraca* did eate and drinke, but especially in this, that they most falsly vaunted that through their meanes, the fruits, and great Roots which they eate, increased and grew: which only was to be attributed vnto God, from whom wee were to beleeue that wee had receiued the same: these things, I say, were of so great moment with them, as if any here should speake against the Pope, or at *Paris*, denie that the Image of *Gennef* would procure raine. For which cause those Impostors the *Caraibes* did no lesse hate vs, then sometimes the false Prophets of *Baal* did *Elias* detecting their deluſions. And therefore they shunned our sight. Feast following. The decking of *Maraca*. A grosse Superstition. A most grosse Errour. 1 *Reg.* 18. 19.

But although our *Tououpinambaults*, as hath beene declared by mee in the beginning of this Chapter, neither honour their *Caraibes*, nor *Maraca*, with any externall rite, no not with kneeling vnto them, nor worship any thing created, much lesse adore it, or call vpon it for helpe. I will adde an example of those Relikes of Religion which I obserued among them. When by chance I was sometimes with other *Frenchmen* in a certaine Towne (which they call *Ocarentim*) and that we supped abroad in the open Aire, the *Barbarians* Inhabitants of that Village flocking together to see vs, not to feast with vs (for this is their vsuall custome, that they neuer sit together at meate, with those whom they reuerence most) the elder men especially with many tokens of friendship stood round about vs as our guard or attendants: and holding in their hands the bone of the beake of a certaine fish, of three or foure foot long, in the forme of a Sawe, they droue away the children from vs, with these words: Get you hence Knaues: for you are vnworthy to come vnto these men. So they beheld vs attentiuely, and holding their peace, not speaking the least word the meane while: vntill the Banket being ended, a certaine elderly man obseruing vs to beginne meate with Prayers, and also to end Supper with Prayer, comming vnto Truth purchased falshood to flight. How the ancient *Barbarians* entertaine the *Frenchmen*.

to vs, spoke thus. What meaneth this custom, which you now vsed, when talking of your gaps, you all kept silence, saue one, that spoke to whom appertained that speech which he made? to any of you that are present, or to some that are absent? There fitly taking that occasion offered, that I might speake vnto them concerning the true worship of God, seeing besides the largeneſſe of that village, & the great resort of people (I also perceiued the *Barbaries* more attentiue then they were wont) I intreated our Interpreter that he would declare my speech vnto them in their language, that they might conceiue the same. Then beginning with the question of the old man, I answered that our Prayers were directed vnto God: and that although he could not see him, he had not only plainly heard vs, but also did apparantly know whatsoeuer we had hid in our hearts. From thence comming to the Creation of the World, I first of all laboured to teach them, that among the creatures God made man the most noble and excellent, that he should so much the more endeuour to extoll the glorie of his Creator. And that we surely in that we worshipped him, were deliuered by his hand from infinite dangers of a very long *Nauigation*, in so vast a Sea, and depending vpon his helpe, were freed from all feare of *Aignes*, both in this life and in the life to come. Wherefore, if they would reiect the delusions of their *Curaibes*, and their barbarous custome of deuouring mans flesh, they should vndoubtedly obtaine the same gifts of God, which they saw we had. Moreouer, we added many things concerning the corruption and fall of Mankind, that we might prepare their mindes vnto Christ, applying Reasons and Examples to their capacitie, as much as might be. Now when they had harkened vnto vs aboue the space of two houres with great attention and admiration: one of them reuerent for his authoritie and yeeres, discoursed after this manner: *Surely, you haue here told vs wonderfull and excellent things; and such as we haue neuer heard before, and certainly your speech hath brought into my memorie, what wee haue often heard our Grandfathers report: To wit, that euen from ancient time, and so many Moones since, as we cannot now remember, a certaine Mair (that is a Frenchman, or stranger of any other Nation) came into these Countries, attired after your manner, and hauing a beard. And that hee, to the end he might draw them to the obedience of your God, made such a speech vnto them, as you deliuered vnto vs this day. But, as it was reported vnto vs by tradition from our Fathers, they will not giue credit to his words. Therefore, presently another succeeded, who gaue them a Sword, in token of a curse. Hereupon followed warre amongst vs, and from that time, we haue not ceassed to exercise cruelties one towards another, through mutuall slaughters. But now, after we haue accustomed our selues to these outrages by continuall vse, if we should now suddenly learne our ancient customs, we should become a laughing stocke, and deriſion, to the neighbouring Nations.*

The occasion of declaring the true God vnto the *Barbarians*.

The *Barbarians* hearing speech of the true God, were astonished.

A relation of a *Barbarian* most worthy to bee noted.

Heere wee testified with great vehemencie and earnest speech, that it was so farre off, that they ought to be mooued with the scoffes of the bonzeres, that contrarily, if they seriously worshipped that Creator both of Heauen and Earth, they should carrie away the victorie from all those, who for that cause, should willingly be troublesome vnto them. Lastly, the Lord gaue that efficacie to our words, that not only many *Barbarians* afterwards promised to frame their liues according to that Law which they had learned of vs, and that they would neuer eate the flesh of their slaine enemies any more: but also according to this conference, kneeling on the ground, gaue thankes with vs, vnto God. That Prayer which was made vnto God, by one of our men, with a loude voice, in the middest of their assembly, was presently expounded vnto them by our Interpreter: and so they brought vs to sleepe in those hanging beds of Bombasin Cotton. But sleepe had not yet taken vs, when, behold, wee heare these *Barbarians* singing and crying out together, that they were to take vengeance on their Enemies, and that more should be eaten then before. Behold the inconstancie of this miserable people, and the lamentable example of humane nature. Yea surely, I perswade my selfe, if *Villagagno* had neuer reuolted from the true Religion, and that wee had stayed longer in those Countries, it would haue happened, that at length, some should haue beene wonne vnto Christ.

The *Barbarians* promise to embrace the worship of God, & are present at Prayers.

Another time I being with three *Sauages*, and singing the 104. Psalme, at the request of one of them I declared the sense and antiquitie thereof, so many thousand Moones. Whereat he cried *Teh*, how happie are you *Mair*, who know so many secrets, which are hid from vs poore miserable men. Afterward, one of them to gratifie mee, presented mee with a certaine little beast, which he carried, called *Agouti*, speaking vnto mee in these words. Heere, take you this, because you haue sung sweetly. I haue willingly added this digression, to the intent I might declare that the Barbarous *Americans*, although outragious against their enemies, are not yet so rude that they cannot discerne those things which they heare, with iudgement. Nay I dare affirme, that they are more apt in framing speeches, then our Countrie Peasants are, and very many of them also, who esteeme highly of themselues.

The *Barbarians* acknowledge their owne ignorance and blindnesse.

§. III.

Of their Marriages, Education of Children, Politie, Hoſpitalitie, Diſeaſes, Phyſicians, Funerals and Lamentations.

IN Marriages, theſe degrees of Conſanguinitie only, are obſerued: none of them taketh his Mother, Siſter, or Daughter to wife: no regard is had of the reſt: the Vncle marrieth the Neece, and ſo conſequently. Neuertheleſſe, as ſhall bee hereafter ſpoken in the *American* Dialogue, no man may marrie the Daughter or Siſter of his *Atouraſſap*. And he is called *Atouraſſap*, whoſe familiaritie with any one is ſo great, that both their goods are common. There is no place for Rites or Ceremonies. Hee who deſireth a Widdow, or Virgin, being certainly perſwaded of the good will of her whom hee loueth, goeth to her Parents, or if ſhe haue none, to her next Kindred, and asketh them whether they will marrie their Daughter vnto him? If they conſent, he preſently bringeth her home, without giuing her any aſſurance of Dowrie and ſo keepeth her for his lawfull Wife. And if he ſuffer the repulſe, he giueth ouer his Sute without any perturbation of mind. But it is to bee noted, that Polygamy is vſuall with them, and therefore it is lawfull for a man to marrie as many Wiues, as he ſhall think good. Nay, the more Wiues that any one hath the more valiant and generous hee is eſteemed. Among the reſt I ſaw one, who had eight at home, and hee often ſpoke very much of them in commendation of himſelfe. But this is chiefly to be wondred at, that in ſo great a multitude of Wiues although one be beloued of the Husband aboue the reſt, the other meaner take it grieuouſly, or become jealous, or openly murmur. Therefore they liue moſt quietly and with great agreement, weauing their Cotton beds, looking to the affaires of the houſe, making Gardens and planting Roots.

The degrees of Conſanguinitie.

Polygamie.

The wonderfull agreement betweene the *American* women.

They ſo hate adulterous women, that it lyeth in the Husbands power either to kill the adultreſſe, or at the leaſt, to put her away with great ignominie and reproach. This ſurely is true, that they are not very carefull of preſeruing the chaſtitie of vnmarried women: nay, they eaſily proſtitute them to any man. So that (as I haue alreadie ſaid) I haue ſeene very many in diuers Villages deflowred by the *Neuſtrian* Interpreters, who yet were not reprochfully diſgraced for the ſame.

The *Sauages* abhorre adulterie.

Single women looſe.

I haue obſerued that the younger ſort both men and women are not very much giuen to luſt: and I would our Countrey people could moderate themſelues aſwell in this behalfe. But that I may attribute no more vnto them then is meete, I remember, that often in their brawling they vſed to object this reproach *Tyiure*, that is, *Buggerers*, one vnto another, whereby we may conjecture, that that hainous and abhominable wickedneſſe raigneth among them. The women great with childe, abſtaine only from the greater burthens, and performe the other accuſtomed duties. And ſurely the women much exceed the men in labour, for the men (ſaue that ſometimes in the Morning, neuer at noone, they place certaine Trees to make Gardens) ſpend the time in warfare, hunting, fiſhing, making of woodden Clubs, Bowes, Arrowes, and other things of that kinde. As touching the trauell of women; I and another *Frenchman* lodging in a certaine Village, about midnight heard a great out-cry of a woman, and ſuppoſing ſhe had beene ſurprized by the cruell beaſt *Ian-ouare*, we aroſe, and ran vnto her, and found the woman in trauell, to whom the Husband performed the office of a Midwife: he receiuing the Infant in his armes, cut the nauell ſtring aſunder with his teeth, but preſſed downe the Noſe (for they eſteeme the beautie of children to conſiſt in the flatneſſe of the Noſe) the new borne Infant is preſently waſhed, and painted by the Father with colours blacke and red: then, not being wrapped in ſwadling-clouts at all, it is put into a Cotton hanging bedde. But if it bee a Male childe, the Father will giue him a little woodden Sword, a ſmall Bow and little Arrowes, preſently after his birth, and lay them in the bedde with the childe, and kiſſing the little Babe will ſpeake vnto him in theſe words. *My Sonne, when thou art come to mans eſtate, be valiant, to take reuenge of thine enemies.* As touching the giuing of names, I remember that hee of whom I now ſpoke, was named by the Father *Orapaceu*, which word ſignifieth *a Bow and Bow-ſtrings*: for the word is compounded of *Orapat*, which is *a Bow*, and *Ceu* which ſignifieth *a ſtringe*. The ſame manner alſo is obſerued in others.

How the *American* women great with child behaue themſelues.

Child-birth.

The *American* men performe the office of Midwiues.

The little Infants Gugawes to play withal.

What the manner is of giuing *American* names.

Their nouriſhment, beſide the Mothers Milke, is chewed Meale, and euery moſt tender kinde of meate. The woman lately deliuered lieth downe two daies only, or three daies at the moſt. Afterward putting the little childe in a Cotton Scarffe, ſhee either goeth to the Garden, or to diſpatch her other buſineſſe.

The food of Infants.

This opinion hath preuailed with vs, that little children would haue crooked legges, vnleſſe they were carefully wrapped and bound in ſwadling clouts: But, I affirme, that the *Barbarians* nothing regard theſe things (who put the new borne Infants naked, and vnſwadled in their Cotton beds) whoſe children notwithſtanding, goe moſt ſtraight and vpright of all the men in the World.

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The *Americans* Infants are very clean without the vſe of linnen clothes

World. The Mothers who both want linnen, and alſo vſe not the helpe of leaues for theſe ſeruices (whereof notwithſtanding they haue great plentie) ſo diligently wipe the hinder parts of the Infants with ſmall chips of wood, that they are continually free from all filth. The elder ſort alſo obſerue the ſame manner, whom alſo (digreſſing a litle into this filthy matter) I thought good to mention, that they vſe to make water in their houſes, and yet no euill nor ſtinking ſauour ariſeth from thence: although they ſhine bright almoſt continually with often fires, and are ſtrewed with ſand: but as often as they doe their eaſement, they vſe to goe apart farre from the Houſes.

In what things the *Barbarians* buſie themſelues. Naturall ſhamefaſtneſſe is obſerued in the *American* Marriages.

Moreouer, proceeding to ſpeake of the Marriage of the *Tewoupinambaultians*, as far as ſhame and modeſtie will permit, I affirme (contrarie to that which ſome haue forged) that the men obſeruing naturall ſhamefaſtneſſe, doe no where openly company with their Wiues.

The purgation of the *American* women.

This is eſpecially worth the noting, that for the ſpace of an whole yeere, while we liued in thoſe Countries, we neuer ſaw any woman hauing the flowres. I thinke that they diuert that Fluxe by ſome meanes vnknowne to vs. For I ſaw Maidens of twelue yeeres olde, whoſe ſides were cut by their Mothers, from the arme-hole downe to the knee, with a very ſharpe tuske of a certaine beaſt. And the young Girles gnaſhing with their Teeth through extremitie of paine, bleed very much: I conjecture that they preuented their monthly Fluxe by this remedie.

The *Barbarians* liue peaceably together.

As touching the Policie of the *Barbarians*, it is ſcarce credible how well they agree among themſelues, being guided only by the light of Nature. Nor may this be ſpoken, but to their great ſhame who are inſtructed in diuine and humane Lawes, which yet is to bee vnderſtood of them who are of the ſame kindred, or of the Confederates: for how they behaue themſelues towards their enemies, it hath beene alreadie by vs declared. Yet if any contention ariſe betweene certaine perſons among them (which very ſeldome happeneth, for in the whole ſpace of a yeere, while I liued among them, it was my chance twice only to ſee them brawling) the beholders care not to pacifie the ſtrife: but ſuffer them to doe their pleaſure, although they bee readie to put out one anothers eies. But if the one wound the other, and that hee can bee taken, hee is wounded in the ſame part of the bodie by the Kinſmen of him that is wounded. Nay, if peraduenture death follow the wound, the Murtherer is ſlaine by the Kinſmen of the dead. Laſtly, they recompence eie for eie, tooth for tooth, and life for life. But theſe things as I ſaid, very ſeldome happen among them.

The puniſhment of murtherers among the *Barbarians*. *Leuit.* 24. 19. 20

The things of the ground, with them are Cottages, and fields farre larger then might be required for maintenance of the Inhabitants. As touching the Cottages, you are firſt to vnderſtand, that euery Village containeth ſixe hundred men: wherefore very many are of neceſſitie to dwell in one and the ſame Cottage. Notwithſtanding euerie Family poſſeſſing their place without any diſtance betweene (for there is nothing that may hinder, but that from one end vnto the other thoſe houſes lie open, which for the moſt part are extended ſixtie paces in length) euerie Maſter of a Family hath his wife and children placed apart. Moreouer, you are to obſerue (which ſurely is to be wondred at) that the *Americans* inhabit not one place aboue fiue or ſixe moneths. But carrying away the matter and herbe *Pinda*, whereof their houſes conſiſt, they often tranſport their Villages, which yet alwaies reteine the ſame names. Wee our ſelues ſaw ſome Villages remooued a mile from the accuſtomed place. No man buildeth a Cottage, which he is not compelled to finiſh, nay, to build and plucke downe, aboue twentie times before his death, if hee haue attained to the full age of a man. Now if it be demanded of them, why they change their habitation ſo often? The anſwere is eaſily made. That the changing of the Aire is verie profitable for the health: beſides, that if they ſhould alter the cuſtome of their anceſtors, they ſhould preſently periſh. As touching the fields, euerie *Monſſacas* hath certaine particular plats of ground, which he chooſeth at his pleaſure whereſoeuer he thinketh good for the making of Gardens. But that exceſſiue care of diuiding the grounds, ſetting limits, and bounding the fields, they leaue to our Countrie couetous perſons, and to the Lawyers.

After what manner the villages and *American* families are ordered.

The tranſporting of the *American* Villages.

What grounds the *Americans* peculiarly poſſeſſe.

Concerning their houſhold ſtuffe, I haue often ſpoken in the former Chapters. Yet that wee may not omit any of thoſe things which appertaine to the houſhold gouernment of the *Barbarians*, I will heere recite the cunning of the *American* women in ſpinning of Cotton, whereof there is manifold vſe, as well for Ropes, as for the weauing of their hanging beds.

How the *American* women ſpin the cotten

Being drawne out of the ſtockes, in ſtead of all picking and carding, they plucke it out ſomewhat in length with the fingers, and then lay it vpon the ground in a heape (for they know not how to vſe Diſtaffes) in ſtead of a Spindle they take a little wand of the thickneſſe of a finger, and a foot in length, which they thruſt through a little wooden round ball, and faſten the Bombaſin Cotton to the top of the ſmall wand, then turning that Inſtrument about vpon their thigh (as our Countriewomen doe their Spindles) they let it ſlip out of their hands. That little round ball is turned about, through the houſes and ſtreets, like a Wherue. And after that manner they ſpinne Threed, not only courſe and great for the weauing of their Cotton Beds, but alſo that which is moſt fine. Of this ſort I brought ſome into *France*, wherewith I cauſed a faire ſtomacher to be made of the white Web, which was of ſo fine and ſmall a Threed, that ſome tooke it for the beſt and choiceſt Silke.

They

They call their Cotton beds *Inis*. The women, to whom this workmanſhip appertaineth, haue their work-houſes for their Loomes ſomewhat vnlike to thoſe of our Countrie: for they are neither made flat and plaine, nor conſiſt of ſo many ſubtile inuentions, but being framed to the height of their ſtature, they worke after their manner, and alſo beginne their weauing from the bottome. They make certaine of thoſe beds in the forme of Nets, and others thicker, like the fineſt Cloth. They are fiue or ſixe foot long, and an ellebroad: vnto either end Cotton loopes are added, vnto the which they faſten cords: and hang them vp in their houſes vpon beames, made fit for this vſe. But, liuing in the Campe, or in the woods for hunting, or on the ſhoares for fiſhing, they hang them vpon trees. Theſe beds (that wee omit nothing) when they haue gathered filth either through humane ſweat, or by the ſmoake, by reaſon of the continuall fire, are waſhed cleane after this manner. The women gather a certaine fruit in the woods, not much vnlike in ſhape vnto a plaine Gourd, but farre larger, ſo that euery Apple may ſcarce bee borne with one hand: theſe fruits they cut into ſmall pieces, and hauing caſt them into ſome very great earthen veſſell, they moiſten them with water. Then, they vehemently ſtirre them about with a ſticke, and cauſe a ſome to ariſe from them, through the helpe whereof (in ſtead of Sope) they make their Beds ſo cleane, that in whiteneſſe they may be comparable with the Snowe, or Fullers Clothes. The vſe of ſuch Beds is farre more commodious in watches, then that the Souldiers, after the accuſtomed manner, ſhould tumble in Beds of graſſe: for they both foule their garments, and get Lice, and that which is more, if they be to ariſe vnto the fight, the bodie is bruiſed in ſome ſort with the Armes, which Souldiers continually weare: which in the ſiege of the Citie *Sancerra*, we proued in good earneſt: For the Enemie lay a whole yeere at our Ports.

Inis, Cotton Beds.

How the Beds of the *Barbarians* are prepared and ſpred.

Fome, which among the *Americans* ſupplieth the vſe of Sope.

That we may gather the reſt of the *Americane* houſhold-ſtuffe into a ſhort ſumme, the women (who haue the charge of domeſticall matters) prepare huge Cannes, and make very great Earthen veſſels, wherein to put their *Cao-uin*. They alſo make Pots of diuers faſhions, little and indifferent Baſons, Platters, and other things of that ſort, veſſels which on the outſide ſurely, are nothing ſmooth, but are ſo poliſhed within, and beautified with I know not what kinde of tincture, which preſently waxeth hard, ſo that thoſe women may eaſily match the induſtrie of all our Countrie people. Beſides, I know not what kinde of aſh-colour painting they ſteepe in water, and afterwards make diuers formes of things in their veſſels, within, and ſpecially in thoſe wherein they lay vp their Meale, and other kindes of meates, to bee preſerued. The vſe therefore of them is moſt acceptable, nay thoſe veſſels farre excell them of wood, which very many vſe here with vs. Yet theſe Women-painters haue this fault, that when they haue pourtrayed with the Pencill whatſoeuer they pleaſe, if they be intreated to paint the ſame againe, they are not poſſibly able to doe it: becauſe they haue no example propoſed, beſide the induſtrie of their owne fantaſie. Hence it commeth to paſſe, that two of theſe kinde of pictures may ſcarce be found alike.

The *American* women make huge, meane, and little earthen veſſels.

Moreouer, (as I haue elſewhere ſaid) the *Barbarians* haue Gourds, and other kindes of fruits, which they diuide, and make hollow, and they vſe them in ſtead of Cups, (which they call *Caui*) and other veſſels of diuers vſes. They haue alſo Panniers, large and meane, and likewiſe Baskets, very finely made of bul-ruſhes, or yellowiſh graſſe, not much differing from Wheaten ſtraw. Theſe they call *Panacon*, and in them they put Meale and other things which they thinke good.

Pots and other veſſels, of fruits, paniers and baskets.

Although the *Tououpinambaultians* receiue ſtrangers very curteouſly, yet the *Frenchmen*, and other Strangers, who are ignorant of their Language, were not a little aſtoniſhed in the beginning, by reaſon of their vnaccuſtomed behauiour. When I firſt conuerſed among them (which happened about twenty dayes after our arriuall at the Caſtle of *Colligne*) a certaine Interpreter brought me to certaine Villages, in the Continent: that which I firſt ſaw, in their native Language is called *Ybouraci*, but in *French*, *Pepin*, by the name of a certaine Pilot, who ſometime laded a ſhip at that place; foure miles only diſtant from our Caſtle. In the very entrance the *Barbarians* came thicke about me, and ſpake vnto me in theſe words, *Marapé derere, Marapé derere?* that is, *By what name are you called?* which words, ſurely, to mee were very barbarous, but one of them taking off my Hat, put it vpon his head; another girdeth my Girdle and Sword vnto his naked ſide: another putteth on my Coat: and they dull me with their cries, and being clothed with my ſpoiles, runne hither and thither. I then thought that I had loſt all, and did not well knowe how ſafe I might be among them. But, as I found by experience, that feare aroſe from my ignorance of their cuſtomes, for they vſe to doe the like to all ſtrangers, eſpecially vnto them whom they neuer ſaw before. Now, when for their recreation, they had walked about a little while in that habite, they preciſely reſtore euery thing againe. Then I was aduertiſed by the Interpreter, that they greatly deſired to vnderſtand my name: but in declaring that, I was to forbeare vſuall names with vs, which the *Barbarians* could neither pronounce (for in ſtead of *Iohn*, they ſaid *Nian*) nor yet well remember: but was to propound ſomewhat which might be knowne vnto them. The matter ſucceeded ſo happily, that, as the Interpeter ſignified vnto mee, who was very skilfull in the *Braſilian* Language, my name *Lerius* ſignified an Oyſter; I therefore anſwered, that I was called *Leriy-ouſſou*. They liked it very well, and often

The *Barbarians* curteouſly entertain gueſts.

A pleaſant diſcourſe of thoſe things which befell the Authour when he firſt went vnto the *Barbarians*.

The Authors name in the *American* language.

ten vſing *Teh*, their Interiection of admiration, they ſpake thus vnto me. An excellent name ſurely, nor haue we euer found any *Mair*, who had ſuch a name. They haue ſo good and ſure a memorie, that if they haue once heard any mans name, they neuer forget it.

Their memorie.

The ſame day, accompanied with the Interpreter, I went further, and turned into the Village *Euramiri*, ſo called in their natiue Language, but in *French*, *Goſet*, after the name of a certaine Interpreter, who dwelt there ſome little while: wee came thither about Sunne ſet, and found them danſing, and drinking their *Cao-uin*, by reaſon of a Captiue, whom they had ſlaine that day. I perceiued the pieces of his fleſh laid vpon *Boucan*. I thinke, you need not enquire with how great and horrible feare I was then ſtricken: yet that was but a ſmall matter, if it be compared with the feare wherewith I was afterward aſtoniſhed. Wee entred into a Cottage, and ſate vpon the hanging beds, after the accuſtomed faſhion: the women lament after that manner which we will declare, and the Maſter of the Familie entertaineth vs with friendly words. The Interpreter who was acquainted with theſe matters, and who was very much delighted with their drinkings, leaueth me vnſaluted, and ignorant of all things, and went away to them that were danſing, and drinking. But being wearie, after I had refreſhed my ſelfe with Meale, and certaine other meates that were ſet before vs, I lay downe in the bed. Notwithſtanding, through the noiſe of their danſing, drinking, and deuouring of the Captiue, I was preſently awaked, and (which was the chiefeſt matter) by one comming vnto mee, who carried the roſted foot of the Captiue in his hand, and demanding of mee, as I afterwards vnderſtood, for then, I conceiued not his words) whether I would eate thereof; I was ſo aſtoniſhed through feare, that I was altogether freed from drowſineſſe and ſleepe. And I verily beleeued, by that geſture, which I tooke in the worſt part, that the *Barbarian* had ſhewed me, that my fleſh ſhould ſhortly after be deuoured after the ſame manner. Moreouer, as feare begetteth ſuſpicion, it came preſently into my minde, that the Interpreter had betrayed, and deliuered mee into the *Barbarians* hands. Wherefore, if I had had any way open to flee, I had quickly taken my flight. But they ſtood round about mee, whoſe minde I did not ſufficiently knowe, for they attempted no euill againſt mee. Now being confirmed in feare, I vnluckily gheſſed, that I ſhould preſently haue beene ſlaine, wherefore I paſſed the whole night in powring forth prayers vnto God. At the firſt dawning of the day, the Interpreter (who had paſſed all the night in pleaſure with the *Barbarians*) returned vnto mee, and ſaw mee pale, and taken with a Feuer, whereupon he demanded whether I were ill at eaſe, & whether I had not quietly reſted? Then I began ſharply to reproue him, who had left me alone among thoſe *Barbarians*, whoſe ſpeach I vnderſtood not at all. Hee openeth the whole matter to them who ſtood by me all the night, to congratulate my comming: they ſignifie, that they perceiued the matter in ſome ſort, and yet were ſorrie, that I had paſſed that night in ſo great feare of them. And at length they breake out into diſſolute laughter, which was the ſolace and comfort of that my feare. From thence I and that Interpreter, went vnto certaine other Villages.

These are the Rites which the *Barbarians* obſerue in entertayning Gueſts. *Firſt of all*, as ſoone as the Gueſt entreth into the houſe of that *Mouſſacat*, which hee hath choſen to bee his Hoſt, (which is to be done in euery Village, nor are you to turne into another, vnleſſe you will incurre his diſpleaſure) he muſt preſently ſit downe vpon a Cotton hanging Bed, and remaine quietly there a while without ſpeaking any word. By and by, the women come vnto him, compaſſe the Bed about, and ſitting on the ground, put their hands on their eyes, and bewayling the happie comming of the Gueſt after this manner, they rehearſe innumerable things in his commendation. As for example: *Haue you taken ſo much paines to come vnto vs: you are good, you are valiant.* But if the Gueſt be a *Frenchman*, they adde, *you haue brought very many excellent marchandiſes vnto vs, which we want here.* To conclude, thoſe women, as hath beene ſaid, entertaine Gueſts weeping, with ſuch like flattering ſpeeches. But the Gueſt who ſitteth on a Cotton bed, if he deſire to procure fauour with his Hoſt, ſettling his countenance, vnleſſe hee meane to weepe in good earneſt (as I ſaw ſome of our men of ſo weake a courage, that teares were forced from them, through the howling lamentation of theſe women) he muſt of neceſſitie counterfeit weeping, anſwering ſomewhat at the leaſt, and fetching deepe ſighes. This moſt pleaſant ſalutation being ended by the women, *Mouſſacat*, that is, the Maſter of the Familie, being buſily employed in making of an Arrow, caſts not ſo much as his eyes for a certaine time vpon the Gueſt, as if he marked nothing. At length comming vnto the Gueſt, hee ſpeaketh vnto him in theſe words: *Ere Ioube?* that is, *Are you come?* then, *how doe you? what ſeeke you?* &c. After, hee demandeth, *whether you be hungrie?* if you grant that you are, preſently he commandeth meates of diuers kindes to be ſet before you in earthen veſſels, to wit, Meale, which with them ſupplieth the place of bread, Veniſon, Fowle, Fiſh, and other things of that kinde: but becauſe there is no vſe with them, for Tables, and Benches, all thoſe things are ſet on the ground. As touching Drink, if you deſire *Cao-uin*, & that it be in the houſe, it ſhall preſently be giuen you. Laſtly, after the women haue ſtoutly ſolemnized the comming of the Gueſts with weeping, they come vnto them bringing Fruits, and other trifling Preſents, and ſo, ſecretly, demand Combes, Looking-glaſſes, and little Beades of glaſſe, which they winde about their armes.

The *American* women bewayle the comming of Gueſts.

The geſture of the Gueſt among the *Americans*.

How *Mouſſacat* entertaineth his Gueſt.

Mou

Moreouer, if you will lodge all night in that Village, the *Mouſſacat* commandeth a very neat and cleane bed to be hanged vp for you, round about which he will cauſe ſmal fires to be kindled, and often quickned in the night with Bellows, which they call *Tatapecoua*, not much vnlike the little round Fannes, wherewith the nicer and more delicate ſort of women with vs, defend the ſcorching of fire from their faces. Not becauſe that Countrie is ſubiect vnto cold, but by reaſon of the moiſture of the night, and eſpecially, becauſe it is their vſuall manner. Now ſeeing we haue chanced to mention Fire, which they call *Tata*, and Smoake *Tatatin*, I thinke it needfull that I declare the excellent manner of kindling the ſame. They haue two kindes of wood, whereof the one is very ſoft, but the other very hard, which they vſe after this manner, to kindle fire. They ſharpen a twig of a foot long of that hard wood at the one end like a Spindle, and ſticke the point thereof in any piece of that ſoft wood, then laying it on the ground, or vpon a ſtocke, they turne that twig ſwiftly about with the palmes of their hands, as if they would pierce an hole through the piece of wood which lieth vnder. Through that ſo ſwift and violent motion, ſmoake is not onely railed, but alſo fire; putting Cotton vnto it, or certaine drie leaues (in ſtead of our Countrie tinder) fire is very aptly ingendred: whereof I my ſelfe haue made triall.

How ſtrangers requite their Hoſt.

After that the Gueſts haue refreſhed themſelues with meate, and lodged after the manner which we haue declared, if they be liberall, they vſe to giue vnto the men Kniues, Scizzers, and Pinſers fit for the plucking out of the haires of their beards: to the women, Combes, and Looking-glaſſes: and to the children, Fiſh-hookes. But, if the Gueſt want victuals, when he hath agreed of the price, he may carrie them away. Moreouer, becauſe they want all kinde of beaſts of burden, they are all of neceſſitie to trauell on foot. If Strangers bee wearie, and giue a Knife to any of the *Barbarians*, he preſently offereth his helpe to carrie him that is wearie. I my ſelfe when I liued in thoſe Countries, was diuers times carried by thoſe Porters, and that ſurely two miles iourney together. And if wee admoniſhed them to reſt a little, they laughed at vs with theſe words; *What? Thinke you that wee are ſo effeminate, or of ſo weake a courage, that wee ſhould faint, and lie downe vnder our burden? I would rather carrie you all the day without any intermiſſion.* But we breaking out into laughter, wondered at thoſe two legged Hackneyes, and encouraging them, ſaid: let vs therefore proceed on the way.

The *Barbarians* carrie Strangers vpon their ſhoulders.

Two legged amblers.

They exerciſe naturall charitie abundantly among themſelues, for they daily giue one vnto another, both Fiſh, Meale, and Fruits, and alſo other things: nay, they would be very ſorrie, if they ſaw their neighbours want thoſe things which they haue. They alſo vſe the like liberalitie towards Strangers: whereof, it ſhall be ſufficient, to bring one example. In the tenth Chapter of this Booke, I made mention of a certaine danger, which my ſelfe, and two other *Frenchmen* eſcaped, to wit, that we were in great perill of death, by reaſon of an huge Lizard which met vs in the way: at that time, wee wandred two dayes through the middle of the Woods out of the way, and indured no meane hunger, and at length came vnto a certaine Village called *Pano*, where wee had lodged before. There wee were moſt liberally entertained by the *Barbarians*. For, hauing heard the troubles which wee had ſuffered, and ſpecially the great danger wherein we were, that we were likely to haue beene deuoured by wilde beaſts, but chiefly, that wee were in danger to bee ſlaine by the *Margaiates*, our common enemies, neere vnto whoſe borders wee approached vnawares: and, ſeeing alſo the hurts and ſcratches of thornes, wherewith our skin was miſerably rent, they tooke our harmes ſo grieuouſly, that I may here truly affirme, that the feigned flatteries wherewith our Countrie people vſe to comfort the diſtreſſed, are farre from the ſincere humanitie of that Nation, which we call Barbarous. For, they waſhed our feet with cleare water (which put me in minde of the ancient cuſtome) euery one of vs ſitting apart vpon an hanging Bed. Then the Maſters of the Families, who had alreadie prouided meates to be prepared for vs, and cauſed new Meale to be ground, which (as I elſewhere ſaid) is nothing inferiour vnto the crumme of white bread, in goodneſſe, preſently, after wee had beene a little refreſhed, commanded all the beſt meates, to wit, Veniſon, Fowle, Fiſh, and the moſt exquiſite and choiceſt Fruits, wherewith they continually abound, to bee ſet before vs. Moreouer, the night approching, the *Mouſſacat* our Hoſt, remoueth all the children from vs, that wee might the more quietly reſt. The next day after, early in the morning, he commeth vnto vs, and demandeth, goe to *Atouraſſip*, (that is, dearly beloued Confederates) *haue you quietly reſted this night?* wee anſwered, very quietly. Then ſaith he, *my ſonnes, reſt your ſelues yet a while, for, yeſterday, I perceiued that you were very wearie.* To be briefe, I am not able to expreſſe with words, how friendly, and curteouſly wee were entertained. But wee neuer trauelled farre from home without a Sachell full of Merchandiſes, which might ſerue vs in ſtead of money among thoſe *Barbarians*. Departing therefore thence, we gaue our Hoſts, what wee thought good: to wit, Kniues Sizzers, Pinſers, to the men: Combes, Looking-glaſſes, Bracelets, and glaſſen Beades, to the women: and Fiſh-hookes to the children.

The *Barbarians* practiſe charitie euen by the direction of nature.

A notable example of the curteſie of the *Barbarians*.

How much the *Barbarians* eſteeme kniues, and other merchandiſes.

I one day turned out of the way to lodge in a certaine Village, and was requeſted by my *Mouſſacat*, to ſhew him what I had in my Sachell, who commanded a great earthen veſſell to bee brought, wherein to put my merchandiſes: I tooke them all out, and ſet them in order:

whereat he greatly wondring, calleth the reſt of the *Barbarians* vnto him, and ſaith. See I pray you, my good friends, what manner of man I haue entertained with me: doth it not manifeſtly appeare that he is very rich, ſeeing he carrieth ſo great wealth about him? yet thoſe would ſcarce haue beene ſold at *Paris*, for two ſiluer Cardices. Then, becauſe (as we haue ſaid) they loue liberall men, that I might procure authoritie and fauour among them, I gaue my *Monſſacus* the beſt of my Kniues before them all, which he eſteemed no leſſe, then any one with vs would regard a golden chaine, of very great price, beſtowed vpon him.

If peraduenture it happen, that any of them fall ſicke, when the inward and familiar friend of the ſicke perſon hath declared the grieued part, one ſucketh it with his mouth, ſometimes alſo that ſeruice is performed by certaine impoſtors, which they call *Pages*, that is, Phyſicians, or Surgeans. (But they are a kinde of People differing from the *Caraibes*, whereof I haue ſpoken before.) And they alſo ſay, that they draw out the paine, and prolong the life. They are ſometimes ſicke of Feuers, and other common diſeaſes: but, not ſo often, as wee vſe to bee. Moreouer, they are troubled with a certaine incurable diſeaſe, which they call *Pians*. This, for the moſt part proceedeth of luſt: yet, I haue ſeene the little children infected therewith, not vnlike the manner of our Countrie Meaſels. This contagion breaketh out into puſtles, broader then a thumbe, which ouerſpread the whole bodie, and alſo the face it ſelfe. They neuer giue meate to the ſicke, vnleſſe he deſire it, although he be readie to periſh through hunger. Moreouer, although it be the moſt grieuous diſeaſe, they that are healthie, neuer ceaſe danſing, ſinging, and drinking after the accuſtomed manner, to dull and wearie the miſerable ſicke perſon with the noiſe: nor doth he complaine, becauſe he knoweth, that he ſhall not preuaile at all. But, if hee die, that ſinging (eſpecially if he be a Maſter of any familie) is ſuddenly turned into teares, and ſo great lamentation is made, that if by chance we turned into a certaine Village, at the time of that mourning, we were of neceſſitie to goe to ſome other place, or paſſe the night without ſleepe. Firſt of all, not without admiration, the women are heard, which ſo crie out and exclaime, that you would ſay they were the howling of Wolues or Dogs, and no humane voices. But they powre forth theſe complaints with a trembling voice. *That moſt valiant man is dead, who ſometimes gaue vs ſo many Captiues to be deuoured.* Then the reſt ſay, *O notable Hunter, O moſt excellent Fiſher, O valiant Killer of the* Portugals, *and* Margaiates. To be briefe, thoſe women prouoking one another to mourning, and embracing armes together, deſiſt not from theſe lamentations, and praiſes, before the dead bodie be brought forth.

Pages, the *Barbarians* Phyſicians.

How the *Barbarians* handle the ſicke.

Laſtly, theſe *Barbarian* women imitate the *Bearneanſian* cuſtome in bewayling their dead men, whom, as I haue heard, they follow with theſe complaints. *La mi amou, la mi amou, eara rident, ail deſplendou, camalouge, bet danſadou: La me balen, lo m'eſbarbat: mati depes: fort tard congat.* that is, My friend, my friend, with a merrie countenance, ſhining eyes, ſwift legs, notable danſer, ſtrong and valiant, thou diddeſt ariſe early, and goe late to bed. The *Vaſcons* women alſo, who adde theſe things to the former, *Yere, yere, o le bet renegadou, o le bet iougadou qu'bere:* that is, Alas, alas, how ſtout and deepe a Swearer was hee, how notable a Gameſter? Moreouer, to thoſe complaints whereof we ſpoke, the *Barbarian* women often adde this burden of the Song, *He is dead, he is dead, whom we now lament.* Then the men anſwere: *Alas, he is dead, and wee ſhall ſee him no more, vntill wee danſe with him behind the Mountaines, as our* Caraibes *teach.* Thoſe howling lamentations are prolonged for ſixe houres; for, they vſe not to keepe their Dead any longer vnburied. Then digging a Trench, not long as we vſe, but circular, like a great Drie-fat, they burie the dead bodie bolt vpright. The dead Maſters of Families, they burie in the middeſt of their houſes, wrapped in their Cotton bed, with feathers, and other things, wherein they delighted in their life time, laide in the Graue. Since their commerce with the *French* they haue forborne to put precious things in the Graues: but they retained a ſtrange and very deuilliſh Superſtition. The firſt night after the Funerall, the *Barbarians*, who are thus perſwaded, that *Aygnan*, vnleſſe he found other meates prepared, would digge vp the dead bodie, and deuoure it, ſet no ſmall ſtore of veſſels, with Meale, Fiſh, Fleſh, and other meats carefully prepared, and alſo great pots full of their drinke *Cao-uin*, about the Graue. Which Sacrifice they performe ſo long, vntill they thinke that the dead bodie bee wholly conſumed. From the which errour they were the more hardly remoued, becauſe certaine *Neuſtrian* Interpreters, by example of the Sacrifices of *Bell*, diuers times before our comming, priuily ſtole away thoſe meates. Through which fact they ſo confirmed the *Barbarians* in errour, that although we ſhewed them, that thoſe meates ſet downe in the euening, remained in the morning, yet with great labour and difficultie we diſſwaded very few from that errour.

The Graues, and rites of buriall of the *Americans*.

A very deuilliſh errour.

Dan. 14.

As often as the *Barbarians* tranſport their Villages vnto another place, after the manner which wee haue declared, they put certaine couerings of the herbe *Pindo* vpon the Graues of the Dead. Whereby it commeth to paſſe, that Trauellers may take notice of a certaine forme of a place of buriall. At which places, if at any time wandring in the Woods, they remember the dead men, they make ſo great lamentation, that they may be heard farre off.

Worſe then their howlings here, worſe then their former man-eatings, is the tragicall famine which attended Lerius *and his fellowes in their returne, beſides dangers of ſhipwracke, reſolution of ſome to*

kill

kill their follower for food; Thother by Sea in 500. fathoms depth seeming like a Mariſh, the herbes yellowiſh, with Berries like those of Iuniper, the leaues like Rue, with threads like ground Iuie floting on the Sea, but not safely handled; in some places reddie filth like carrombes swimming, the touching of which caused the hand presently to swell) as also his Brasilian *Dictionarie, &c. for breuitie I haue omitted.* Villagagnons *Apostasie from the Religion was the cause of their departure; whose malice pursued them homewards to pronounce them to bee burned for Hereſie vpon his accusation at home: as they were faine to liue from him in* Brasill. *Wee will leaue this Religious* Frenchman, *and acquaint you with a* Germane.

CHAP. IIII.

The trauels of HVLDERIKE SCHMIDEL *in twentie yeeres space from* 1534. *to* 1554. *abbreuiated.*

§. I.

His Voyage vp the Riuer of Plate, *foundation of Townes, their expedition vp the Riuer of* Parana *and* Parabol; *the people of these parts.*

ANno 1534. I went from *Antwerpe* to *Cadiz*, and there found fourteene ships furnished for the Riuer of *Plate*. There were 2500. *Spaniards*, 150. high and low *Dutch*, vnto which I ioyned my selfe. They set forth in September the same yeere, and (hauing had some trouble at *Palma*, one of the *Canaries*, about stealing of a Citizens Daughter by *George Mendoza*, a Kinsman of the Commander *Don Pedro de Mendoza*) arriued at the riuer *Ianero*. They call these *Indians*, *Toupin*. Here we abode *Toupins.* fourteene daies, and *Petro Mendoza* our Generall then gaue commandement to *Iohn Osorius* his sworne Brother, to take charge of vs in his steed, because hee being weake, and consumed in his members, was much troubled almost with continuall sickneſſe and diseases. But when a little after the gouernment receiued, *Iohn Osorius* had beene falsly accused, and by forgetie, to *Mendoza* his sworne brother, as though he had gone about seditiously to stirre the company against him, the said *Mendoza* commanded other foure Captaines (to wit) *Iohn Eyollas*, *Iohn Saleiſen*, *George Luxhsam*, and *Lazarus Salnaſsho*, that hauing stabbed him with a Dagger, they should expose him as a Traitor in the middle of the Plaine, to the view of all beholders. And straightly com- *Mendoza his* cruelty. manded it publikely to be giuen in charge, that no man vpon paine of death disquiet or trouble himselfe in the behalfe of *Osorius*, for if he did, he should be no more respected, whosoeuer, or of what condition soeuer he were. But hee was altogether iniuried. For hee was an honest man, and a stout and couragious Warriour, and courteous, liberall, and verie beneficiall to his fellow Souldiers.

6. Departing hence with our ships and going to the Riuer of *Plate*, we came into a pleasant Riuer, which they call *Parana Trassa*. It is farre from the mouth of the Riuer where the Sea leaues it, and is fortie two leagues broad. And from the Riuer *Ianero* to this Riuer are two hundred and fifteene leagues. Heere wee came to a Hauen called Saint *Gabriel*, and all our fourteene ships anchored in the Riuer *Parana*. But because we were to abide in the greater shippes on the water, a Musket shot from the Land, our Generall *Petro Mendoza* gaue commandement to set the people and Souldiers aland in the lesser Skiffes or Boats, which they call *Potten*, then prepared for that purpose. So by the grace and blessing of God, in the yeere of Christ 1535. wee happily arriued at the Riuer of *Plate*, and there we found a row of houses, or an *Indian* Village, wherein there were about 2000. men, whom they call *Zechurnus*, who eate no other thing, saue fish and flesh. And goe all naked, but that the women couer their secrets, with a thinne piece of Cotton-cloth, which reacheth from the Nauell to the knees. They therefore at our comming, leauing the Towne, fled away with their wiues and children. Then our Generall *Mendoza* commanded the people to be shipped againe, and conueied ouer to the other side of the Riuer *Parana*, where the bredth of the Riuer extendeth it selfe no more then eight leagues.

R. *Parana vel Trassa.*

R. of *Plate*, *Zechurnus.*

7. In this place wee built a Citie, which for the wholsomenesse of the Aire wee called *Bonos Aires*. We brought with vs also out of *Spaine* seuentie two Horses and Mares, in our fourteene ships. We found also another Village in this Countrie, which the *Indians* inhabit, whom they call *Carendies*, of whom there were about 3000. men, together with their wiues and children. These also as the *Zechurnus* are couered from the Nauell only vnto the knees, who brought vs fish and flesh to eate. These *Carendies* haue no Proper and setled dwellings, but wander in the

Buenos Aires built.

Carendies.

*Gipsies.

Countrie hither and thither, almost as our *Cingari*, * and *Zigeuneri*. When they take their iourney in the Summer, they oftentimes trauell thirtie leagues and more by Land, and finde not a drop of water to drinke. If they light vpon a Stagge or other wilde beast, when they haue killed it, they drinke the bloud thereof: sometimes they find a Roote, which they call *Cardes*, and chewing that, they quench thirst. But that they drinke bloud, this only is the cause, for that they want other drinke, and peraduenture without this, they should die for thirst. These *Carendies* for fourteene daies imparted liberally of their pouertie, and daily brought fish and flesh vnto our Campe, one day only excepted, wherein they came not to vs at all. Therefore our Generall *Don Petro Mendoza* sent our *Corrigidor Ian. Baban* and two Souldiers vnto them (for these *Carendies* abode foure leagues distant from our Campe) but they so intreated them when they came vnto them, that they sent them home all three soundly cut and mangled with stripes. But when our Generall *Petro Mendoza* vnderstood these things by report of the Iudge: who for this cause raised a tumult in our Campe, he sent his owne naturall Brother *Don Diego Mendoza* against them with three hundred Souldiers, and thirtie readie light Horsemen, among the which I also was one, straightly charging him to kill, and take all the said *Indian Carendies*, and possesse their Towne. But when we came vnto them, there were now some 4000. men gathered together; for they had sent for all their familiars, and friends to helpe them.

The fight or skirmish with the *Indian Carendies.*

8. When we set vpon them, they so resisted vs, that they put vs to trouble enough that day: for they slue our Captaine *Don Diego Mendoza*, and sixe Gentlemen with him, and of the horse and foote about some twentie. But on their part there fell about 1000. men. Therefore they fought couragiously and stoutly against vs, which wee felt by experience. The weapons of these *Carendies* are Bowes, and a kinde of Dart like the staffe of a Speare of a middle length, whose point they arme with a flint called a *Marcbasate*, with an edge in forme of the three edged Thunderbolt. They haue also bowles of stone hanging at a long coard, somewhat like our plummets of Lead. These bowles they so cast about the feet of Horses, or Stagges, that they are constrained to fall. After this manner they slue our Captaine, and the Gentlemen with these bowles, which I my selfe beheld, but they slue the Footmen with their Darts: yet by the grace of God (to whom be praise) we ouercame them in battaile, and possessed their Towne. But we could take none of these *Indians*, their wiues and children also, before we assailed them by warre had fled into another Village. We found nothing in this Towne of theirs, but Otter skins, plentie of flesh and flowre, and the trane of fish. Abiding therefore three daies we remained in that place, and after returned to our Campe, leauing 100. men there, who in the meane time should fish with the *Indians* Nets, to maintaine our Souldiers more plentifully: for the waters there are maruellous full of fish: for three ounces only of flowre made of fine Wheate were distributed to euerie one for one daies victuall, and euerie three daies one fish. This fishing lasted two moneths, and if any would eate fish otherwise, he must seeke them on foot foure leagues off.

Of the buildings of the Citie of *Bonos Aires*, and of the famine which they indured there.

9. When we returned to our Campe, they that were fit for labour among the people, were separated from them that were fit for warre, that euery one might be put to seruice agreeable vnto him. The Citie therefore began to be built there, and a wall of earth to be raised about it, to the heigth of a Speare or Iauelin, and in the Citie a firme and strong house for our Generall. The wall of the Citie was three foot broad. But that which was built to day, the next day fell downe againe. For the people wanting food, liued in great scarcitie, so that many died of famine, nor could the Horses satisfie them. There was not plentie enough of Dormice, or other Mice, or Serpents, or other wild beasts, to asswage this lamentable famine and vnspeakable pouertie. Not so much as shooes and other Leather could auoid this rage of deuouring. It fell out also at that time, that three *Spaniards* hauing stolne a Horse, did priuily eate him. Which as soone as it was discouered, they were grieuously tormented, and questioned touching the fact, and when they confessed it, they were condemned to the Gallowes. When they were hanged, three other *Spaniards* consorted themselues together, who the same night going to the Gallowes, cut off the legges of them that were hanged, and cut out pieces of flesh from their bodies, that in their Cottages they might asswage vntollerable hunger by eating thereof. A certaine *Spaniard* (through exceeding hunger) eate his owne brother, who died in the Citie of *Buenas Aires*.

Miserable famine.

How some sailed vp the Riuer of *Parana*, or the Riuer of *Plate.*

10. When therefore our Generall *Don Petro Mendoza* saw, that the people could no longer be sustained and preserued in this place, he presently commandeth foure small Barkes which they call *Brigantines*, or small men of warre, and are carried with Oares to bee made readie, whereof euerie one will hold fortie men: there were also three other lesse called *Potten*. These seuen little Vessels therefore being made readie and dispatched, our Generall commanded the company to be mustered, and *George Luchsam* with 350. readie and able men, to saile vp the Riuer, and seek out the *Indians*, that we might get prouision of victuals and food. But the *Indians* vnderstanding before of our presence, burnt their prouision of victuall, and whatsoeuer was good to eat, together with their Villages, and runne away. But wee in the meane season got no food, and for euerie daies allowance vnto euerie man, one ounce and an halfe of bread was distributed, whereby it came to passe, that in this journie the halfe part of our Souldiers perished through famine. Wee therefore of necessitie returned to the said Towne where our Generall was, who greatly wondred

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dred, that so small a number of people should returne, seeing we were no more then fiue moneths absent, and he demanded of our Captaine *George Luchsam* to declare vnto him what hee had done in this journie, who signified, that they who were wanting, died of famine, because the *Indians* had consumed all the food with fire, and after run away themselues.

11. All these things falling out thus as I haue said, yet we continued together in the Towne of *Buenas Aeres*, a whole moneth in great want, expecting while the furniture of our shippes should be finished. In the meane while, in the yeere 1535. the *Indians* inuade vs and our Citie of *Buenas Aeres*, with the strength of twentie three thousand men, and in their Armie there were foure distinct Nations (to wit) *Cariendes*, *Bartennis*, *Lechurnas*, and *Tiembus*. The purpose and principall intension of all these was, to kill vs all. But praise and glorie bee to God, who saued the greatest part of vs safe from destruction. For together with the Captaines, and Ancients, and other Souldiers, there were not aboue thirtie men of ours slaine. How the towne of *Buenas Aeres* was besieged, assaulted, and burnt. Foure Nations of *Indians*.

When therefore they first came to our Citie of *Buenas Aeres*, some of them ranne furiously to assault it, others cast fierie Darts vpon our houses, all which (except our Generals house which only was couered with Tile) were only thatched: and by that meanes all our Citie, together with all the houses was consumed with the flames, euen from the foundation. The Weapons or Darts of these *Indians* are made of Reed, which when they are cast or shot out, take fire in the point. They haue a kind of wood also whereof they make their Darts, which if they bee fired before they be cast, are not quenched, but set houses (couered with Thatch) on fire, and so those that touch or joyne together burne together. Their fights & weapons.

In this fight these *Indians* burnt vs also foure great shippes, which were halfe a league distant from vs on the water. But the Souldiers who were in these ships, when they saw that mightie tumult of the *Indians*, betooke themselues to flight from these foure shippes, into three others, which rode not farre from these, and were furnished with Ordnance. They therefore when they saw the foure ships burne, began to defend themselues, and eagerly to assault the *Indians*, and let flee the bullets which caused them to leaue the assault and depart, giuing rest vnto the *Christians*. All this was done on the Feast of Saint *Iohn* the Euangelist. In the yeere 1535. Foure ships burned.

12. All these things being past and done, all the people went into the ships, and our Generall *Don Petro Mendoza* made *Iohn Eyollus* his Deputie, creating him Lieutenant Generall, deliuering ouer vnto him the whole gouernment of all, as also of the people. He taking a view of the company, of two thousand fiue hundred men, which came from *Spaine* together in ships, hee found only fiue hundred and sixtie aliue: all the rest were dead, whom for the most part the intollerable famine had consumed. They muster their Souldiers, and build ships to goe further. The most of 2000. died of famine.

After this, our Lieutenant *Iohn Eyollus*, commandeth eight little Barkes, which they call *Brigantines* and *Potts*, speedily to be built. And of fiue hundred and sixtie which remained aliue, hee tooke vnto him foure hundred men: leauing the other one hundred and sixtie to take charge of the foure great ships: ouer whom hee set *Iohn Romero* the chiefe commander, leauing prouision for a whole yeere, so that foure ounces of bread were distributed to euery man for his daily allowance.

13. After this our Lieutenant *Iohn Eyollus* with his foure hundred Souldiers, which hee had with him, among whom also *Petro Mendoza* our Generall was, saileth vp the Riuer of *Parana*, in the *Brigantines* and *Potts*, furnished for this purpose, vntill wee came vnto the *Indians*, which was performed in the space of two moneths, from our comming forth of the Citie of *Buenas Aeres*, so that wee were now eightie foure leagues distant from our said burnt Citie. When therefore we were not aboue foure leagues from these people (which they call *Tiembus*, but wee called them *Bona sperança*) and they vnderstood of our comming before, about foure hundred men of them came peaceably vnto vs in their Boats, which they call Canoas, in euery one of the which Canoas sixteene person sate. When therefore we met together in the Riuer, our Generall gaue the Captaine of these *Indians* of *Tiembus*, (whom they call *Zchara Wassu*) a shirt, a red Cap, a Hatchet, and certaine other things. Which presents beeing receiued, the said *Zchara Wassu* brought vs into their Towne, setting before vs fish and flesh plentifully, and sufficient food, so that we were exceeding well contented. For if this Voyage of ours had continued yet but ten daies longer, we should all haue died with famine, as euen now in this Voyage of foure hundred men, who came together in the ships, fiftie were dead. They goe vp the Riuer. *Tiembus*.

These people of *Tiembus*, weare on either nostrill a blue starre artificially made of a white and blue stone; they are large men, and of a tall stature, but the women as well young as old, are very deformed with torne faces, and alwaies bloudie: from the Nauell to the knees they are couered with Cotton-cloth, the rest is naked. This people hath no other meate saue fish and flesh, nor euer liued with any other thing. The strength of this Nation is thought to be fifteene thousand men or more. The Skiffes or Boates which they vse are made of a Tree eightie foote long, and three broad, which (as the Fishermens Boats of *Germanie*) are rowed with Oares, saue that their Oares are not bound with Iron.

14. We abode foure whole yeeres in the foresaid Village or Towne, but our Generall or Admirall *Petro Mendoza*, by reason of his extreame and continuall sickenesse, in that hee was able nei- *Don Petro Mendoza* being about to return into *Spaine* dieth in the way.

neither to ſtirre hand nor foote, and had ſpent in this iourney of his owne about fortie thouſand Ducates of ready money, would no longer ſtay with vs in this Towne, but returneth in two Brigantines to *Buenos Aeres*, to the foure greater Shippes, and there taking two of them, and fiftie Souldiers, he intended to returne into *Spaine*, but ſcarce halfe the iourney performed, the hand of almightie God ſo ſmote him, that he miſerably died. But before his departure he certainly promiſed vs, that he would doe his beſt, as ſoone as he, or the Ships returned into *Spaine*, that two other Shippes ſhould be ſent backe to the Riuer of *Plate* (which by his will he had ſo ordained, and was faithfully alſo performed) furniſhed with Souldiers, prouiſion of victuals, Merchandiſe, and other things neceſſary for ſuch a voyage.

Alfonſo Gabrero is ſent away from Spaine towards the riuer of Plate.

15. The name of the Commander of theſe two Shippes was *Alfonſo Gabrero*, who alſo brought with him two hundred *Spaniards*, and prouiſion for two yeares. He arriued at the Towne of *Buenas Aeres*, in the yeare 1539. where we left the other two Shippes (when wee departed) together with one hundred and ſixtie men. They preſently ſent away a Shippe into *Spaine*, prouided for this purpoſe (for ſo the Counſell of the Emperours Maieſtie commanded) and deliuered orderly and at large to the ſaid Counſell the ſtate and condition of theſe Countries, and people, and other circumſtances. After this, our Generall *Iohn Eyollas* conſulting with *Alfonſo Gabrero*, *Martino Don Eyollas*, and the reſt of the Captaines, iudgeth it to be moſt conuenient to muſter the Souldiers; which being done, together with ours, and thoſe who came firſt from *Spaine*, fiue hundred and fiftie men were found of theſe; they chooſe vnto them foure hundred men, leauing one hundred and fiftie in *Tiembus*.

They ſaile further vp the Riuer of Parana towrd Curenda R. Paraboi. Caries. Sheep of Peru. Curenda.

16. By this order of the Captains, we ſaile vp the riuer *Parana*, with theſe foure hundred men, ſhipped in eight Brigantines, ſeeking another Riuer, whereof we were told, called *Parabol*, at the which the *Caries* dwell, for theſe were reported to abound with *Turkiſh* graine, and roots, of the which they make wine, and alſo fiſh, and fleſh, and Sheepe as bigge as Mules, and Harts, Hogges, Eſtridges, Hennes, and Geeſe. Departing therefore from the Hauen of *Bona Speranza*, with our eight Brigantines, ſailing foure leagues the firſt day, we came to a Nation called *Curenda*, which liue with fleſh and fiſh. This Iland is 12000. ſtrong of men fit for warre, and hath great ſtore of *Canoes*. This Nation is like the former *Tiembus*, with little ſtones hanging dangling in their noſes. The men alſo are of a tall ſtature, but the women, as well yong as old, deformed, with rugged and bloudy faces: And are no otherwiſe apparelled then they of *Tiembus*, to wit, couered with a Cotten cloath from the nauell to the knees, as is before ſaid. Theſe *Indians* haue great plenty of other skinnes. Theſe men did liberally communicate vnto vs of their pouerty, or of that little they had, Fiſh, Fleſh, Skinnes, to whom contrariwiſe wee gaue Glaſſes, Beades, Looking-glaſſes, Combes, Kniues, and Fiſh-hookes, and abode with them two dayes. They gaue vs alſo two men of *Caries*, who were their captiues, to be our Guides and Interpreters.

Deſcription of theſe Sauages.

We came to Gulgaiſi & Macuerendas. Gulgaiſi.

17. Sailing further hence, we came to another Nation called *Gulgaiſi*, which is able to bring 40000. men for warre, into the field. This Nation alſo hath two ſtones at their noſe; it was thirty leagues diſtant from the Iſland *Curenda*, and they and the inhabitants of *Tiembus* haue the ſame language. They dwell vpon a Lake ſixe leagues long, and foure broad, ſituate on the left ſide of the Riuer *Parana*. We ſtaied here foure daies, and theſe men imparted to vs of their pouertie, and we did the like to them: proceeding further thence, for the whole ſpace of eighteene daies we light on no men, but afterward we came to a Riuer, flowing into the Countrie it ſelfe.

Macuerendas.

In that Country we found a great number of men come together, which they call *Macuerendas*. Theſe haue nothing to eate, ſaue fiſh, and a little fleſh, and are 18000. ſtrong of warlike men, and haue a great number of Boates. Theſe men after their manner intertained vs courteouſly enough: they dwell on the other ſide of the Riuer *Parana*, towards the right hand, haue a differing tongue from the former, and are tall men, and of a good proportion, but their women alſo are very deformed. They are diſtant from thoſe whom they call *Gulgaiſi* ſixtie foure leagues. While we remained idell among theſe people foure daies, we found an huge monſtrous Serpent fiue and twenty foote long, lying on the land not farre from the ſhoare, which was as bigge as a man, of a blacke colour, ſpotted with a deepe yellow. This Serpent we killed with a Gunne, which when the *Indians* ſaw, they wondered thereat with great aſtoniſhment, for they themſelues had neuer ſeene any ſo great before.

Huge Serpent.

This Serpent, as the *Indians* themſelues ſaid, had done much hurt vnto them; for when they waſhed themſelues in the water, the Serpents finding men there, wound their tailes about them, and hauing drawne them vnder water, deuoured them, ſo that the *Indians* knew not oftentimes what became of many of them. I diligently meaſured the length and thickneſſe of this Serpent, which the *Indians* cutting in peeces, euery one carried part home vnto their houſes, and being ſod and roaſted did after eate thereof.

We came to Zemais Saluaiſco, and Nepenes. Zemias Saluaiſco.

18. From hence ſailing further vp the Riuer of *Parana*, in foure daies iourney we came to a Nation, called *Zemais Saluaiſco*. The men of this Countrie are of a ſhort ſtature, and of a groſſe body. They liue with nothing elſe ſaue fiſh, fleſh, and hony. Both men and women goe naked, as they came into the world when they were firſt borne, ſo that they couer not their body ſo much

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as with a thred, no not their priuie parts. They make warre with the *Macuerendas*; the flesh they eate is the flesh of Stagges, Boares, Estridges, Conies, which excepting the taile, are not much vnlike a Dor-mouse or Rere-mouse. They are sixteene leagues distant from the *Macuerendas*, which distance we sailed in foure daies, and abode one onely day with them.

Mepenes.

Departing hence, we came vnto another Nation called *Mepenes*, who are 10000. strong. These people dwell scattered here and there, euery where in that Countrie, extending it selfe fortie leagues in length and breadth, yet within two daies both by water and land they may all come together. The multitude of the Boates they haue, exceedeth the number of themselues, as we saw when we were with them: and in such a Boate or Canoa about twentie persons are carried. This people receiued vs in hostile and warlike manner with fiue hundred Canoas vpon the Riuer, but with little profit for themselues, for we slew many of them with our shot, for they had neuer before seene either Gunnes or *Christians*. But comming to their houses, wee could preuaile nothing against them, seeing they were a whole league distant from the Riuer of *Parana*, where our Ships lay. The waters also about their Towne were very deepe, which ran out of a Lake, so that we could performe nothing against them, that was of any worth, saue that we burned and destroyed two hundred and fiftie Canoas which we had taken. Neither did we thinke it good also for vs, to depart so farre from our Shippes, seeing it was to be feared least they would assaile vs from the other side: We returned therefore to our Shippes. This people of *Mepenes* fight onely vpon the water, and is distant from the former Countrie of *Zemais Saluaisco*, from whence we departed ninetie fiue leagues.

Of the Riuer Parabol, and the people Cueremagbas, and Aygais.

Cueremagbas.

Men of tall stature.

Their gallantry

19. Sailing vp higher from thence, and in eight daies space arriuing at a certaine Riuer, we light on a Nation that was very populous, called *Cueremagbas*, which also liueth onely with fish and flesh. They haue Cherrie trees, of the which they make wine. This people bestowed their best affections vpon vs, and curteously imparted those things vnto vs whereof we stood in neede. The people are of a huge and tall stature, both men and women. The men haue a little hole in their nose, into the which, for ornament, they put a Parrats feather. The women paint their faces with long blew streakes, which all the time of their life are neuer put out. They couer their priuities with Cotten cloath, from the nauell to the knees: from the foresaid people of *Mepenes*, to these *Cueremagbas* are fortie leagues: so we staied in this place three daies.

Aygais.

Departing thence, we came to another Nation, called *Aygais*, which also liueth with fish and flesh. The men and women are of a tall stature: the women like the former paint their faces, and couer their priuities after the same manner. When therefore we arriued on their coast, taking armes, in hostile manner they resisted vs, and would haue stopped our passage. We ordered our battaile both by land and water, and fighting with them slew many of them, fifteene also of our men were slaine. These *Aygais* are stout warriers on the water, but not so by land. Being ready to fight against vs, they had conueighed away their wiues and children to another place before, and had hidden, whatsoeuer prouision of meate or other like things they had, so that we could get nothing from them. Their Village is scituate neere the Riuer called *Iepidus*, hauing the Riuer called *Parabol* on the other side, descending from the Mountainous Countries of *Peru*, neere the Citie *Fuech Kamin*. These *Aygais* are distant from the foresaid *Cueremagbas* thirtie fiue leagues.

Of the people Carios.

20. Departing from these people, we came to a Nation called *Carios*, fiftie leagues distant from the *Aygais*, with whom (by Gods grace) we found (as was told vs) plentie of *Mais*, Potatoes and *Mandiochpobier*, hauing the taste of a Chestnut, of which they make wine. They haue also fish, flesh, wilde Bore, Estridges, *Indian* Sheepe, as big as our Mules, also Conies, Hens, Goates, and such like: sufficient plenty of Honie, whereof, by boiling it, they make a kinde of Coine. This Country also aboundeth with Cotten.

Carios customes.

These people of *Carios* inhabit a large Countrie, extending it selfe three hundred leagues in length, and breadth: they are men of a short stature, and thicke, and more able to indure worke and labour then the rest. The men haue a little hole in their lippes, and yellow Christall therein (which in their language they call *Parabol*) of two spannes long, and of the thicknesse of a quill or reede. The men and women both in this Countrie, goe all naked, as they were created of God. Amongst these *Indians* the Father sels the Daughter, the Husband the wife. Sometimes also the Brother doth either sell or change the Sister. They value a Woman at a Shirt, a Knife, a Hatchet, or some other thing of this kinde. These *Carios* also eate mans flesh, if they can get it. For when they take any in the warres, whether they be men or women, yong or old, they fatten them, no otherwise then wee doe Hogges. But they keepe a woman some yeeres, if she be yong, and of a commendable beautie, but if in the meane time, she apply not her selfe to all their desires, they kill, and eate her, making a solemne banquet, as marriages are wont to be celebrated with vs. But they keepe an old woman, till she dye of her owne accord. These *Carios* vndertake longer iournies then any of these Nations vpon the Riuer of *Plate*. They are couragious and fierce in battaile, and their Villages and Townes are situate vpon the Riuer *Paraua*, on an high and mounting land.

21. The Citie of these people (which the Inhabitants call *Lampere*) was compassed with a double

Of the Citie *Lampere*, how it was beſieged and won by aſſault. Their fortifications. Stratagem.

double bulwarke cunningly made of timber, as with a hedge or incloſure, euery trench being of the bredth and thickneſſe of a man, and one bulwarke or trench was twelue paces diſtant from the other. The trenches being digged a fathome deepe into the earth, were ſo high aboue the ground, as a man might reach with the length of a Sword. They had alſo Pits and Caues fifteene paces diſtant from the walls caſt vp the height of three men, in the middeſt whereof pikes were ſtucke, yet not appearing aboue ground, as ſharpe pointed as a Pinne. They made theſe Pits ſo couered with ſtraw, putting twigs and branches therein, with a little earth ſtrowed betweene, that we *Chriſtians* purſuing them, or being readie to aſſault their Towne, might fall into them. But they caſt theſe pits for themſelues, and at length they fell into them: for when our Generall *Iohn Eyollas*, gathering all his Souldiers together, who were not aboue three hundred (for they left ſixtie to guard the *Brigantines*) ordering and ranging the companies, went againſt their Citie *Lampere*, they vnderſtanding before of our comming, making a ſtand a Muſket ſhot of with their armie of foure thouſand men, furniſhed with Bowe and Arrowes after their manner, commanded that we ſhould be told, that they would prouide vs victuall, and other neceſſaries, deſiring vs to goe backe and returne vnto our Ships, that ſo departing as ſoone as we could, we might peaceably returne to our companions. But it was neither good for our Generall, nor our ſelues, that we ſhould conſent to their requeſt: for this Nation and Countrie, by reaſon of the plenty of victuall, was alſo moſt fit, and commodious for vs, eſpecially when in foure whole yeares paſt, we had not ſeene a morſell of bread, liuing onely with fiſh and fleſh, and oftentimes alſo in great penurie.

The *Spaniards* in foure yeeres had not ſeene a morſell of bread.

These *Carios* therefore taking their Bowe and Arrowes, entertained and ſaluted vs therewith. But as yet, wee had no minde to hurt them, but commanded to ſignifie vnto them, that they ſhould be quiet, and we would become their friends. But they would not be ſo contented, for they had not yet tried our Gunnes and Swords. When therefore we came ſomewhat neerer vnto them, wee diſcharged our braſſe Peeces againſt them. Which when they heard, and ſaw that ſo many men fell downe dead, and when neither Bullets, nor Arrowes appeared, but holes onely were ſeene in their bodies, they wondred with aſtoniſhment, and horribly terrified, tooke their flight in troopes, ouerthrowing one another like Dogs: and while with great celeritie they haſten to ſhelter themſelues in their Towne, more then three hundred men, in that amaſed feare, fell into the foreſaid pits, which themſelues had digged.

Afterward comming to their Citie, we aſſaulted it, they couragiouſly defending themſelues, till the third day. But when they could defend themſelues no longer, and were much afraid of their wiues and children, which they had with them in the Towne, they earneſtly entreated our fauour and mercie, promiſing, that they would doe any thing for vs, and for our ſakes, at our pleaſure, ſo that wee would ſpare their liues. In this ſtirre ſixteene of our men were ſlaine. They brought alſo to our Generall *Eyolas*, ſixe women, among which the eldeſt was but eighteene yeeres old, they preſented alſo ſixe Stags, and another wilde beaſt, entreating vs to ſtay with them. They gaue two women to the Souldiers, to ſerue them for Laundreſſes and other ſeruices. They alſo prouided vs victuals, and other neceſſaries for foode. And ſo peace was concluded betweene them and vs.

A Caſtle is built in *Lampere*, and is called the *Aſſumption*.

22. These things being ſo done, the *Carios* were compelled to build vs a great Houſe, of ſtone, timber, and earth, that the *Chriſtians* might haue a place of refuge, if hereafter they moued any ſedition againſt them wherein they might be ſafe, and might defend themſelues againſt iniurie. Wee tooke this Village or Citie of theirs by aſſault the yeere of *Chriſt* 1539. in the feaſt of the Aſſumption and gaue it that name. And here wee abode two moneths. These *Carios* are fiftie leagues diſtant from the *Aygais*, and from the Iland of *Bonaſperanza*, which the *Tiembus* inhabite about three hundred thirtie and foure leagues.

Making therefore a league with theſe *Carios*, they promiſed, that they would aide vs, when we went to the warres, and if we were to vndertake any ſeruice againſt the *Aygais*, they would ſend eighteene thouſand men with vs. When our Generall had thus determined, taking three hundred *Spaniards*, with theſe *Carios*, going downe the Riuer of *Parabol*, with the ſtreame, wee marched thirtie leagues by land, till we came to the place, where the ſaid *Aygais* dwelt: we ſlue them both old and young, in the old place where wee left them, vnawares in their houſes, while they yet ſlept, early in the morning betweene three and foure of the clocke (for the *Carios* had diligently ſearched out all) oppreſſing them euen to the death; for the *Carios* haue this cuſtome that being conquerers in warre, they kill all without any commiſeration or pitie.

Aygais deſtroyed.

After this, taking away fiue hundred Canoas or Boats, we burnt all the Villages to the which we came, doing much hurt beſides. After one moneth paſt, ſome of the people of *Aygais* came vnto vs, who being abſent farre from home, were not preſent at this fight, and craning pardon, yeelded themſelues into our hands.

23. Continuing therefore in this Citie of the *Aſſumption of Marie* ſixe moneths, we quietly refreſhed our ſelues. In the meane ſpace our Generall *Don Eyollas* enquired among't theſe *Carios*, of the Nation called *Piembos*, from whom hee receiued anſwere, that it was almoſt an hundred leagues diſtant from the Citie of *Aſſumption*, and that they dwelt vp the Riuer *Parabol*. Being

Piembos.

further

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further demanded, whether they had plentie of food, and how and with what they liued, what their behauiour and conditions were? They answere againe, that these *Paiembos* haue no other meate and prouision, but Flesh, and Fish, and also *Ceratia*, which they call *Algorobo*, whereof they make Meale, which they eate with their Fish. Moreouer also they make Wine thereof, which may be compared to our sweet Wine, for the pleasantnesse thereof.

The Generall musters the Souldiers, and out of foure hundred men, chooseth three hundred, whom he saw better furnished with Armes and other things then the rest, leauing the other hundred with the said *Curios*, in the Citie of *Assumption*. Wee therefore sayle vp the Riuer, and alwaies in fiue leagues distance we arriued at some Village situate vpon the Riuer of *Parabol*, whose Inhabitants came to meete vs withall necessarie prouision. *Parabol* well peopled.

24 Departing thence wee came to a Mountaine called *Fernando*, like vnto that which they call *Bogenberg*. There we light on the said *Paiembos*, twelue leagues distant from *Weibingo*. These people entertained vs friendly and peaceable, but with a treacherous and deceitfull minde, as you shall vnderstand hereafter. They therefore brought vs into their houses, and gaue vs Fish, Flesh, and *Ceratia*, or bread to eate, and so we abode nine whole daies with them. In the meane time our Generall commanded to enquire of them, whether the Nation called *Caracariso* were known vnto them? They answered him, that concerning them, they knew nothing, but what they had heard by report, to wit, that they dwelt farre hence, in a Countrie abounding with Gold and Siluer, but that they had neuer seene any of them. They added also moreouer, that these *Caracarisos* were wise men as we *Christians* are, and that they abound with Victuals, to wit, *Maiz*, *Mandeoch*, *Manduis*, *Potades*, *Mandeoch Nachke ku*, *Mandeoch Putpy*, *Mandeoch Ade*, *Mandeparea*, and other rootes; and with flesh also of *Indian* Sheepe, called *Amte*, which are a kinde of beast like Asses, hauing feete like Kine, of a thicke and grosse skinne; and that they had plentie also of Conies, Harts, Geese, and Hens: but that none of the *Paiembos* had euer seene them, as they remember, but that they had it onely by report of others: but we found afterwards assuredly how all things went. Mount *Fernando*. *Weibingo*. *Paiembos* treachery. *Caracariso*. *Amte*, beasts called Sheepe of *Peru*; and it seemeth bigger and stronger in these parts then there: For the Author rode on one, which in *Peru* beareth a small burthen.

Hauing learned this, our Generall required to haue some of the *Payembos* to goe with vs into that Countrie, whereupon they readily offered themselues, and their chiefe Commander presently appointed three hundred *Paiembos* to goe with vs, to carry out victuals, and other necessaries for vs. The Generall commanded to prepare, and of fiue Shippes he caused three to be destroyed. To the other two he appointed fiftie men of vs *Christians*, whom he commanded that in his absence they should stay there foure moneths, expecting his returne, and that if within the time appointed he returned not vnto vs, they should goe backe with these two Boates to the Citie of the *Assumption*. But it so fell out, that we staied whole sixe moneths with these *Paiembos*, and neuer heard any thing in the meane while of our Generall *Iohn Eyollas*; and prouision of victuall failed vs, and therefore of necessitie, with *Dominicke Eyollas*, who in the meane time was left to command vs, we were to returne with our Shippes to the foresaid Citie of the *Assumption*.

25. The Generall departing from the said *Paiembos*, he came to a Nation called *Naperus*, ioyned in league and friendship with the *Paiembos*, who had nothing but flesh and fish. And it is a populous Nation of these *Naperus*; our Generall tooke certaine vnto him, to shew him the way, for they were to goe through diuers Countries with great labour and in great penurie of all things; for they had tried the violence of many who resisted them in hostile manner, the halfe part of the Christians almost being dead; being brought therefore to a certaine Nation called *Peisennos*; he could goe no further, but was compelled to goe backe againe with all his people, except three *Spaniards*, which by reason of their weake estate of body, he left with the *Peisennos*. *Naperus*. *Peisennos*.

Our Generall therefore *Iohn Eyollas* being in reasonable good health himselfe, went backe againe with all his people and Souldiers, and quietly refreshed himselfe with all his fellowes for three daies with these *Naperus*, for the people were faint, being ouer tired with the iourney; and munition and weapons failed vs, which the *Naperus* and *Paiembos* vnderstanding, conspire among themselues, to kill the Generall *Iohn Eyollas*, with all his followers, which also they performed: for when our Generall marched with his *Christians* from *Naperus*, toward the *Paiembos*, and had almost now gone halfe the way, these two said Nations, set vpon them vnawares in a thicket or Forrest (which they chose for their ambush) through which the *Christians* were to goe. There the Generall, together with his sicke and faint Souldiers, was slaughtered by them, as of so many mad Dogges, so that not one escaped.

§. II.

MARTIN EYOLLAS *made Generall.* GABRERROS *comming:* SCHERVES *Voyage.* NVNNER *his insolence. Diuers people and accidents described.*

IN the meane space, while wee fiftie men returning to the *Assumption*, expect our Generall, we vnderstand what happened, by report of a certaine *Indian* slaue of *Iohn Eyollas* who was now dead, giuen him of the *Peisennos*, who being skilfull in the Language escaped the hands of the enemies, he declared all the whole matter. This was further confirmed by two of the *Paiembos* taken Prisoner, and it seemed good to vs *Christians*, that we should create *Martine Eyollas* often named to vs, our chiefe Commander and Generall, vntill we receiued other commandement from the Emperours Maiestie.

Our Generall therefore gaue commandement, that foure *Brigantines* should be prepared, and taking 150. men of the company, leauing the rest in the City of the *Assumption* of *Mary*, hee made shew that he would gather together the 150. men left with the *Tiembus*, (as wee said before) and also these 160. *Spaniards* who abode with the ships in the Citie of *Buenas Aeres*, into the said City of the *Assumption*. With these foure *Brigantines* therefore hee went downe the Riuers of *Paroboll*, and *Parana* with the streame, and came to *Tiembus* (which first place we called *Bona sperança*, but the Castle wherein our Garrison Souldiers were, wee named *Corpus Christi*.

But before we came from the *Assumption* to *Tiembus*, a certaine man of the *Christians*, to wit, Captaine *Franco Ruis*, a Priest called *Iohn Baban*, and a certaine Secretarie *Iohn Ernandus*, as it were subordinate Gouernours of the *Christians*, tooke treacherous and wicked counsell together, to kill the Captaine of the *Indians* of *Tiembus*, and certaine other *Indians* with him: which wicked attempt they performed also in deed, so that, not without great impietie before our Generall *Martin Don Eyollas* his comming, and ours, they had slaine those *Indians*, from whom a long time they had receiued no small benefits. Our Generall therefore commanded *Anthonio Mendoza* (whom he left as Commander in the Castle of *Corpus Christi*, with a Garrison of 120. of our men, giuing him also prouision of victuall) if his life and safetie were deere vnto him, that in any case he should beware of the *Indians*, and should diligently keep watch and ward, by day and night. And if the *Indians* making shew of friendship should come vnto them, that they should deale courteously with them, performing all friendly offices vnto them, yet in the meane time they should carefully look vnto themselues, & be very warie in all things, lest any damage should be done to themselues, or other *Christians*. These things being thus ordered and disposed, hee prepareth himselfe to continue his intended journey, taking with him those three persons, who were Authors of the murder. When they were now about to take their journey, one of the Nobles of *Tiembus Zuche Lyemi* by name, although he were a great friend of the *Christians*, yet by reason of his wife and children, and other Kinsmen of his, and familiars, compelled to consent to their counsels and practises: he admonished our General *Eyollas*, to cause all the *Christians* to be conueyed downe the Riuer with him, for now all the Countrey had made readie all their forces, that either they might wholly cut them all off, or driue them all out of the Countrey. To whom our Generall *Martin Don Eyollas* answered, that hee would shortly returne: and that his people had strength enough to sustaine the assault or force of the *Indians*, and added moreouer, that hee desired, that *Zuche Lyemi* with his Wife and children, and all his familiar friends, and all his people would come ouer to the *Christians*, and ioyne himselfe with them, which also he promised. After this, our Generall is carried downe the Riuer, and leaueth vs at *Corpus Christi*.

Wickednesse of some *Spaniards*.

28. Eight daies after or thereabouts, the aforesaid *Indian Zuche Lyemi*, sendeth one of his brethren *Suelupa* by name, but deceitfully and treacherously, and requested our Captaine *Mendoza* to grant him sixe *Christians* furnished with shot and other weapons, for he would bring ouer all his substance, with his whole Family vnto vs, and from henceforth dwell amongst vs. Our Captaine being perswaded by these promises, giues him not sixe but fiftie *Spaniards*, exceeding well prouided and furnished with armour and shot, the *Tiembus* came vnto them, and intertained them with *Indas* kisse, bringing flesh and fish, that they might eate: now when the *Christians* began to fall to their meate, their friends and consorts, and other *Tiembus* gathered together amongst them, with those also who hide themselues, in the field and houses, fall vpon these fiftie men, and so consecate the Banquet with them, that no man escaped aliue, except one Boy only called *Caldero*, who got out of their hands. Afterwards they set vpon vs with 10000. strong and besieged the Village (which we held) continually for fourteene daies, intending wholly this that being brought vnder, they might vtterly destroy vs: but God in mercie defeated their purposes, and ouerthrew their enterprizes.

Fiftie *Spaniards* slaine by *Tiembus* treacherie.

Spaniards besieged.

They had made themselues long Speares or Iauelings, of the Swords which they had gotten from the slaine *Christians*, wherewith they fought against vs both with the edge and point, assaulting

ting our Village day and night. Our Captaine *Anthony Mendoza* armed with a two hand Sword, went out of the Port, neere which some *Indians* lay in ambush, so that they could not bee seene. Being gone therefore out of the Port, the *Indians* thrust him through with their lauelings, so that hee presently fell downe dead vpon the ground. But because the *Indians* wanted victuals, they could sustaine themselues no longer heere, but were compelled to leaue the siege and bee gone. Captain *Mendoza* slaine.

After this two *Brigantines* laden with prouision of victuall and other necessaries arriued at our Port, which our Generall sent vnto vs from the Towne of *Buenas Aeres*, to maintaine our selues therewith till his comming. As therefore wee were cheered at the comming of them, so they who arriued with the *Brigantines*, incredibly sorrowed and lamented for the slaughter of the *Christians*. Wee therefore determined by a common Councell (which thing also seemed to bee best for vs) to stay no longer in this Village of *Corpus Christi*, abiding with these *Tiembus*, but that being carried downe the Riuer, gathering all our forces together, we returne to *Buenas Aeres*, to our Generall *Martin Dominicke Eyollas*. Who beeing frighted at our comming, was vehemently grieued (for the slaughter of the people, doubtfull how to consult what he should first doe, seeing also victuall and other necessarie things failed vs.

29. While therefore we continued fiue dayes at *Buenas Aeres*, a Carauell came to vs out of *Spaine*, and brought vs newes, that a ship was arriued at Saint *Katharine*, whose Captaine *Allunzo Gabrero*, brought with him 200. Souldiers out of *Spaine*, which when our Captaine certainly knew, he commanded one of the lesser ships, which they call a Galley, to bee made readie, that he might send her as soone as possibly he could to Saint *Katharines* into *Brasil*, which was 300. leagues distant from *Buenas Aeres*: making *Gonzallo Mendoza* Captaine thereof to gouerne the ship: giuing him charge also, that if arriuing at Saint *Katharines*, he found the ship there, they should lade one of the ships with Rice, Mandeoch, and other victuals, as seemed good vnto him. *Gonzallus Mendoza* therefore receiuing this commandement, requested the Generall *Martin D. Eyollas* to giue him seuen of the Souldiers whom hee might trust, for this Voyage which hee promised. Hee therefore chose mee, and sixe *Spaniards* to himselfe, with twentie other Souldiers. *Gabreros* coming out of *Spaine* with 200. Souldiers thither.

Setting saile from *Buenas Aeres*, in the space of a moneth we arriued at Saint *Katharines*, and finding the ship there; which came out of *Spaine*, together with Captaine *Allunzo Gabrero*, and all the Souldiers, wee greatly reioyced. Abiding with them two moneths, wee laded our ship with Rice, Mandeoch, and *Turkish* Corne, as full as it could hold, so that no more could bee put in both the ships to carrie with vs. And the day before *All Saints*, wee arriued at the Riuer *Parana*, twentie leagues yet distant from *Buenas Aeres*. Both the ships met together that night, whose Pilots asked one another, whether wee were now in the Riuer of *Parana*: when our Pilot affirmed we were, the other said the contrarie, that we were yet almost twentie leagues of. For when twentie or more ships saile together, in the Euening at the going downe of the Sunne they meete together, and one of the Masters asketh the other, what way he had made that day, and with what wind hee would saile by night, lest they should bee diuided one from the other. S. *Katharines*. Custome of Mariners.

The Riuer of *Parana Vnassu*, at the Bay or mouth thereof is thirtie leagues broad, which breadth continueth for fiftie whole leagues together, vnto the Port of Saint *Gabriell*, where the Riuer *Parana* is eighteene leagues broad. After this our Pilot asketh the Master of the other ship, whether hee would saile after, to him the other made answere, that night was now at hand, and therefore he would continue still at Sea, till the rising of the Sunne, and that he would not make to the Land in the vnseasonable night. And this Pilot in guiding his ship was more circumspect then ours was, as the euent afterward declared. Therefore our Master held on his intended course, leauing the other. Greatnesse of *Parana*.

30. Sayling by night, a mighty storme troubled the Sea, so that about twelue or one of the clocke before Sunne rising, before we had cast our Anchors in the Sea, we descried Land, and our ship was much bruised when wee were yet a league or more from the Land. Wee could finde no other remedie for this mischiefe, then making our Prayers vnto God, to intreate him to be mercifull vnto vs. The same houre our ship being split was broken in more then a thousand pieces, and fifteene of our men, and sixe of the *Indians* perished being drowned in the waters. Some taking hold of great pieces of Timber swamme out. I with fiue of my companions escaped by the helpe of a Mast. But of fifteene persons, we found not so much as one carkasse. Afterward we were to trauell fiftie leagues on foot, when we had lost all our clothes, with all the victuals in the ship, so that we were constrained to sustaine our selues, only with Rootes and other Fruites, which we could find heere and there in the fields, while wee came to the Port of Saint *Gabriell*, where we found the foresaid ship with her Captaine, who arriued there thirtie dayes before vs.

But our Generall *Martin D. Eyollas* had heard before by intelligence, of this our mishap, and thinking that we were all dead, commanded some Masses to be read for our soules health. When we were brought to *Buenas Aeres*, our Generall commandeth the Captaine of our ship, and the Master thereof to be cited, and stand to their triall, who without doubt had hanged the Pilot, if so great and earnest intreaties had not beene vsed, yet hee was condemned for foure yeeres to the Gally. They are wracked. Iustice on the negligent Pilot.

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Gathering together all our companies to *Buenas Aeres*, our Generall commandeth the Brigantines to be made ready, and all the Souldiers to bee shipped therein, and commandeth the rest of the shippes to be burned, yet preseruing the Iron Vessels and Instruments. Wee therefore once more saile vp the Riuer of *Parana* againe, and arriuing at our foresaid Citie of the *Assumption* of *Marie*, staying there two yeeres, we expected further commandement from the Emperours Majesty.

Aluarez Nunnez.

31. In the meane time while these things are thus done, a certaine Captaine *Aluarez Nunnez Cabeça de Vacha* commeth out of *Spaine*, whom *Cæsars* Majestie had created Generall, and with foure hundred men, and thirtie Horses diuided into foure ships, of the which two were greater, and the other two Carauels.

Note. *Franciscus Lopez chap.* 89. writeth of this *Aluarez Nunnez* that in the yeere 1541. he was sent from *Cæsars* Maiestie, with 400. men, and 46. horses to the Riuer of *Plate*. And he was 8. whole moneths in this Voyage. And therefore first in the yeere 1542. hee arriued at the *Assumption*.

The foure ships arriued in *Brasil* at the Hauen of *Wiesaij*, or Saint *Katharine*, to seeke prouision of victuall. And when the Captaine had sent the two Carauels eight leagues from the Hauen to seeke victuals, so great a storme tooke them, that they perished, being broken all to pieces in the Sea, the men notwithstanding which were in them being saued. When *Aluarez* the chiefe Commander knew this for a certainty, hee durst not put to Sea any more in the greater greater ships; he therefore commanded vtterly to destroy them, and trauelling by land towards the Riuer of *Plate*, at length came vnto vs, to the *Assumption* of foure hundred men bringing three hundred with him, the rest dying either of famine, or of cruell diseases.

From hence the Captaine was eight whole moneths in his journey, and from the Citie of the *Assumption*, to S. *Katherines* are reckoned three hundred leagues. This is to be vnderstood of the next and most direct way, for from the *Assumption*, downe the Riuer to the Sea, there are three hundred thirtie foure leagues, and to Saint *Katharine* three hundred. *Aluarez Nunnez* also brought the title of his gouernment out of *Spaine*, granted vnto him from *Cæsars* Majestie, and therefore required, that our Generall *Martin Don Eyollas*, should yeeld vp the whole gouernment vnto him, which thing also *Don Eyollas*, and all the company with all their heart were readie to performe, yet vpon this condition, that hee should make good proofe also, that this power and authoritie was granted vnto him from the Emperours Maiestie. But the whole assembly could not wrest this from him, only the Priests, & one or two of the Captains affirmed it.

Shipwracke & trauel by land. 100. men lost.

32. The said *Aluarez Nunnez* therefore taking a view of the Souldiers, found the number of the whole Army to be eight thousand men. Making friendship also with *Martin Don Eyollas*, each sware to other brotherly fidelity and friendship, so that *Eyollas* should haue no lesse power to command the people, then he had before. The Gouernour commandeth nine Brigantines to be made ready, that he might saile vp the Riuer as farre as it was possible. But before the ships were made readie, he sendeth three Brigantines with one hundred and fifteene Souldiers before commanding, that they should go as far as they could, and seeke out the *Indians* that had Maiz.

Sauage nation of *Surucusis*.

Hee ioyned also two Captaines vnto them, *Antonio Gaberro*, and *Diego Tabellanus*. These therefore in the beginning come to a Nation, called *Surucusis*, hauing Maiz, Mandeoch, and other Roots of that kind, and *Mandues* also (which are like our Filbirds) and fish and flesh. The men carrie in their lips a blue stone like the bone of a Die.

With this Nation we left our ships, and with them certaine of our companions, to whom we committed the custodie thereof: but hauing gone foure dayes iourney into the Countrey, wee came to a Village pertayning to the *Carios*, being three hundred strong, inquiring therefore diligently there, of the state of that Countrey, wee receiued honest and peaceable answeres from them. Returning thence vnto our ships, and going downe the Riuer of *Parabol*, we came to the Nation *Achkeres*. There we found Letters sent from *Aluaro* the Gouernour, whereby hee commanded to hang vp the chiefe Captaine of these *Indians*, *Achkeres* by name. Which commandement our Captaine obeyed without delay, and we returned home.

Village of *Carios*.

Achkeres hanged.

33. The whole Countrey of *Dabero* and *Carios*, were vp in Armes, ioyning their forces together to inuade the *Christians*. For the King of *Dabero* was the brother of that *Achkeres*, whom the *Christians* hanged, whose death hee would most seuerely auenge vpon the *Christians*. Our Gouernour armeth himselfe in the meane time against his Enemies, to vndertake some seruice against them. He therefore determined with the consent of his sworne brother *Martin Don Eyollas*, that this *Eyollas* should goe against the said *Dabero*, and *Carios* with foure hundred *Christians* and two thousand *Indians*, and either driue them out of the whole Countrey, or vtterly roote them out. The said *Eyollas* faithfully executing this commandement, leadeth his Armie out of the City of the *Assumption*, and meeting with the enemy, by the commandement of *Cæsars* Maiestie first perswadeth *Dabero* to peace and quietnesse, but he little regarding this, would admit no treatie of peace, for he had gathered a mightie Army, fenced his Villages with Bulwarks or Rampires of wood fastened in the ground, and had compassed them about with a triple fence of stakes or piles, hauing also cast vp deepe and mightie pits, whereof we spoke before in the 21. Chapter, all which wee found out before by diligent search. Wee stood still quietly with our Armie till the fourth day, before wee proclaimed war against them, but the fourth day in the morning, three hou es before the rising of the Sunne, making an assault, wee violently rushed into the City, and whomsoeuer we found there, we slue, yet taking many women, and preseruing them

Indian fortifications.

Towne taken.

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them from slaughter, which afterward turned to our great benefit. In this assault twenty sixe of the *Christians* were slaine, many of the people being wounded and hurt. And many also of the *Indians* on our part perished: but of the *Canibalis* 3000. slaine. Not long after *Dabero*, came vnto vs with his people, and craued fauour and pardon. In the next Expedition *Dabero* sent to *Nunnez* 2000. *Indians* to aide vs. From the *Carios* also he commandeth nine Brigantines to bee furnished, all which being done, 800. *Christians* he taketh 500. leauing 300. at the *Assumption*, ouer whom he made *Iohn Satensser* Captaine. With this Army of 500. *Christians*, and 2000. *Indians*, we saile vp the Riuer of *Parabol*: and the *Carios* had with them 83. boats, wee *Christians* had nine Brigantines, in euery one of the which there were two horses. But the horses were conueyed ouer Land 100. leagues, and we were carried vpon the Riuer vnto the Mountaine of Saint *Ferdinand*. At that place taking our horses againe into the ships, from thence afterward we were carried forward, vntill we came to our Enemies the *Paiembos*, but they not looking for our comming, conueyed away themselues by flight with their wiues and children, hauing first set their houses on fire. After this we trauelled 100. leagues together, and light not on any people, at length wee came to a Nation, whose people are called *Baschurepos*, who liue by fish and flesh. It is a populous Nation, and they inhabit a large Countrey of 100. leagues broad. They haue so great a number of boats, that it is incredible to be written. Their women couer their Secrets. These people refusing to talke with vs, fled from vs. Departing from them, wee came to another Nation called *Surucusis*, 90. leagues distant from the *Baschurepos*, the people out of this Countrey louingly and friendly entertained vs. Euery Housholder of these *Surucusis* dwelleth in a peculiar and proper house of his owne with his wife and children. The men haue a round piece of wood hanging at their eares like a *Calecut* Die. The women haue Christall of a Skie colour, of a finger thicke hanging at their lips, they are wel-fauoured to behold, and goe altogether naked. These people abound with *Turkish* Corne, *Mandeoch*, *Manduis*, *Padades*, fish and flesh. And it is a very populous Countrey.

Dabero commeth in.

Paiembos.

Baschurepos.

Surucusis.

Our Captaine commanded to inquire of them concerning a Nation called *Carchacaris*, and also of the *Carios*. They could tell vs nothing of the *Carchacaris*; but concerning the *Carios* they said, that they were with them at their houses. But it was not true, hauing learned this, our Generall commanded to prepare our selues for the journey, for hee determined to goe further into the Countrey. He appointed an hundred and fiftie Souldiers to stay with the ships, to whom he gaue prouision of victuall for two yeeres. Taking the other three hundred and fiftie together with the eighteene horses, and twenty thousand *Indians* or *Carios*, who came from the *Assumption* with vs, he went further into the Countrey, but with little benefit to vs. For our Generall was not a man fit for so great an attempt; besides all the Captaines and Souldiers hated him, for his peruerse and rigorous carriage towards the Souldiers. Hauing trauelled therefore eighteene dayes journey they neuer set eye neither vpon the *Carios*, nor any other people, and food also failed them, so that our Generall was of necessitie to returne againe vnto the shippes. But yet our Generall chargeth a certaine *Spaniard Franciscus Rieffere*, with tenne other *Spaniards* to goe forward, commanding them that if after ten dayes iourney they found no people, they should returne vnto the ships, where they would stay for them. It happened therefore that they light vpon a populous Nation, which had plentie of *Turkish* Corne, *Mandeoch*, and other Roots. But the *Spaniards* durst not come in their sight, and returning to vs, signified this vnto our Generall, who was very desirous to haue gone into this Countrey againe, but he was hindered by the waters, that he could not proceed.

Carchacaris.

Generall not beloued.

Hee returneth.

He therefore commandeth a ship to be furnished againe, wherein he put eighty Souldiers, and making *Ernandus Rieffiere*, Captaine inioyneth him to goe vp the Riuer of *Parabol*, to discouer the Nation called *Scherues*, and therein two dayes iourney, and no more to enter into the heart of the Countrey, and after that to make report vnto him of the Countrey, and the Inhabitants thereof. Departing by ship from our Generall, the first day we came to a certaine Nation called *Guebuecusis*, on the other side of the Countrey, whose people inhabit a certaine Iland, containing thirty leagues in length, which the Riuer *Parabol* compasseth. They feed vpon *Mandeoch*, *Maiz*, *Mandwis*, *Padades*, *Mandepore*, *Porpe Bachkeku*, and other Roots, and also vpon flesh and fish. The men and women are like the former *Surucusis* in Phisnomy and fauour. Wee staied this day with them, When we were to depart the next day, they accompanied vs with ten Canoas or Boats: twice in the day time they fished, and caught Venison, which they gaue vs.

Ernandus Rieffiere sayleth vp the Riuer to the *Guebuecusis*, and *Achkeres*.

Guebuecusis. Iland in the Riuer.

Spending nine dayes in this iourney wee arriued after at the Nation called *Achkeres*, where a great multitude of people were gathered together. The men and women, are of a great and tall stature, the like whereof I saw not in all the Countrey of the Riuer of *Plate*, and these *Achkeres* are thirty leagues distant from the foresaid *Surucusis*; they liue by no other thing saue fish and flesh: the women couer their secrets. We staied one day with these *Achkeres*, and from hence the said *Surucusis* returned with their ten Boats or Canoas to their Village. Afterward our Captaine *Ernandus Rieffere*, requested the *Achkeres*, to shew him what way they might goe to the *Scherues*, whereto they were very readie, and sent eight Canoas or Boats from their Village with vs, and twice euery day they caught fish and flesh, that so we might haue sufficient plenty of food.

Achkeres. Men of tall stature. They are called *Achkeres*, which signifieth Crocodiles, of the store (it seemeth) of those creatures in those parts.

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Scherues.

36. The ninth day after our departure from them, we came to the *Scherues*, vnto whom from the said *Achkeres*, are thirtie sixe leagues. This Nation is very populous, yet they are not true and naturall, among whom the King himselfe hath an house. But these *Scherues* maintaine a Priest expert in the Mysteries of Religion, and haue a ring of wood hanging at their eares. These men also weare a blue Christall in their lips, of the shape and bignesse of Dice, they are painted with a blue colour from the paps to the priuities, with that excellency that I thinke a Painter is not to be found in all *Germany*, which could performe the like so finely and artificially. They goe naked, and are beautifull after their manner.

Priests and woodden Earings.

Cunning painters.

We stayed therefore one day with these *Scherues*, and after going fourteene leagues forward in three dayes journey, at length wee came to the place where their King dwelleth, from the which the Inhabitants are called *Scherues*. His Country containeth only foure leagues in length. Yet hath he a Village situate vpon the Riuer of *Parabol*. Therefore leauing our ships heere, we committed the custodie thereof to twelue *Spaniards*, that returning wee might vse them for our defence. Wee also intreated the *Scherues* dwelling there, that in the meane space they would friendly conuerse with the *Christians*, and intreate them courteously, which also they did. with necessaries for our journey, passing ouer the Riuer *Parabol*, wee arriued at that place, where the seate and house of the King was. Who, when we were almost yet a league from him, commeth forth to meete vs guarded with more then 12000. men in a Champion plaine, yet friendly and peaceably. The path wherein they marched, was eight paces broad, strewed with flowres and grasse on euery side, and made so cleane, that not so much as any little stone, stick, or straw appeared. The King had also with him his Musicians, whose Instruments were like our crooked Trumpets, which wee call *Schalmes*. Hee gaue commandement also, that they should hunt Stags and other wilde beasts on both sides of the way which hee went, so that they tooke about thirtie Stags and twentie Estridges or *Iaudu*, which spectacle was very pleasant to behold. When we were entred into the Village, he alwaies appointed one lodging for two *Christians*. But our Captaine together with his Seruants or followers was brought into the Kings Palace.

Wild pompe of the King.

Stags and Estridges.

Musicke.

He is wont to haue Musicke at the Table, and at his meate, whensoeuer he pleaseth. For then they play vpon the Flutes or Pipes, men leading the dances and skipping with most beautifull women, which dances and skippings seemed so strange vnto vs, that looking vpon them, wee had almost forgot our selues. In the rest the *Scherues* are like those people of whom wee spoke before. The women make them gownes or vpper garments of thinne Cotton, almost like our clothes which are some part silke, which we call Arras or *Burschet*. They weaue in these diuers shapes of Stags, Estridges and *Indian* sheepe, according as euery of them is more skilfull in the art of weauing.

Weauers.

In these garments they sleepe, if the Aire happen to be somewhat cold, or putting them vnder them they sit vpon them, or vse them at their pleasure for other seruices. These women are very faire and venerous.

When we had stayed there foure dayes, this pettie King demanded of our Captaine what our purpose was, and whether we would goe? to whom he made this answere, that he sought Gold and Siluer. Therefore he gaue him a Crowne of Siluer weighing a pound and an halfe. He gaue him also a plate of Gold of a spanne and an halfe long, and halfe a span broad, and certaine other things made cunningly wrought of Siluer, and told our Captaine that he had no more Siluer nor Gold: And that these things wherewith he presented him, were the spoiles which in time past he had gotten in war against the *Amazones*.

Gold and Siluer.

That he made mention of the *Amazones* and of their riches, was very pleasing to vs to heare. Our Captaine therefore presently demandeth of the King, whether we might come to them by Sea, or by the Riuer, and how much further we had to goe, when wee were to take our journey towards them; whereunto he answered, that we could not goe to them by water but by land, and that in two whole moneths journey.

The *Amazones* described.

37. These women the *Amazones*, haue only one of their pappes, their Husbands come vnto them three or foure times in the yeere. And if the woman beeing with child by her Husband, bring forth a Male child, she sendeth him home again to his Father, but if it be a Female, she keepeth it with her: and seareth the right pap of it, that it may grow no more, which she doth for this purpose, that they may be more fit to handle their Weapons and Bowes. For they are warlike women, making continuall war with their Enemies. These women inhabit an Iland that is very large, on euery side compassed with water, to whom there is no accesse but by Canoas or Boats. The *Amazones* haue neither Gold not Siluer in this Iland, but they are reported to haue great Treasures in the firme land, which the men inhabit. It is a very populous Nation, and is said to haue a King called *Iegues*, and the King of *Scherues* told vs the name of the place. Therefore the Captaine *Ernandus Rieffiere* desired the King of *Scherues*, to ioyne certaine of his men with vs, to carry our bagge and baggage for vs, and then we would enter the heart of the Country to seeke those *Amazones*. He willingly assenteth thereunto, yet in the meane time admonishing vs, that the whole Countrie was now ouerflowed with waters, and therefore we should

Iland of *Amazones*.

haue

haue a very difficult and vneasie Iourney vnto them, and that wee could not easily at this time come vnto them. But we would not giue credite to his words, but were instant to haue the *Indians* ioyned with vs. He therefore gaue twentie men to our Captaine, for his owne person, to carrie his prouision and necessaries: and to euery one of vs, he gaue fiue *Indians* to serue vs, and carrie that little which we had. For wee were to goe eight dayes Iourney, wherein wee should not see any *Indian*.

But afterward we came to a certaine Nation called *Siberis*, who in their language and other things were like the *Scbernes*. Wee were to goe for these eight whole dayes, day and night in the water vp to the knees, and sometimes reaching as high as the waste: nor could we by any meanes get out of them. And if we would make fire, we were of necessitie to put it vpon a pile or stacke made of great blockes or pieces of wood: and it fell out often, that when wee were about to boile our meate, both the pot and the fire fell into the water, so that after that, wee were faine to be without our meate. And Gnats also troubled and vexed vs day and night, so that we could not doe our necessarie worke or businesse.

Siberis.

Wading Iourney.

Bellie-shifts.

Gnats.

Wee therefore demanded of those *Siberis*, whether wee should yet haue any more waters? who answered, that wee were yet foure dayes to walke in the waters, and afterward were to trauell fiue dayes by Land, and at length wee should come to a Nation called *Orethuisen*. They signified also vnto vs, that wee were too few in number, and therefore that wee should returne. But the *Scbernes* would not doe this: for wee thought rather to send them backe vnto their Towne, who had hitherto accompanied vs, but they refused to doe it, saying, they were enioyned by their King not to leaue vs, but should continue with vs, vntill wee came out of the Countrie againe. These *Siberis* ioyned ten men with vs, who together with the *Scbernes* should shew vs the way to the fore-said *Orethuisen*. Wee were yet seuen dayes more to trauell in the waters which were so hot, as if they had beene heat vpon the fire, which water also, hauing no other, wee were compelled to drinke. But some might peraduenture thinke, that it was Riuer water, but at that time, showres of raine were so common and vsuall, that they filled the whole Countrie with water, which is altogether very plaine and euen.

Trauels in hot waters.

The ninth day we came vnto a certaine Village of the Nation *Orethuisen*, betweene ten and eleuen of the clocke. And at twelue of the clocke, being come into the middest of the Towne, we came vnto the Princes house. At that time a cruell and mightie Plague was very hot, whereof Famine was the cause: for, two yeeres together, the Graf-hoppers had so eaten and corrupted all manner of Corne, and the fruits of trees, that almost nothing was left them, which they might eate.

Orethuisen.

Locusts.

But our Captaine asked the Petie-King of this Nation, how many dayes Iourney we yet had to the *Amazones*? from whence he receiueth answere; That wee must yet trauell one whole moneth, besides that all the Countrie was full of water.

The *Amazons* are stil'd so there off: I doubt beyond the region of Truth; if the title be properly meant of such as are here described. For warlike wiues liuing in societie with men, are many.

The King of these *Orethuisen*, gaue our Captaine foure Plates of gold, and foure siluer Rings, which they put about their armes: but the *Indians* weare the Plates of gold on their foreheads for ornament, as our Nobles doe their Chaines, or Collars of Esses hanged about their neckes. For these things our Captaine gaue the King of the *Indians* an Hatchet, Kniues, and Beades, or Pater-nosters, Barbers Scizzars, and such like. Wee would willingly haue craued more of them, but wee durst not attempt it, because wee were but few in number, so that wee were forced to stand in feare of them. For the multitude of these *Indians* was very great, and the Towne huge, in so much as I haue not seene any greater or more populous throughout all *India*. For the Towne was very long, and broad.

Gold and siluer,

38 Going backe therefore, we returned to the foresaid *Siberis*, and we *Christians* were ill furnished with prouision of victuall, and other things, nor had we any meate, but the fruits of trees, which they call *Patmides*, and *Cardes*, and other wilde roots growing vnder ground. And when we should returne vnto the *Scbernes*, the halfe part of our people was deadly sicke, and that by reason of the water, through which wee were to wade for thirtie dayes together, so that wee could neuer turne aside, or get out of the same; and also by reason of the great scarsitie and famine, which we must indure in this Iourney: which calamitie was not a little encreased, in that we were compelled to drinke that filthie and impure water. Abiding therefore foure dayes with these *Scbernes*, with whom the King himselfe dwelleth, we were very louingly and bountifully entertained, and prouided for. For the King gaue commandement to his Subiects, to giue vs all things necessarie: Euery man also had gotten for himselfe almost two hundred Ducats onely by Cotton Gowns, and Siluer, which we had gotten of them by secret exchange of Kniues, Beades, Scizzers, and Glasses.

Thirtie dayes wading.

Profitable tricke.

After all this, being carried downe the Riuer, wee returned to our Generall. But when wee came to the ships, the Generall commanded vpon paine of death, that no man should goe out of the ship, and he also in proper person comming to our Captaine, laying hold of him, commanded him to be cast in Prison, and by violence tooke away from vs Souldiers, whatsoeuer we had gathered in this Iourney. And not contented with this, would haue hanged our Captaine vpon

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a tree. When we abiding yet in the Brigandines vnderstood this, taking counsell with certaine of our friends, which were ashoare, we raised a tumult and a sedition against our said Generall, and in his presence face to face we said vnto him, that forthwith he should set Captaine *Ernando Rieffere* free before vs, and restore all vnto vs, which he had violently taken from vs, otherwise we would prouide according to the state and the time.

When *Aluarus* saw this our tumult and indignation, with a willing minde, he presently freed the Captaine from captiuitie, and restored also vnto vs whatsoeuer he had taken from vs, endeauouring with faire speaches, that we might be pacified.

Vnhealthfull Countrie.

39. In this Countrie *Surucusis* I found no *Indian*, who had attained to fortie or fiftie yeeres, and in all the time of my life I neuer found a Countrie lesse healthfull. It is situate vnder the Tropike of *Capricorne*.

Wicked precept.

Our Generall falling sicke, in this his sickneſse commanded an hundred and fiftie *Christians* to arme themselues, and taking two thousand *Carios* with them, to make foure Brigandines also readie. These he enioyned, to goe about some foure leagues to the Iland of *Surucusis* by ship, and after kill and take all this people, and should principally destroy those persons, who were fortie or fiftie yeeres old. But how the said *Surucusis* entertained vs before, is alreadie declared. But what reward we gaue them againe, and how welcome we were vnto them, you shall shortly vnderstand. And God knoweth we did them great iniurie. When therefore wee arriued at their Towne vnawares, they came out of their houses with their Armes, Bowes and Arrowes, yet peaceably to meet vs, but forthwith a tumult arising betweene the *Carios* and the *Surucusis*, we *Christians* discharged our brasse Peeces against them, killing very many: and hauing taken also two thousand of their men, women, boyes and girles, wee tooke away all their houshold-stuffe, and whatsoeuer might bee taken from them, as in such violent assaults is vsually done. Then we returned to our Generall, who was well pleased with that we had done. But because our Souldiers were for the most part feeble and sicke, and most of them also were ill affected to our Generall, and hated him, we could doe no more with them, but being altogether conueyed downe the Riuer *Parabol*, we returned to our Citie the *Assumption*; where wee left the rest of the *Christians*. There our Generall fell sicke againe of a Feauer, and kept within doores fourteene whole dayes together, more of wicked dissimulation and pride, then hindered by reason of sickneſse.

40. All the companie hereupon, as well Noble as Ignoble, determined and decreed with one consent and purpose, that they would send this their Commander prisoner vnto *Cæsars* Maiestie, the Treasurer or Iudge, the Clarke, or Master of the Toll or Custome, and the Secretarie, ordained by *Cæsars* Maiestie (whose names were *Almunzus Gabrerus*, *Francus Mendoza*, and *Gratus Hamiegus*) taking to them two hundred Souldiers, tooke our Generall, who feared nothing lesse then this, and this was done vpon Saint *Markes* Day, in the moneth of April. And they kept him prisoner an whole yeere, till they might send him with two other Officers into *Spaine* in a Carauell, *Martin Don Eyollas* was chosen Generall, who also gouerned this Countrie before, especially seeing the Souldiers also loued him: which election the better part allowed. At this

The Authours sickneſse.

time, I lay grieuously sicke of the Dropsie, which disease I had gotten in our Iourney to the *Orethuisen*, when we waded so long in the waters, and besides suffered want, and almost intolerable hunger: By occasion of that Iourney, eightie of our men beganne to bee sicke, whereof onely thirtie recouered health.

41. *Aluarus Nunnez* therefore being sent away into *Spaine*, the *Christians* began to disagree among themselues in hostile manner. These fightings and contentions continued with vs a whole yeere almost, the sending away of *Aluarus* giuing occasion to this mischiefe. When the *Carios* and *Aygais*, (who hitherto were our friends) perceiued this, to wit, that we *Christians*, bare such treacherous hearts one to another, and vsed and exercised such fighting and skirmishing amongst our selues, it fell out very acceptably to them all, and by taking Armes against vs, forced vs to peace amongst our selues.

42. Departing from the *Assumption*, together with our Generall, and three hundred and fiftie *Christians*, to whom one thousand *Indians* ioyned themselues, which our Generall so diuided, that three *Indians* alwaies should serue vnder one *Christian*; we went so farre forward, that we were onely three leagues distant from that place where our Enemies the *Carios* encamped, who being fifteene thousand men strong, had now ranged their battell. But although we were now but halfe a league from them, yet we would not set vpon them that day, because we were wearie by reason of the Iourney, and many and great showres of raine troubled vs: therefore wee hid our selues in a Wood, where we lay close the night before.

Fight with the *Carios*.

Going forth the next morning at sixe of the clocke, and comming into their sight about seuen, we ioyned battell, prolonging the fight till ten of the clocke. But at length they being put to flight, made haste to a certaine Towne called *Framidiere*, foure leagues distant, which they had fortified with strong Bulwarkes. The Chiefe Commander of the *Carios* was called *Machkarias*, and in this conflict, there fell two thousand men of the Enemies, whose heads the *Iepens* tooke with them. Of ours, besides those that were wounded and hurt, whom we sent backe

to

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to the *Assumption*, ten *Christians* were slaine. But wee pursued the Enemie with all our Armie, euen to their Towne *Fræmidiere*, whether the Commander of the *Carios* conueyed himselfe by flight. They haue compassed this Towne with a triple rowe of Trenches, as with a wall. The Trenches were as thicke as a man in the middle, which being digged a mans depth into the ground, rose three fathom high aboue ground. They had also cast vp pits, or deepe holes, whereof also we haue spoken before, in euery one whereof they had pitched fiue or sixe stakes, sharpe pointed like Pinnes or Needles. This Towne therefore by fortification, and Garrisons of valiant and couragious men, was exceedingly well fenced, so that three dayes we besieged them in vain, yet at length, by Gods helpe, we conquered it. Wee made also great and round Targets of *Indian* Sheepes skinnes, which they call *Amaten*, or *Amidas*. This beast is of a reasonable bignesse, like an ordinarie Mule, of a grey colour, with clouen feete like a Kow, in the rest like an Asse, yeelding pleasant meate. There is great store of these beasts in this Countrie, they haue a skin halfe a finger thicke. Wee therefore gaue these round Targets to the *Indians Ieperus*, giuing some of them also an Hatchet: and betweene two *Indians* we placed an Harquebusse shot. Destroying their triple inclosure, we entred the Towne of *Fræmidiere*; we neither spared men nor women, boyes nor girles. But the greatest part of them hauing escaped by flight, betooke themselues to a certaine other Towne of theirs called *Carieba*, twentie leagues distant from *Fræmidiere*, which Towne also they fortified as strongly as they could. The *Carios* also in great numbers came together againe, incamping themselues neere an huge Wood, that if peraduenture this Towne also should be wonne by the *Christians*, they might vse the helpe of the Wood for their defense.

Fræmidiere.

Siege and conquest.

Carieba.

Wee came to the said Towne, and pitching our Tents, besieged it round in three places. We had also hid some of our men in a Wood, to keepe diligent watch there. Supplies also of two hundred *Christians*, and fiue hundred of the *Ieperus*, and the *Barbici* came to aide vs, from the City of *Assumption*. For many of our men, both *Christians*, and *Indians*, were much wounded. So that we were of necessitie compelled to send for a fresh supplie of Souldiers for our aide. Now therefore all our forces were foure hundred and fiftie *Christians*, and the *Ieperus* and the *Barbacis* were thirteene hundred in number.

But our Enemies the *Carieba*, had much more strongly fortified this Towne with Trenches, and Motes, then euer they had done any before. They had also made and framed certaine Engines, and instruments like Traps, wherewith Mise are taken, which if according to their purpose and meaning, they had fallen, euery one of them at one fall had slaine twentie or thirtie men. They had disposed many of these Engines hereand there about this Towne.

Fortifications and Engines.

Wee abode therefore neere this Towne foure whole dayes, and could effect nothing of any worth, vntill Treason (which geeteth the masterie euery where throughout the world) came betweene them and home. For a certaine *Indian* of the *Carios* our Enemies, who was their Captaine, to whom this towne properly belonged, came by night vnto our Generall, earnestly intreating, that we would not waste and destroy this his Towne by fire, which if wee would promise him, he would ioyne men with vs; and would shew vs the way and meanes how to take it. Which when our Generall had promised, adding also this caution, that he should receiue no hurt nor damage, he shewed vs in the Wood two wayes to come to the Towne, and said, that he would raise a flaming fire therein, during which we should violently breake into it.

When these things proceeded iust according to the purpose and agreement made betweene vs, by this meanes entring we got the Towne, and great slaughter of the people was made by vs *Christians:* And they that thought they had escaped by fleeing, fell into the hands of the *Ieperus*, by whom the greatest part of them were slaine. But they had not their wiues, and children then with them, but had hid them in a great Wood foure leagues distant from thence. The people which escaped out of this conflict, fled to a certaine other Petie-King of the *Indians*, called *Dabero:* and the Village which entertained them, was called *Iuberic Sabaie*, and was fortie leagues distant from *Carieba*. But wee could not pursue them thither, for this reason, because what way soeuer they passed, they had wasted all farre and neere, with fire, and spoyling, and had taken away all the store of prouision and victuall. Abiding foure dayes in the Towne *Carieba*, we cured the wounded, and also refreshed our selues.

43. After this we returne to our Citie, the *Assumption*, that after we might sayle vp the Riuer, and seeke out the Towne of *Iuberic Sabaie*, where the King *Dabero* had an house, with nine Brigandines, and two hundred Canoas or Boats, wherein fifteene hundred *Indians* of *Ieperus* were carried, we went vp the Riuer *Parabol*, to seeke our Enemies *Iuberic Sabaie*.

Iuberic Sabaie.

In this Voyage also that captaine of the *Carios*, who betrayed the Towne *Carieba* to vs, ioyned himselfe with vs, bringing with him one thousand *Carios*, to aide vs against *Dabero*.

46. leagues from *Assumption.*

We goe forward therefore with all our forces gathered together on the Land and Riuer, and come so neere vnto our Enemies *Iuberic Sabaie*, that we are but two leagues distant from them. When we had arriued there, our Generall *Eyollas*, sent two *Indians* of the *Carios* to the Enemie into their Towne, who should perswade them in the *Christians* behalfe, that returning into their Countrie, with their wiues and children, and all their household-stuffe, they should serue the

Chri-

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Christians with due subiection, as they did before, which if they refused to doe, they would driue them all out of the Countrie. To this *Dabero* the King of the *Carios*, for answer, commandeth to tell our Generall, That he neither acknowledged him, nor the *Christians*, but if they came, they would kill them by casting bones at them. They also send away the two *Indian* messengers well bumbasted with cudgels, with this straight charge, that they should speedily withdraw themselues from the Campe, otherwise it should come to passe, that they should be slaine.

R. Stuesia. We came to a Riuer, called *Stuesia* in the *Indian* language, almost as broad as *Danubius*, halfe the height of a man deepe in some places also deeper. This Riuer doth sometimes so increase by inundation, that it doth much hurt to the Countrie, and by reason of such inundation or ouerflowing, they cannot trauaile by land. We were to passe ouer this Riuer, and because the enemie had pitched their tents on the other side of the Riuer, they did vs much hurt in the passing ouer. When they saw that we had now passed ouer the Riuer, speedily taking their flight, conuaied themselues into their towne, halfe a league distant from the Riuer; we so pursued them, that we came to their towne of *Iuberic Sabaie*, at the verie same moment that they themselues entred, which also presently we so besieged round, that none of them might either goe out or in: we also forthwith armed our selues with targets made of the skinnes of the *Amydas*, as aforesaid. We wan their towne.

Our Generall commanded, before we should inuade them by force of armes, that we should neither kill the women, nor their children, but onely leade them away captiues; whose commandement also we obayed, but all the men that we could light vpon, must dye, yet many escaping by flight, preserued themselues, and our confederates the *Iperus* got one thousand of the enemies heads. All these things thus performed, those *Carios*, who escaped by flight, came, together with their King, and crauing pardon of our Generall, intreated that their wiues and children might be restored vnto them, and then they would performe all obedience of subiection vnto vs, as before, and serue vs faithfully. Our Generall therefore receiued them to fauour, who afterward also continued constantly in our friendship and amitie, so long surely as I abode in those Countries. And this warre continued a yeare and an halfe, and fell out in the yeare 1546.

§. III.

A long and troublesome March from Assumption *into* Peru. *The Authors returne.*

44. REturning therefore with our Shippes to our Citie the *Assumption*, wee staied there two whole yeares. But when in the meane time, neither the Ships came out of *Spaine*, nor any thing was signified by messengers, our Generall going forth with three hundred and fiftie *Spaniards*, and two thousand *Carios*, in the yeare 1548. saileth vp the Riuer *Parabol*, with seuen Brigantines, and two hundred Canoas, or Boates. But those of the people, whom the Shippes could not hold, trauaile by land with one hundred and thirty horses. Hee made *Don. Franck Mendoza* Captaine; giuing also prouision for two yeares.

These things therefore being thus setled. The Generall hauing sent backe fiftie to *Assumption* with three hundred *Christian* Souldiers, one hundred and thirty Horses, and two thousand *Carios*, hauing gone forward eight dayes iourney, found no Nation; but the ninth day wee light vpon a Nation called *Naperus*, the people thereof liue onely by fish and flesh. They are of a strong and tall stature. Their women, which are not beautifull, couer their secrets. This Country is sixe and thirtie leagues distant from the Mountaine Saint *Ferdinand:* here we lay all night. The day following, continuing on our iourney, we came the fourth day after, to another Nation called *Mapais*, which is very populous; the Subiects are compelled to serue their Noblemen, with fishing, and labours, and other worke, no otherwise then our Boores with vs, doe their Nobles. But this Nation aboundeth with *Mais*, *Mandeoch*, *Ade*, *Mande pore*, *Mandeoch porpie*, *Padades*, *Mandues*, *Bachkeku*, and other rootes, and things to eate. It hath also Stagges, *Indian* Sheepe, Estridges Ducks, Geese, and many other kindes of Foule. Their Woods abound in great plentie with Hony, of the which also they make Wine, and put it to other necessary vses.

Naperus.

Mapais.

Two kindes of *Amidas*, one able to beare men. *Acosta* mentions those of *Peru* to bear fiftie pounds or little more.

The Sheepe (which they call *Amidas*) are of two kindes, some of them domesticall, and some wilde, which they vse for carriages, and to ride vpon, and for other seruices, almost as we doe our Horses, as I also rid, being carried on such a Sheepe in this very iourney, more then forty leagues, when my legge was lame. They vse the same Beasts also in *Peru* for carriage of Merchandise, as our people doe packe Horses.

These *Mapais* are men of a tall stature, and warlike, conuerting all their labour and study to warlike affaires. Their women are faire, and couer their secrets. They doe no worke and labour in the fields, but the whole care of maintaining the Family, lyeth vpon the man; neither doe they

they any thing elſe at home, ſaue ſpinne, and weaue Cotten, or dreſſe meate for their husbands.

We were not aboue halfe a league from this Nation when they comming forth of the towne, they met vs neere a certaine little Village, where they perſwaded vs quietly to refreſh our ſelues that night, for they would giue vs whatſoeuer we had neede of, but this they did deceitfully and treacherouſly: that alſo we might be more ſecure, they gaue our Generall foure ſiluer Crownes, ſuch as are vſually worne vpon the head, and foure Plates of ſiluer, whereof euery one of them was a ſpanne and an halfe long, and halfe a ſpanne broad. Theſe Plates they binde to their foreheads for ornament, as we haue ſaid before. They preſented our Captaine alſo with three yong women.

When we had turned into this Village, ſupper being ended, and the watch ſet, that the people might be ſafe from the treacherie of the enemie, wee gaue our ſelues to reſt. About midnight our Generall had loſt his yong wenches.

45. After this, two thouſand of the foreſaid *Mapais* came vnto vs, that ouercharging vs vnawares they might vtterly ouerthrow and kill vs, but they got no great matter at our hands, and in this conflict and bickering more then one thouſand men were ſlaine. They betake themſelues to flight, whom we purſued with great haſte, euen to their Towne, but found no man there, no not ſo much as their wiues and children: our Generall therefore diſpatching one hundred and fiftie harquebuſſe ſhot, and two thouſand fiue hundred *Indian Caries*, purſueth theſe *Mapais* three dayes, and two nights with great ſpeede, ſo that we did but dine, and reſted by night refreſhing our ſelues foure or fiue houres with ſleepe.

The third day we ſuddenly came vpon them gathered together in a certaine wood with their wiues and children, but they were not thoſe we ſought, but were their friends; who were nothing afraid of vs, nor did they ſuppoſe that we would euer haue come vnto them. Notwithſtanding the innocent were forced to pay for the fault of the guilty; for when we light vpon them, we ſlew many of them, and tooke of the men, women, and children, about three thouſand perſons, and if it had bin day, as it was night, none of them had ſcaped our hands; for an huge numoer of this people had gathered themſelues together in a certaine Mountaine incloſed round with woods. I had gotten for my part of the ſpoile about nineteene men and women, not very old, together with certaine other things.

Theſe things performed, returning to our Campe, we quietly repoſed our ſelues for eight daies; for we found there, ſufficient plenty of victuall, and other neceſſary things; from this Nation *Mapais*, vnto Saint *Ferdinandes* Mount, where our Shippes rode, were fiftie leagues, and from the Nation *Naperus* thirtie ſix.

Marching on againe from thence, we came to a Nation called *Zemis*, ſubiect to the foreſaid *Mapais*. They liue almoſt as the Boores doe with vs, vnder the power of their Lords. In this iourney we light vpon fields tilled, and ſet with Mais, and other rootes, and theſe fruites and meates, are all the yeare long found in the fields; for before one reape and gather the one into the barne, another is ready for the harueſt. And this alſo being reaped and gathered, it is time to ſowe another. Turning aſide thence, we came into another Towne, whoſe inhabitants when they ſaw vs at hand, fled all away. This towne is foure leagues diſtant from the foreſaid *Mapais*. Departing hence, and trauailing ſix leagues in two dayes iourney, we light on another Nation called *Tohanna*, but we found no men here, but great plenty of foode. The men of this Countrie alſo are ſubiect to the *Mapais*. *Zemis.* *Fields of Mais, &c.* *Tohanna.*

Going from hence we met with no Nation in our iourney in foure dayes ſpace. But the ſeuenth day we came to a Nation called *Peionas*, foureteene leagues diſtant from the former *Tohanna*. In this Countrie a great number of people came together; and their Captaine came forth to meete vs, guarded with a great multitude of men, yet peaceably, and earneſtly beſought our Generall not to enter into their Towne, but that we ſhould ſtay without, in the place where he came to meete vs; and our Generall would not conſent, but directly marched forward, will he, nill he, entred into the Towne. *Peionas.*

We ſtaied with theſe *Peionas* three dayes, and our Generall demanded many things of them concerning the nature and condition of this Countrey. When we were to depart, theſe *Peionas* gaue vs an Interpreter and a guide, that we might finde water to drinke, for there is great ſcarcity of water in this Country, hauing trauailed foure leagues, we came to a Nation called *Mayegory*, and ſtaying one onely day there, taking an Interpreter againe, and a guide, we marched forward. And theſe people were gentle and curteous. *Mayegory.*

Departing alſo from theſe people, when we had marched eight leagues, we came to a Nation, whoſe people, which were many in number, were called *Marrones*. They alſo gently and curteouſly entertained vs: we abode here two dayes, and receiuing a relation of the nature, and condition of the place, taking alſo a guide with vs, we went further forward. Departing foure leagues from theſe, we came to another Nation, yet not ſo populous, called *Paronies*. This Countrie aboundeth not with victuall and foode, yet notwithſtanding it is 3000. ſtrong of men able for warre. In this Countrie we reſted one day onely. *Marrones.* *Paronies.*

Hauing

Symanos. Wall of bushes

Hauing trauailed twelue leagues from this place, we came to a Nation, whose people are called *Symanios*, where a great multitude of men came together. Their towne is situate vpon an high hill, and compassed round about with Bryar bushes, as with a wall.

Barconos.

46. We trauailed sixteene leagues further in foure daies iourney, and at length were brought vnto a certaine Nation, called *Barconos*: the men thereof, seeing our comming chanced to them beyond their expectation and opinion, presently betooke themselues to flight, as soone as wee came neere their towne; yet they could not escape out of our power. But when we onely craued foode of them, being very ready, they willingly gaue vs Hens, Geese, Sheepe, Estridges, Stags, and other foode abundance.

Leybanios. Grashoppers.

Departing thence, the third day after we came to a Nation, whose people were called *Leybanios*. They dwell twelue leagues remoued from the former. These people had but little foode, for the Grashoppers had corrupted almost all their fruites. Therefore resting one onely night with them, after hauing trauailed sixteene leagues in foure dayes iourney, we came to another Nation called *Carcbconos*. The Grashoppers also had done them great displeasure, but had not so much hurt them as they had done the former: abiding with them one day, we vnderstood this of the condition and quality of the Countrie, that we should finde no water in foure and twenty or thirty leagues space: we approached to these *Suboris* in six dayes space: But many of our men died of thirst, although with these *Carcbconos* we had furnished our selues with indifferent store of water for this iourney. But in this iourney we found a roote aboue ground, hauing great and broad leaues wherein water remaineth as it were in some vessels, nor is it powred out thence, nor also so easily consumed, and one of these rootes containeth about halfe a measure of water. These *Suboris* had great scarcitie of water also, neither had they any other thing besides to drink, and it had not now rained for three whole moneths: yet of the roote called *Mandepore*, they make drinke after this manner. They gather together the said roote into a Morter, and out of them being stamped they wring forth a iuice like milke: if water may be had, wine also may be made of these rootes. In this Village there was one Well onely, which was to be kept by a watchman. So that we were not much troubled with the desire either of Siluer or Gold, but the common complaint of all men, would be for want of water. In this Countrie farre and wide also no riuer waters are to be found beside these, but they vse onely that water which they gather in the cisternes. These *Suboris* make warre with the bordering *Indians*, onely for water. The *Suboris*, who should haue shewed vs the way, by night priuily stole away. We were therefore now to seeke out the way our selues, and at length we light vpon those people called *Peisennos*; they refusing our friendship withstood vs by armes, but got little at our hands. We tooke some of these *Peisennos*, who told vs that there had bin three *Spaniards* in their towne, whereof one called *Ikieronimus* was a trumpeter, whom *Iohn Eyollas* (who was sent by *Don Petro Mendoza*, to discouer these Countries) left sicke there, as we haue at large before rehearsed. They said therefore that the *Peisennos* had slaine these three *Spaniards*, foure daies before our comming thither, being aduertised thereof by the *Suboris*: but they should deerely pay for this fact of theirs. Abiding foureteene daies in their towne, we sought them round about vs euerie where, till at last taking them vnawares in a wood, but not al, we partly slew them, & partly led them away captiues.

Carcbconos.

Suboris. They dye of thirst.

Roote holding water.

No raine in 3. moneths.

Drinke of a roote.

Peisennos.

Maigenes. Quickset wall.

47. Taking our iourney, at length we came to the *Maigenes*, but the people thereof resisting vs with strong hand, would not entertaine vs as friends. Their Towne being situate vpon an hill, was compassed round on euerie side with a thicke and broad quickset hedge, as high as a man might reach with his Sword. Wee *Christians* therefore with our *Carios*, began to assault this Towne in two diuers places. But in this assault twelue *Christians*, together with some few of the *Carios* were slaine, and they put vs to a great deale of trouble, before we could take and win this towne.

Fight betwixt *Carios* and *Maigenes.*

Eight daies after the Towne taken fiue hundred of our *Carios*, taking their Bowes and Arrowes, departing secretly and without our priuitie, about two or three leagues from our Campe, seeke out the *Maigenos*, who were fled. On whom when they lighted, these two Nations fought with so great and constant resolution, that more then three hundred men of the *Carios*, but of the enemies, almost innumerable, were slaine; for there was so great a multitude of them, that they spread almost a whole league in length. But the *Carios* sending a messenger to the towne where we were, earnestly entreated our Generall, that they would come with some supply of Souldiers to helpe them; for the *Maigenos* had so beset them round in a wood, that they could neither goe forward nor returne backe againe.

Which when our Generall vnderstood, he presently commandeth the Horses to be made ready, and to send away and dispatch one hundred and fiftie *Christians*, but of the *Carios* assembled a thousand men, leauing the rest of the Souldiers in the tents to guard them, that wee being absent, the *Maigenos* our enemies might inuade them. We went forth therefore with this force (to wit) the said horse, one hundred and fiftie *Christians*, and one thousand *Carios*, to helpe the *Carios* our friends. But so soone as the *Maigenos* perceiued our comming, remouing their tents, they committed themselues to flight, and albeit we pursued them with as much speede as wee could, yet could we neuer ouertake them.

Retur-

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Returning therefore to our tents, we abode there three daies; for we had found in this towne of the *Maiagenos*, great plentie of foode, and other things. Hauing trauailed a continuall iourney of thirteene daies, that is to say (in our iudgement and theirs who are skilfull in the celestiall motions) two and fiftie leagues, we came to a Nation, whose people are called *Carcokies*: and hauing trauailed further the space of nine daies, we came into a certaine little Countrie, sixe leagues long and broad, which was all so thicke ouerspread with excellent Salt, as if it had sowed Salt in great abundance, and this Salt is not corrupted winter nor summer. *Carcokies.* *Salt Country.*

We rested two daies in this Salt Countrie, going forward, at length, after foure daies iourney, we came to the foresaid Nation *Carcokies*: But when we were yet foure leagues from their towne, our Generall sent fiftie *Christians*, fiftie *Cariós* to prouide vs lodgings. Hauing entred the towne, we found such an innumerable multitude of men gathered together, as in all this iourney we had not seene the like: wherefore being very pensiue and carefull aboue measure, sending a messenger presently backe vnto our Generall: who taking his iourney the very same euening, came vnto vs betweene three and foure of the clocke in the morning. But the *Carcokies* supposing there had bin no more men there then we, whom they had seene before, had now promised themselues the victorie. But when they vnderstood that our Generall followed vs with a greater force, they were very sad and sorrowfull, and performed all friendly offices and kindenesse vnto vs; for they could doe none other, seeing they were afraid of their wiues, children, and their towne. They brought vs therefore flesh of Deere, Geese, Hens, Sheepe, Estridges, Conies, and whatsoeuer else of this kinde of Venison, and also of Birds, they had also *Turkish* Coine, Wheate, Rise, and certaine Rootes, of all which things there was great plentie in this Countrie. *Samdeli.*

The men of this Countrie weare a blew stone in their lippes, as broad as a Dye. Their weapons are Darts, the staues of Speares, and round Targets made of the skins of the *Indian* Sheepe called *Amidas*. Their women haue a little hole in their lips, in the which they put Christall either of a greene or blew colour: they haue garments of Cotten, like to a shirt, but without sleeues: they are beautifull enough: they doe nothing else but spinne, and order things appertaining to the houshold; for tillage of the ground, and other things necessarie for the maintenance of the familie, are looked vnto by the men.

48. When we had gone three daies iourney from this towne, we came to a certaine Riuer called *Machcasies*, a league and a halfe broad: and when we saw not how we might passe safely ouer without danger, at length we found out this meanes, that for euery two persons wee should make a Boate of twigs and timber, whereon being carried downe the Riuer, they might come to the other side of the banke; but in this passage foure of our men were drowned. This Riuer hath most sauourie Fish. Many Tygars also are found about these places, and this Riuer is but foure leagues onely distant from the towne *Machcasies*. *Machcasies.*

The Inhabitants comming forth to meete vs, entertained vs curteously, speaking to vs in the *Spanish* tongue, whereat being astonished and sore afraid at the first, wee demanded of them to what Lord they were subiect, and who was their supreame Gouernour? They therefore answered vs, and our Captaine, that they were subiect to a certaine Noble man in *Spaine*, whose name was *Petro Ausuetes*. *Spanish tongue.* *They ariue in the Kingdome of Peru.* *Pedro Ansuetes.*

Entring into this Towne, we found certaine men and women, and little Infants also swarming with very little vermin, like our fleas. These little vermin, if they lay hold of the toes of the feete, or any other part of the body, they gnaw and enter alwaies more and more deepely in, and at length become wormes, such as are found in our filberds; yet if it be done in time, this mischiefe may be preuented, that it shall not hurt, but if deferring the cure it be neglected, at length by eating and gnawing, it consumeth and corrupteth whole toes. *Strang worms.*

From the often named Citie of the *Assumption of Mary*, to this Towne, are numbered (according to the account of the Astronomers) three hundred seuentie two leagues. And when we had staied there about twentie daies, a Letter was brought vs from a Citie of the Kingdome of *Peru*, called *Lima*, where the Viceroy or Lieutenant of *Cæsars* Maiestie, who at that time was *Liecutiatus Lagasca*, had an house. The Letter contained, that our Generall *Martin Don Fiottas* should goe no further forward, vpon paine of death, but abiding in the Towne *Machcasies*, should expect his further commandement. *A Letter out of Peru.*

But after this our Generall sent away foure persons to the Gouernor to *Peru*. These foure persons iourneying sixe weekes in *Peru*, came first to that Nation called *Potasi*, next to another called *Ruskens*. The third Nation to which they came, was called *Plata*, and the fourth, which was the Metropolis or the chiefe Citie, was called *Lima*. *Potosi.*

49. This also is worthie of obseruation. That the Countrie of *Machcasies* is so fruitfull, that we neither found, not saw any like it in fruitfulnesse, in all this our Iourney. For if an *Indian* going forth into the Wood, make an hole or a cleft in the first tree that commeth to hand, smiting an Hatchet into it, fiue or sixe measures of so pure Honie flowe out, as if it were sweete Wine, or Muskadell. The Bees that make this Honie are without stings, and are very small. This Honie being eaten with Bread, or mingled with other food, yeeldeth pleasant meate. They *Hony in trees.* *Bees without stings.*

make

make also Drinke thereof, or Wine, of the same taste that Muskadell hath, but sweeter. Our Generall *Eyollas* so wrought with the people, that wee could stay no longer here, by reason of the want of prouision. For we had scarce victuall for one moneth.

In performing this Iourney we spent a yeere and an halfe, doing nothing else, but making continuall warre. And in this Iourney we had brought into our subiection about twelue thousand men, women, and children, who were compelled to serue vs as bond-slaues: as I for mine owne person did possesse about fiftie men, women, and children.

Ciuill contentions.

50. Wee, with our Generall *Martin Don Eyollas*, came vnto the Citie *Assumption*, but *Abriego* a Captaine which had rebelled against Captaine *Mendoza*, and slaine him would neither open the Citie to our Generall, nor yeeld it vp vnto him, nor acknowledge him for Generall, and his Gouernour.

But the said *Diego Abriego*, being forced to forsake the Citie with fiftie *Christians*, who ioyned themselues with him, fled thirtie leagues from vs, so that we could atchieue nothing against him. This warre continued two whole yeeres space betweene vs, the two Captaines so opposing themselues one against the other, that neither was safe from danger of other.

51. In the meane season, while these things were thus done, I receiued Letters out of *Spaine*, and shewed to *Martin Don Eyollas*, I presently desired a friendly and curteous dismission from him, I tooke my Iourney in the name of God, vpon Saint *Stephens* Day, which was the sixe and twentieth of December, in the yeere 1552. and departing from the *Assumption of Marie*, carried vpon the Riuer of *Plate*, with my twentie *Indians* in two Canoas or Boats, when wee had now gone sixe and fortie leagues, we first arriued at a certaine Towne called *Iuberic Sabaie*. In that Towne foure others also, together with two *Portugals* ioyned themselues with vs, hauing gone fifteene leagues, we came to a Towne called *Gaberetbo*. After this hauing gone sixteene leagues further in foure dayes, we came to a certaine Village called *Barotij*. Whence departing againe, hauing gone foure and fiftie leagues in nine dayes, wee came to a Towne called *Barede*, where staying two dayes, we sought prouision and Boats to carrie vs, for wee were to goe one hundred leagues vp the Riuer *Parana* by Boat. At length being brought to a certaine Towne called *Gingie*, wee abode there foure dayes. And thus farre the Countrie and Empire of *Cæsars* Maiestie extendeth it selfe, all which places in former time were subiect to the People *Caries*.

Gaberetbo.
Barotij.
Barede.
Gingie.

52. After this therefore, all the Nation *Tonpin*, beginneth the Countrie and Iurisdiction of the *Portugall*, and we were compelled, leauing *Parana*, and our Boats, to trauell by land vnto these *Tonpin*, which continued sixe whole moneths; in which Iourney we were to goe ouer Desarts, Mountaines and Valleyes, and for the feare waxed of wilde and rauening beasts, we durst not safely take our sleepe, &c.

Wee wandred eight whole dayes through Woods and Thickets, so that although hauing trauelled farre and wide, yet in all my life time I had neuer gone so rough, troublesome, and tedious a way: nor had we any thing which we might eate, so that wee were compelled to sustaine our selues with Honie, and Roots, whersoeuer we could get them: and for the danger also, to wit, that we feared lest our enemies would pursue vs, we had not so much time as to take any venison.

Biesaie.

After this wee came to a Nation called *Biesaie*, where staying foure dayes, wee prouided our selues againe of victuall, but durst not come neere their Towne, because we were so few.

Riuer *Vrquam.* Huge Water-snakes.

In this Countrie there is a Riuer called *Vrquam*, wherein we saw Water-snakes, and Serpents called *Tuesca*, in the *Spanish* Tongue *Schene Eyba*, which were sixteene paces long, and foure fathome thicke. These Serpents doe much hurt: for if a man wash himselfe in that Riuer, or any beast swim ouer, forthwith such a Serpent swimming to them, windeth his tayle about the man, or beast, and drawing them vnder water, deuoureth them.

Schenetueba.

Proceeding further hence we trauelled about one hundred leagues, in a continued Iourney of a whole moneths space, and at length came into a large Towne called *Schenetueba*, and rested there three dayes.

Going againe further, we came into a certaine Towne of *Christians*, whose Captaine was *Iohn Reinneill*.

53. Moreouer, proceeding further thence, we came to the Towne of Saint *Vincent*. From the Citie of the *Assumption of Marie*, to the Towne of Saint *Vincent* in *Brasill*, are reckoned three hundred and seuentie leagues.

Setting sayle from the Towne of Saint *Vincent*, on Saint *Iohn Baptists* Day, which was the foure and twentieth of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord 1553. wee arriued at *Lisbon*, the third of September, in the yeere 1553. and while wee abode fourteene dayes there, two of my *Indians* died, which I brought with me out of those Countries.

He arriued at *Antwerpe*, whence he had set forth at first in Ianuarie 1554.

I had thought here to haue added the Voyages of Iohannes Stadius, *(another* German, *which serued the* Portugals *in* Brasill *about* Schmidels *later time) published in* Theodore de Bry; *and had the same by me translated. But containing little light for the Countrie, and People; and relating in manner onely his owne Tragedies, in his taking by the Sauages, and often perils of being eaten by them, as some of his friends were before his face, with other like Sauage arguments wherewith wee haue glutted you already: I being already too voluminous, haue omitted the same, and hasten to other Relations.*

CHAP.

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CHAP. V.

The Obſeruations of Sir RICHARD HAWKINS, *Knight, in his Voyage into the South Sea. An. Dom.* 1593. *once before publiſhed, now renewed and corrected by a written Copie, illuſtrated with notes, and in diuers places abbreuiated.*

§. I.

What happened in this Voyage before they came neere the Æquinoctiall Line, with diuers accidentall Diſcourſes vſefull for Nauigators.

With the Counſels conſent, and helpe of my Father, Sir *Iohn Hawkins*, Knight, I reſolued a Voyage to be made for the Ilands of *Iapan*, of the *Philippinas*, and *Moluccas*, the Kingdome of *China*, and East *Indies*, by the way of the Straites of *Magelan*, and the South Sea.

For this purpoſe in the end of the yeere 1588. returning from the Iourney againſt the *Spaniſh* Armado, I cauſed a Ship to bee builded in the Riuer of *Thames*, betwixt three and foure hundred tunnes, which was finiſhed in that perfection as could be required. For ſhee was pleaſing to the eye, profitable for ſtowage, good of ſayle, and well conditioned. On the day of her lanching, ſhee was named, The *Repentance*.

This ſhip was named the *Repentance*: an ominous name and vnfortunate, as vſually thoſe celeſtiall characters ſort not to terreſtriall fabrikes: inſtanced in the *Reuenge*, *Thunderbolt*, and this *Repentance*, with the *Ieſus* of Sir *Io. Hawk.*

The *Repentance* being put in perfection, and riding at *Detford*, the Queenes Maieſtie paſſing by her, to her Palace of *Greenwich*, commanded her Barge-men to rowe round about her, and viewing her from Poſt to Stemme, diſliked nothing but her Name, and ſaid, that ſhee would Chriſten her a new, and that thenceforth ſhee ſhould bee called the *Daintie*; which name ſhee brooked as well for her proportion and grace, as for the many happie Voyages ſhee made in her Maieſties ſeruices: Hauing taken (for her Maieſtie) a great Byſten, of fiue hundred tunnes, loden with Iron, and other Commodities, vnder the conduct of Sir *Martin Forbuſher*; A Carack bound for the East *Indies*, vnder my Fathers charge, and the principall cauſe of taking the great Carack, brought to *Dartmouth* by Sir *Iohn Borrow*, and the Earle of *Cumberlands* ſhips, *Anno* 1592. with others of moment in her other Voyages. To vs, ſhee neuer brought but coſt, trouble, and care.

Conſiderations for pretended Voyages.

Hauing made an eſtimate of the charge of Victuals, Munition, Impreſts, Sea-ſtore, and neceſſaries for the ſaid ſhip; conſorting another of an hundred tunnes, which I waited for daily from the Straites of *Giberalter*, with a Pinnace of ſixtie tunnes, all mine owne: And for a competent number of men for them; as alſo of all ſorts of merchandiſes for trade and traffiche in all places where we ſhould come; I began to wage men, to buy all manner of victuals & prouiſions, and to lade her with them, and with all ſorts of commodities (which I could call to minde) fitting; and diſpatched order to my ſeruant in *Plimouth*, to put in a readineſſe my Pinnace; as alſo to take vp certaine prouiſions, which are better cheape in thoſe parts then in *London*, as Beefe, Porke, Bisket, and Sider. The eight of Aprill, 1593. I cauſed the Pilot to ſet ſayle from *Black-wall*, and to vaile downe to *Graueſ-end*, whither that night I purpoſed to come. And for that ſhee was very deepe loden, and her Ports open, the water beganne to enter in at them; which nobodie hauing regard vnto, thinking themſelues, ſafe in the Riuer, it augmented in ſuch manner, as the weight of the water began to preſſe downe the ſide, more then the winde: At length when it was ſeene and the ſheete ſlowne, ſhe could hardly be brought vpright. But God was pleaſed, that with the diligence and trauell of the Companie, ſhee was freed of that danger: which may be a gentle warning to all ſuch as take charge of ſhipping, euen before they ſet ſayle, either in Riuer or Harbour, or other part, to haue an eye to their Ports, and to ſee thoſe ſhut and calked, which may cauſe danger; for auoiding the many miſhaps, which daily chance for the neglect thereof, and haue beene moſt lamentable ſpectacles and examples vnto vs: Experiments in the Great *Harrie*, Admirall of *England*, which was ouer-ſet and ſunke at *Portſmouth* with her Captaine. *Caruw*, and the moſt part of his companie drowned in a goodly Summers day, with a little ſlaw of winde; for that her Ports were all open, and making a ſmall hole, by them entred their deſtruction; where if they had beene ſhut, no winde could haue hurt her, eſpecially in that place. In the Riuer of *Thames*, Maſter *Thomas Candiſh* had a ſmall ſhip ouer-ſet through the ſame negligence. And one of the Fleet of Sir *Francis Drake*, in *Santo Domingo* Harbour, turned her keele vpward likewiſe, vpon the ſame occaſion; with many others, which we neuer haue knowledge of.

Prouiſions beſt prouided at *Plimouth*, then at *London*. Note.

Danger of Ports open.

Comming neere the South fore-land, the winde began to vere to the South-east and by South, so as we could not double the point of the Land, and being close aboord the shoare, and putting our ship to stay, what with the chapping Sea, and what with the Tide vpon the Bowe, shee missit staying, and put vs in some danger, before we could flat about; therefore for doubling the Point of any Land better to beare a short board, then to put all in perill.

Being cleere of the race of *Portland*, the winde began to suffle with fogge and misling raine, and forced vs to a short sayle, which continued with vs three dayes; the winde neuer vering one point, nor the fogge suffering vs to see the Coast. The third day in the fogge, we met with a Barke of *Dartmouth*, which came from *Rochell*, and demanding of them, if they had made any land, answered, that they had onely seene the *Edie stone* that morning, which lieth thwart of the Sound of *Plimouth*, and that *Dartmouth* (as they thought) bare off vs North-North-east: which seemed strange vnto vs; for we made account that wee were thwart of *Exmouth*: within two houres after, the weather beganne to cleere vp, and wee found our selues thwart of the *Berry*, and might see the small Barque bearing into *Torbay*, hauing ouer-shot her Port: which errour often happeneth to those that make the land in foggie weather, and vse not good diligence by sound, by lying off the land, and other circumstances, to search the truth; and is cause of the losse of many a ship, and the sweete liues of multitudes of men. That euening, wee anchored in the range of *Dartmouth*, till the floud was spent; and the ebbe come, wee set sayle againe. And the next morning early, being the sixe and twentieth of Aprill, we harboured our selues in *Plimouth*.

Parts requisite in a good Mariner.

And in this occasion, I found by experience, that one of the principall parts required in a Mariner, that frequenteth our coastes of *England*, is to call his Tides, and to knowe how they set from point to point, with the difference of those in the Channell from those of the shoare.

Abuses of some Sea-faring men.

After the hurts by a cruell storme (in which the Pinnace was sunke, and the *Dainties* Mast cut ouer-boord) repaired, I beganne to gather my companie aboord, which occupied my good friends, and the Iustices of the Towne two dayes, and forced vs to search all lodgings, Tauerns, and Ale-houses. (For some would euer bee taking their leaue and neuer depart:) some drinke themselues so drunke, that except they were carried aboord, they of themselues were not able to goe one steppe: others knowing the necessitie of the time, faigned themselues sicke; others to bee indebted to their Hosts, and forced mee to ransome them; one his Chest; another, his Sword; another, his Shirts; another, his Carde and Instruments for Sea: And others, to benefit themselues of the Impreast giuen them, absented themselues; making a lewd liuing in deceiuing all, whose money they could lay hold of: which is a scandall too rife amongst our Sea-men; by it they committing three great offences. First, Robberie of the goods of another person: Secondly, Breach of their faith and promise: Thirdly, Hindrance (with losse of time) vnto the Voyage; all being a common iniurie to the owners, victuallers, and companie; which many times hath beene an vtter ouerthrow, and vndoing to all in generall. An abuse in our Commonwealth necessarily to be reformed.

Master *Thomas Candish*.

Master *Thomas Candish* in his last Voyage, in the Sound of *Plimouth*, being readie to set sayle, complained vnto mee, that persons which had absented themselues in Impresta, had cost him aboue a thousand and fiue hundred pounds: These Varlets within a few dayes after his departure, I saw walking the streetes of *Plimouth*, whom the Iustice had before sought for with great diligence, and without punishment. And therefore it is no wonder that others presume to doe the like. *Impunitas peccandi illecebra.* The like complaint made Master *George Reymond*; and in what sort they dealt with mee, is notorious, and was such, that if I had not beene prouident, to haue had a third part more of men, then I had need of, I had beene forced to goe to the Sea vnmanned; or to giue ouer my Voyage. And many of my companie, at Sea vaunted how they had cousened the Earle of *Cumberland*, Master *Candish*, Master *Reymond*, and others, some of fiue poundes, some of tenne, some of more, and some of lesse. And truely, I thinke, my Voyage prospered the worse, for theirs and other lewd persons companie, which were in my ship: which, I thinke, might be redressed by some extraordinarie, seuere, and present Iustice to bee executed on the offenders by the Iustice in that place, where they should bee found.

Master *George Reymond*.

Note.

He addes another remedie in taking away Impresta.

The consequence of Instructs at departure.

The greater part of my companie gathered aboord, I set sayle the twelfth of Iune, 1593. I cannot but aduise all such, as shall haue charge committed vnto them, euer before they depart out of the Port, to giue vnto their whole Fleet not directions for ciuill gouernment, but also where, when, and how to meete, if they should chance to lose companie, and the signes how to knowe one another afarre off, with other points and circumstances, as the occasions shall minister matter different, at the discretion of the wise Commander, by publication of that which is good and necessarie for the guide of his Fleet and people; but all secret instructions, to giue them sealed, and not to be opened, but comming to a place appointed.

Lanching out into the channell, the winde being at East and by South, and east South-east, which blowing hard, and a floud in hand, caused a chapping Sea, and my Vice-admirall bearing a good sayle made some water, and shooting off a Peece of Ordnance, I edged towards her, to know

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knowe the cause; who answered me, that they had sprung a great leake, and that of force they must returne into the Sound, which seeing to be necessarie, I cast about, where anchoring, and going aboord, presently found, that betwixt winde and water, the Calkers had left a seame vncalked, which being filled vp with Pitch onely, the Sea labouring that out, had beene sufficient to haue sunke her in short space, if it had not beene discouered in time. False calking.

And for more securitie, I hold it for a good custome vsed in some parts, in making an end of calking and pitching the ship, the next tide to fill her with water, which will vndoubtedly discouer the defect, for no pitcht place without calking, can suffer the force and peaze of the water. For preuention thereof.

In neglect whereof, I haue seene great damage and danger to ensue. The *Arke Royall* of his Maiesties, may serue for an example: which put all in danger at her first going to the Sea, by a trivuell-hole left open in the post, and couered onely with Pitch. In this point no man can be too circumspect, for it is the securitie of ship, men, and goods. Example. See Cap. *Prings* last Voyage: in which the Great *Iames* was oft endangered thereby.

This being remedied, I set sayle in the morning, and ranne South-west, till wee were cleare of *Visbent*; and then South South-west, till wee were some hundred leagues off, where wee met with a great Hulke, of some fiue or sixe hundred tunnes, well appointed, the which my companie, (as is natural to all Mariners) presently would make a prize, and loden with *Spaniards* goods, and without speaking to her, wished that the Gunner might shoot at her, to cause her to amain. Which is a bad custome receiued and vsed of many ignorant persons, presently to gunne at all whatsoeuer they discouer, before they speake with them; being contrarie to all discipline, and many times is the cause of dissention betwixt friends, and the breach of Amitie betwixt Princes; the death of many, and sometimes losse of ships and all, making many obstinate, if not desperate. Aduice for shooting at Sea.

Comming within the hayling of the Hulke, we demanded whence she was? whither she was bound? and what her loding? Shee answered, that she was of *Denmarke* comming from *Spaine*, loden with Salt: we willed her to strike her Top-sayles, which shee did, and shewed vs her Charter-parties, and Bils of loding, and then saluted vs, as is the manner of the Sea, and so departed. Two *English* ships haue hereby much wronged each other by mistaking.

Wee directed our course to the *Maderas*. The *Madera* Ilands are two: the great, called *La Madera*, and the other *Porto Santo*; of great fertilitie, and rich in Sugar, Conserues, Wine, and sweet Wood, whereof they take their name. Other commodities they yeeld, but these are the principall. The chiefe Towne and Port is on the Souther side of the *Madera*, well fortified; they are subiect to the Kingdome of *Portugall*; the Inhabitants and Garrison all *Portugals*. The *Madera* Ilands.

The third of Iulie, wee past along the Ilands of *Canaria*, which haue the name of a Kingdome, and containe these seuen Ilands, *Grand Canaria*, *Tenerifa*, *Palma*, *Gomera*, *Lancerota*, *Fortenentura*, and *Fierro*. These Ilands haue abundance of Wine, Sugar, Conserues, Orcall Pitch, Iron, and other commodities, and store of Cattell and Corne, but that a certaine Worme, called *Gorgosho*, breedeth in it, which eateth out the substance, leauing the huske in manner whole. The head Iland, where the Iustice, which they call *Audiencia*, is resident; and whither all suits haue their appellation, and finall sentence, is the *Grand Canaria*, although the *Tenerifa* is held for the better and richer Iland, and to haue the best Sugar: and the Wine of the *Palma* is reputed for the best. The Pitch of these Ilands melteth not with the Sunne, and therefore is proper for the higher workes of shipping. Betwixt *Fortenentura* and *Lancerota* is a goodly Sound, fit for a meeting place for any Fleet. Where is good anchoring, and abundance of many sorts of Fish. There is water to be had in most of these Ilands, but with great vigilance. For the naturals of them are venturous and hardie, and many times clime vp and downe the steepe Rockes and broken Hills, which seeme impossible, which I would hardly haue beleeued, had I not seene it, and that with the greatest arte and agilitie that may bee: Their Armes for the most part, are Lances of nine or ten foot, with a head of a foot and halfe long, like vnto Boare-speares, saue that the head is somewhat more broad. *Canarie* Ilands. *Gorgosho*. The description of *Tenerif*, and the Pike.

Two things are famous in these Ilands, the Pike of *Tenerifa*, which is the highest Land in my iudgement that I haue seene, and men of credite haue told they haue seene it more then fortie leagues off. It is like vnto a Sugar loafe, and continually couered with Snowe, and placed in the middest of a goodly Valley, most fertile, and temperate round about it. Out of which, going vp the pike, the cold is so great, that it is vnsufferable, and going downe to the Townes of the Iland, the heat seemeth most extreme, till they approch neere the coast. The other is a tree in the Iland *Fierro*, which some write & affirme, with the dropping of his leaues, to giue water for the Of a Tree in *Fierro*. One M. *Lewis Iackson*, now dwelling in *Holborne*, told me that *A.* 1618. he had beene in this Iland, and seene this Tree, which he thus described; It is as big as an Oake of middle size, the barke white like Hardbeame; sixe or seuen yards high, with ragged boughs; the leafe like that of the Bay, white on the bottome, and greene on the other side. It beareth neither fruit nor flower. It is scituate in the decliuitie of a Hill; in the day it is withered, dropping in the night (a cloude hanging thereon) yeelding water sufficient for the whole Iland; which containeth 8000. soules, and aboue 100000. beasts, Camels, Mules, Goats, &c. It falls into a Pond made of bricke, floored with stones very thight, by pipes of Lead conueighed from the Tree to it, and thence diuided into seuerall Ponds through all the Iland. They which dwell vp-hill fetch it in barrels. They water therewith also their Corne-grounds. The Pond holds 20000. tuns, and is filled in a night. He added a report (perhaps deuised to keepe off busie fingers, or with busie tongues to multiplie wonders) that the *Moores* hauing taken that Iland from the *Christians*, went to fell that Tree, but each blowe recoyled on the striker. Hee affirmed also that hee had beene vp the Pike of *Teneriff*, two miles. He saith the South side is healthfull, the North very Aguish, and subiect to Calentures; and the Inhabitants on one side looke lustie, on the other withered.

sustenance of the whole Iland, which I haue not seene, although I haue beene on shoare on the Iland: but those which haue seene it, haue recounted this mysterie differently to that which is written, in this manner; That this Tree is placed in the bottome of a Valley euer flourishing with broad leaues, and that round about it are a multitude of goodly high Pines, which ouer-top it, and as it seemeth, were planted by the Diuine prouidence, to preserue it from Sunne and winde. Out of this Valley ordinarily rise euery day, great vapours and exhalations, which by reason that the Sunne is hindered to worke his operation, with the height of the Mountaine towards the South-east, conuert themselues into moisture, and so bedew all the trees of the Valley, and from those which ouer-top this Tree, drops downe the dew vpon his leaues, and so from his leaues into a round Well of stone, which the Naturals of the Land haue made to receiue the water; of which the people and cattell haue great relefe: but sometimes it raineth and then the Inhabitants doe reserue water for many dayes to come in their Cisternes and Tynaxes, which is that they drinke of, and wherewith they principally sustaine themselues.

The Citie of the *Grand Canaria*, and chiefe Port is on the West side of the Iland; the head Towne and Port of *Tenerifa*, is towards the South part, and the Port and Towne of the *Palma* and *Gomera*, on the East side. In *Gomera*, some three leagues Southward from the Towne, is a great Riuer of water, but all these Ilands are perilous to land in, for the siege caused by the Ocean Sea, which alwaies is forcible, and requireth great circumspection; whosoeuer hath not vrgent cause, is either to goe to the Eastwards, or to the Westwards of all these Ilands, as well to auoide the calmes, which hinder sometimes eight or ten dayes sayling, as the contagion which their distemperature is wont to cause, and with it to breede Calenturas, which wee call burning Feuers. These Ilands are said to be first discouered by a *Frenchman*, called *Iohn de Betancourt*, about the yeere 1405. They are now a Kingdome subiect to *Spaine*.

The first discouerers of these Ilands.

Exercises vpon the Southwards of the Canaries.

Being cleare of the Ilands, and seeing my selfe past hope of returning backe, without some extraordinarie accident, I began to set order in my Companie and victuals. And for that, to the Southwards of the *Canaries*, is for the most part an idle Nauigation, I deuised to keepe my people occupied, as well to continue them in health (for that too much ease in hot Countries is neither profitable nor healthful) as also to diuert them from remembrance of their home; & from play, which breedeth many inconueniences, and other bad thoughts and workes which idlenesse is cause of; and forshifting my companie, as the custome is, into Starboord and Larboord men, the halfe to watch and worke whilest the others slept, and take rest; I limited the three dayes of the weeke, which appertained to each, to be employed in this manner: the one for the vse and cleansing of their Armes, the other for roomaging, making of Sayles, Nettings, Decking, and defenses of our Ships; and the third, for cleansing their bodies, mending and making their apparell, and necessaries, which though it came to be practised but once in seuen dayes, for that the Sabboth is euer to be reserued for God alone, with the ordinarie obligation which each person had besides, was many times of force to be omitted; and thus wee directed our course betwixt the Ilands of *Cape de Verde* and the Maine. These Ilands are held to bee scituate in one of the most vnhealthiest Climates of the world, and therefore it is wisedome to shunne the sight of them, how much more to make abode in them?

Cape de Verde.

The vnwholsomnesse thereof.

In two times that I haue beene in them, either cost vs the one halfe of our people, with Feuers and Fluxes of sundrie kindes; some shaking, some burning, some partaking of both; some possest with frensie, others with slouth, and in one of them it cost mee sixe moneths sicknesse, with no small hazard of life: which I attribute to the distemperature of the aire, for being within fourteene degrees of the Equinoctiall Line, the Sunne hath great force all the yeere, and the more for that often they passe, two, three, and foure yeeres without raine; and many times the earth burneth in that manner as a man well shod, cannot indure to goe where the Sunne shineth. With which extreme heate the bodie fatigated, greedily desireth refreshing, and longeth for the comming of the Breze, which is the North-east winde, that seldome fayleth in the afternoone at foure of the clocke, or sooner: which comming cold and fresh, and finding the pores of the bodie open, and (for the most part) naked, penetrateth the very bones, and so causeth sudden distemperature, and sundrie manners of sickenesse, as the Subiects are diuers, whereupon they worke. Departing out of the Calmes of the Ilands, and comming into the fresh Breze, it causeth the like, and I haue seene within two dayes, after that wee haue partaked of the fresh aire, of two thousand men aboue an hundred and fiftie haue beene crazed in their health. The Inhabitants of these Ilands vse a remedie for this, which at my first being amongst them, seemed vnto mee ridiculous, but since, time and experience hath taught to bee grounded vpon reason. And is, that vpon their heads they weare a Night-cap, vpon it a Moutero, and a Hat ouer that, and on their bodies a sute of thicke Cloth, and vpon it a Gowne, furr'd or lined with Cotton, or Bayes, to defend them from the heate in that manner, as the Inhabitants of cold Countries, to guard themselues from the extremitie of the cold. Which doubtlesse, is the best diligence that any man can vse, and whosoeuer proueth it, shall finde himselfe lesse annoyed with the heate, then if he were thinly cloathed, for that where the cold aire commeth, it pierceth not so subtilly.

The heate. The Breze. Another cause of Feuers is the dewes which fall euery night: so that the exceeding moisture and vnsoundnesse thereof causeth men lying or watching in the open aire to fall sicke. The remedie.

The

The Moone also in this climate, as in the coast of *Guynne*, and in all hot Countries, hath forcible operation in the body of man; and therefore, as the Planet, most preiudiciall to his health, is to be shunned; as also not to sleepe in the open Ayre, or with any Scuttle or Window open, whereby the one or the other may enter to hurt. For a person of credit told me, that one night in a Riuer of *Guynne*, leauing his window open in the side of his Cabin, the Moone shining vpon his shoulder, left him with such an extraordinary paine, and furious burning in it, as in aboue twenty houres, he was like to run mad; but in fine, with force of Medicines and cures, after long torment he was eased. The influence of the Moone in hot Countries.

Of these Ilands are two pyles: the one of them lyeth out of the way of Trade, most Westerly, and so little frequented: the other lyeth some fourescore leagues from the Maine, and containeth sixe in number, to wit, *Saint Iago*, *Fuego*, *Mayo*, *Bonauilla*, *Sal*, and *Brana*. They are belonging to the Kingdome of *Portugall*, and inhabited by people of that Nation, and are of great trade, by reason of the neighbourhood they haue with *Guynne* and *Byne*: but the principall is, the buying and selling of *Negros*. They haue store of Sugar, Salt, Rice, Cotten-wooll, and Cotton-cloth, Ambergreece, Cyuit, Olyphants teeth, Brimstone, Pummy stone, Spunge, and some Gold, but little, and that from the mayne.

Saint Iago is the head Iland, and hath one Citie and two townes, with their Ports. The Citie called *Saint Iago*, whereof the Iland hath his name, hath a Garrison and two Forts, scituated in the bottome of a pleasant Valley, with a running streame of water passing through the middest of it, whether the rest of the Ilands come for Iustice, being the seate of the *Audiencia*, with his Bishop. The other Townes are *Playa*, some three leagues to the Eastwards of *Saint Iago*, placed on high, with a goodly Bay, whereof it hath his name: and Saint *Domingo*, a small Towne within the Land. They are on the Souther part of the Iland, and haue beene sacked sundry times in Anno 1582. by *Manuel Serades*, a *Portugall*, with a Fleete of *French-men*: in Anno 1585. they were both burnt to the ground by the *English*, Sir *Francis Drake* being Generall: and in Anno 1596. *Saint Iago* was taken, and sacked by the *English*, Sir *Anthony Sherley* being Generall. The second Iland is *Fuego*, so called, for that day and night there burneth in it a *Vulcan*, whose flames in the night are seene twentie leagues off in the Sea. It is by nature fortified in that sort, as but by one way is any accesse or entrance into it, and there cannot goe vp aboue two men a breast. The Bread which they spend in these Ilands, is brought from *Portugall* and *Spaine*, saiuing that which they make of Rice or of Mayes, which we call *Guynne* wheate. The best watering is in the Ile of *Brana*, on the west part of the Iland, where is a great Riuer, but foule Anchoring, as is in all these Ilands, for the most part. The fruits are few, but substantiall, as Palmitos, Plantanos, Potatos, and Coco Nuts.

Saint Iago.

Sacked by *Manuel Serades*, Sir *Francis Drake*, and Sir *Anthony Sherley*.

Fuego.

Fiery hill.

Brana, good watering.

The Palmito is like to the Date tree, and as I thinke a kinde of it, but wilde. In all parts of *Afrique* and *America* they are found, and in some parts of *Europe*, and in diuers parts different. In *Afrique*, and in the West *Indies* they are small, that a man may cut them with a knife, and the lesser the better. But in *Brasil* they are so great, that with difficulty a man can fell them with an Axe, and the greater the better: one foote within the top is profitable, the rest is of no value; and that which is to be eaten is the pith, which in some is better, in some worse.

The Palmito.

The Plantane is a tree found in most parts of *Afrique* and *America*, of which two leaues are sufficient to couer a man from top to toe: It beareth fruite but once, and then drieth away, and out of his root sprouteth vp others new. In the top of the tree is his fruit, which groweth in a great bunch, in the forme and fashion of puddings, in some more, in some lesse. I haue seene in one bunch aboue foure hundred Plantans, which haue weighed aboue fourescore pound waight. They are of diuers proportions, some great, some lesser, some round, some square, some triangle, most ordinarily of a span long, with a thicke skinne that peeleth easily from the meate; which is either white or yellow, and very tender like Butter; but no conserue is better, nor of a more pleasing taste. For I neuer haue seene any man, to whom they haue bred mislike, or done hurt with eating much of them, as of other fruites. The best are those which ripen naturally on the tree, but in most parts they cut them off in branches, and hang them vp in their houses, and eate them as they ripe. For the Birds and Vermine presently in ripning on the tree, are feeding on them. The best that I haue seene are in *Brasil*, in an Iland called *Placentia*, which are small and round, and greene when they are ripe: whereas the others in ripening become yellow. Those of the West *Indies* and *Guynne* are great, and one of them sufficient to satisfie a man: the onely fault they haue is, that they are windie. In some places they eate them instead of bread, as in *Panama*, and other parts of *Tierra firme*. They grow and prosper best when their rootes are euer couered with water; they are excellent in Conserue, and good sodden in different manners, and dried on the tree, not inferior to Suckets.

The great leaues.

Placentia.

The Coco nut is a fruit of the fashion of a Hasell-nut, but that it is as bigge as an ordinary Bowle, and some are greater. It hath two shels, the vttermost framed (as it were) of a multitude of threds, one laid vpon another, with a greene skin ouer-lapping them, which is soft and thicke: the innermost is like to the shell of a Hasell-nut in all porportion, saiuing that it is greater and thicker, and some more blacker. In the top of it is the forme of a Munkies face, with

The Cocos, & their kindes.

twd eyes, his nose and his mouth. It containeth in it both meate and drinke, the meate white as milke, and like to that of the kernell of a Nut, and as good as Almonds blanckt, and of great quantity: The water is cleare, as of the Fountaine, and pleasing in taste, and somewhat answereth that of the water distilled of Milke. Some say it hath a singular property in nature, for conserving the smoothnesse of the skin; and therefore in *Spaine* and *Portugall*, the curious Dames doe ordinarily wash their faces and necks with it. If the holes of the shell be kept close, they keepe foure or six moneths good and more; but if it be opened, and the water kept in the shell, in few daies it turneth to Vinegar. They grow vpon high Trees, which haue no boughes, onely in the top they haue a great cap of leaues, and vnder them groweth the fruite vpon certaine twigges; and some affirme that they beare not fruite before they be aboue forty yeares old. They are in all things like to the Palme trees, and grow in many parts of *Asia*, *Affrique* and *America*. The shels of these nuts are much esteemed for drinking cups, and much cost and labour is bestowed vpon them in casuing, grauing and garnishing them, with Siluer, Gold, and precious stones.

Coquillos. In the Kingdome of *Chile* and in *Brasil*, is another kinde of these, which they call Coquillos, as we may interpret (little Cocos) and are as bigge as Wal-nuts, but round and smooth, and grow in great clusters: the trees in forme are all one, and the meate in the nut better, but they haue no water.

A third kinde. Another kinde of great Cocos groweth in the *Andes* of *Peru*, which haue not the delicate meate nor drinke, which the others haue, but within are full of Almonds, which are placed as the graines in the Pomegrannet, being three times bigger then those of *Europe*, and are much like them in taste.

Cyuet-Cats. In these Ilands are Cyuet-Cats, which are also found in parts of *Asia*, and *Affrique*; esteemed for the Ciuet they yeelde, and carry about them in a cod in their hinder parts, which is taken from them by force. In them also are store of Monkies, and the best proportioned that I haue seene; and Parrots, but of colour different to those of the West *Indies*; for they are of a russet or gray colour and great speakers.

§. II.

Considerations of Currents: the Scorbute: fire in Ships; Fishes which attend them; Sea-hawking and hunting: their comming to Brasil *and obseruations thereof.*

WIth a faire and large winde we continued our course, till we came within fiue degrees of the Equinoctiall line, where the winde tooke vs contrary by the South-west, about the twentieth of July, but a faire gale of winde and a smooth Sea, so that wee might heare all a * tawt: and to aduantage our selues what we might, we stood to the Eastwards, being able to lye South-east and by South. The next day about nine of the clock, my company being gathered together to serue God, which we accustomed to doe euery morning and euening, it seemed vnto me that the colour of the Sea was different to that of the daies past, and which is ordinarily where is deepe water; and so called the Captaine and Master of my Ship, I told them that to my seeming the water was become very whitish, and that it made shew of Sholde water. Whereunto they made answere, that all the lines in our Ships could not fetch ground; for we could not be lesse then threescore and ten leagues off the Coast, which all that kept reckoning in the Ship agreed vpon, and my selfe was of the same opinion. And so we applied our selues to serue God, but all the time that the seruice endured, my heart could not be at rest, and still me thought the water began to waxe whiter, and whiter. Our prayers ended, I commanded a leade and a line to be brought, and hauing the lead in fourescore fathoms wee had ground, which put vs all into a maze, and sending men into the top, presently discouered the land of *Guyana*, some fiue leagues from vs, very low Land. I commanded a Peece to be shot, and lay by the lee, till my other Ships came vp. Which hailing vs, we demanded of them how farre they found themselues off the land; who answered, some threescore and ten, to fourescore leagues: when we told them we had sounded, and found but fourescore fathoms, and that we were in sight of Land, they began to wonder; But hauing consulted what was best to be done, I caused my Shallop to be manned, which I towed at the Sterne of my Ship continually, and sent her and my Pinnace a head to sound, and followed them with an easie sayle, till we came in seuen and six fathome water, and some two leagues from the shore anchored, in hope by the Sea, or by the Land to finde some refreshing. The Sea wee found to be barren of fish, and my Boates could not discouer any landing place, though a whole day they had rowed along the coast, with great desire to set foote on shore, for that the lodge was exceeding great and dangerous. Which experienced, we set saile, notwithstanding the contrariety of the winde, sometimes standing to the West-wards, sometimes to the East-wards, according to the shifting of the winde.

* Tawt or taught, a Sea-terme, *sig.* stiffe and fast.

Morning and euening praier

Change of water.

Errors in reckoning.

Here is to be noted, that the errour which we fell into in our accompts, was such as all men fall into where are currants that set East or West, and are not known, for that there is no certain rule yet practised for triall of the longitude, as there is of the latitude, though some curious and experimented of our Nation, with whom I haue had conference about this point, haue shewed me two or three manner of wayes how to know it. This, some yeares before was the losse of the Edward Cotton, bound for the coast of Brasil, which taken with the winde contrarie neere the line, standing to the East-wards, and making accompt to be fiftie or sixtie leagues off the coast, with all her sailes standing, came suddenly a ground vpon the sholes of Madrebomba; and so was cast away. Note. The losse of Edward Cotton.

This currant from the line Equinoctiall, to twentie degrees Northerly, hath great force, and setteth next of any thing East, directly vpon the shore, which we found by this meanes: Standing to the West-ward, the winde Northerly, when we lay with our Ships head West and by South, we gained in our height more then if we had made our way good West South-west, for that the currant tooke vs vnder the bow: but lying west or West & by North, we lost more in twelue houres then the other way we could get in foure and twentie. By which plainly we saw, that the currant did set East next of any thing. Whether this currant runneth euer one way, or doth alter, and how, we could by no meanes vnderstand, but tract of time and obseruation will discouer this, as it hath done of many others in sundry Seas. Current-consideration.

The currant that setteth betwixt New-fonnd-land and Spaine, runneth also East and West, and long time deceiued many, and made some to count the way longer, and others shorter, according as the passage was speedie or slow, not knowing that the furtherance or hinderance of the currant was cause of the speeding or slowing of the way. And in Sea Cards I haue seene difference of aboue thirtie leagues betwixt the Iland Tercera and the Maine. And others haue recounted vnto me, that comming from the Indies, and looking out for the Ilands of Azores, they haue had sight of Spaine. And some haue looked out for Spaine, and haue discouered the Ilands. The selfe same currant is in the Leuant Sea, but runneth trade betwixt the Maines, and changeable sometimes to the East-wards, sometimes to the West-wards. In Brasil and the South Sea, the currant likewise is changeable, but it runneth euer alongst the Coast, accompanying the winde: and it is an infallible rule, that twelue or twentie foure houres (before the winde alters) the currant begins to change. New found-land Current. Leuant Sea. Brasil and South Sea.

In the West Indies onely the currant runneth continually one way, and setteth alongst the coast from the Equinoctiall line towards the North. No man hath yet found that these currants keepe any certaine time or runne so many dayes or moneths, one way as another, as doth the course of ebbing and flowing, well knowne in all Seas: onely neere the shoare they haue small force; partly, because of the reflux which the coast causeth, and partly for the ebbing and flowing, which more or lesse is generall in most Seas. Currents of smaller force neere the shore

When the currant runneth North or South, it is easily discouered by augmenting or diminishing the height, but how to know the setting of the currant from East to West in the maine Seas, is difficult, and as yet I haue not knowne any man, or read any Author, that hath prescribed any certaine meane or way to discouer it. But experience teacheth, that in the maine Sea, for the most part it is variable; and therefore best and safest rule to preuent the danger (which the vncertaintie and ignorance hereof may cause) is carefull and continuall watch by day and night, and vpon the East and West course euer to be before the Ship, and to vse the meanes possible to know the errour, by the rules which new Authors may teach: Beating off and on, sometimes to the Westwards, sometimes to the Eastwards, with a faire gale of winde.

Being betwixt three and foure degrees of the Equinoctiall line, my Company within a few daies began to fall sicke, of a disease which Sea-men are wont to call the Scuruie: and seemeth to be a kinde of dropsie, and reigneth most in this climate of any that I haue heard or read of in the world; though in all Seas it is wont to helpe and increase the miserie of man; it possesseth all those of which it taketh hold, with a loathsome sloathfulnesse, that euen to eate they would be content to change with sleepe and rest, which is the most pernicious enemie in this sicknesse that is knowne. It bringeth with it a great desire to drinke, and causeth a generall swelling of all parts of the body, especially of the legges and gummes, and many times the teeth fall out of the iawes without paine. The signes to know this disease in the beginning are diuers, by the swelling of the gummes, by denting of the flesh of the legges with a mans finger, the pit remaining without filling vp in a good space: others show it with their lasinesse, others complaine of the cricke of the backe, &c. all which, are for the most part, certaine tokens of infection. The cause is thought to be the stomacks feeblenesse, by change of aire in vntemperate climates, of diet in salt meates, boiled also in salt water and corrupted sometimes; the want of exercise also either in persons or elements, as in calmes. And were it not for the moouing of the Sea by the force of windes, tydes, and currants, it would corrupt all the world. The experience I saw in Anno 1590. lying with a Fleete of her Maiesties Ships about the Ilands of the Azores almost six moneths, the greatest part of the time we were becalmed: with which all the Sea became so replenished with seuerall sorts of gellies, and formes of Serpents, Adders, and Snakes, as seemed wonderfull: some greene, some blacke, some yellow, some white, some of diuers colours, and many of them had life, and some there were a yard and halfe, and two yards long; which had I not seene, I could hardly haue beleeued. And hereof are witnesses all the Companies of the Shippes which were then present; so that hardly a man could draw a Bucket of water cleere of some corruption. In which Voyage, towards the end thereof many of euery Ship (saue of the Nonpareil, which was vnder my charge, and had onely one man sicke in all the Voyage) fell sicke of A discourse of the Scuruey, or Scorbute. The signes. Azores. Strange effects of calmes.

The remedies

of this diſeaſe, and began to die apace, but that the ſpeedie paſſage into our Countrie was remedy to the crazed, and a preſeruatiue for thoſe that were not touched.

The beſt preuention for this diſeaſe (in my iudgement) is to keepe cleane the Shippe, to beſprinkle her ordinarily with Vinegar, or to burne Tarre, and ſome ſweet ſauours, to feede vpon as few ſalt Meats in the hot Country as may be, and eſpecially to ſhun all kindes of ſalt Fiſh, and to reſerue them for the cold Climates, and not to dreſſe any meate with ſalt water, nor to ſuffer the companie to waſh their Shirts nor Cloathes in it, nor to ſleepe in their Cloathes when they are wet. For this cauſe it is neceſſarily required,

By Diet.

By ſhift.

that prouiſion be made of apparell for the Company, that they may haue wherewith to ſhift themſelues. Being a common calamitie amongſt the ordinary ſort of Mariners, to ſpend their thrift on the ſhore, and to bring to Sea no more Cloathes then they haue backes; for the body of man is not refreſhed with any thing more, then with ſhifting cleane Cloathes: a great preſeruatiue of health in hot Countries. The ſecond Antidote is, to keepe the company occupied in ſome bodily exerciſe of worke, of agilitie, of paſtimes, of dancing, of vſe of Armes; theſe helpe much to baniſh this infirmitie. Thirdly, In the morning at diſcharge of the watch, to giue euery man a bit of bread, and a draught of drinke, either Beere, or Wine mingled with water (at the leaſt, the one halfe) or a quantitie mingled with Beere, that the poores of the bodie may be full, when the vapours of the Sea aſcend vp. The morning draught ſhould bee euer of the beſt, and choiſeſt of that in the ſhip. Pure wine I hold to be more hurtfull, then the other is profitable. In this, others will be of a contrary opinion, but I thinke partiall. If not, then leaue I the remedies thereof to thoſe Phiſicions and Surgeons who haue experience. And I wiſh that ſome learned man would write of it, for it is the plague of the Sea, and the ſpoyle of Mariners; doubtleſſe, it would bee a Worke worthy of a worthy man, and moſt beneficiall for our Countrie, for in twentie yeeres (ſince I haue vſed the Sea) I dare take vpon me, to giue account of ten thouſand men conſumed with this diſeaſe.

By labour.

By early eating and drinking.

Ten thouſand Engliſh dead of the Scruuie in 20. yeeres.

That which I haue ſeene moſt fruitfull for this ſickneſſe, is ſoure Oranges and Lemmons, and a water which amongſt others (for my particular prouiſion) I carried to the Sea, called Doctor Steuens water, of which, for that his vertue was not then well knowne vnto me, I carried but little, and it tooke end quickly, but gaue health to thoſe that vſed it. The Oyle of Vitry is beneficiall for this diſeaſe; taking two drops of it, and mingled in a draught of water, with a little Sugar. It taketh away the thirſt, and helpeth to cleanſe and comfort the ſtomacke: But the principall of all is the Ayre of the Land; for the Sea is naturall for Fiſhes, and the Land for men. And the oftner a man can haue his people to Land, (not hindering his Voyage) the better it is, and the profitableſt courſe that he can take, to refreſh them.

By ſoure Oranges and Lemmons.

By Doctor Steuens water.

By Oyle of Vitry.

By the Aire of the Land.

Hauing ſtood to the Weſtwards ſome hundred leagues and more, the winde continuing with vs contrary, and the ſickneſſe ſo feruent, that euery day there died more or leſſe: my company in generall began to be diſmayed, and to deſire to returne homewards, which I hindered by good reaſons and perſwaſions: As, that to the Weſt *Indies*, we had not aboue eight hundred leagues, to the Ilands of *Azores* little leſſe, and before wee come to the Ilands of *Cape de Verde*, that wee ſhould meete with the *Breze*; for euery night we might ſee the reach goe contrary to the winde which we ſayled by; verifying the old Prouerbe amongſt Mariners; *That bee hath need of a long Maſt, that will ſayle by the Reach*; and that the neereſt Land and ſpeedieſt refreſhing wee could looke for, was the Coaſt of *Braſill*, &c.

The company ſicke, and diſmayed.

Prouerbe.

As wee approached neerer and neerer the Coaſt of *Braſill*, the winde beganne to vere to the Eaſtwardes, and about the middle of October, to bee large and good for vs; and about the eighteenth of October, wee were thwart of Cape Saint *Auguſtine*, which lieth in ſixe degrees to the Southwards of the Line: and the one and twentieth in the height of *Farnambuca*, but ſome foureſcore leagues from the Coaſt; the twentie foure, in the height of *Bayea de Todos Santos*, neere the end of October, betwixt ſeuenteene and eighteene degrees, wee were in ſixteene fathomes, ſonriding of the great Scoles, which lye alongſt the Coaſt, betwixt the Bay of *Todos Santos*, and the Port of *Santos alias nueſtra ſenora de Vitoria*; which are very perillous.

Braſill.

Cape Saint Auguſtine.

Farnambuca.

Todos Santos.

De Vitoria.

But the diuine Prouidence hath ordained great flockes of ſmall Birds (like Snites) to liue vpon the Rockes, and broken lands of theſe Sholes, which are met with ordinarily twentie leagues before a man come in danger of them.

It ſhall not be amiſſe here to recount the Accidents which befell vs during this contrary wind, and the curioſities to be obſerued in all this time. Day and night we had continually a faire gale of wind, and a ſmooth Sea, without any alteration; one day the Carpenters hauing Calked the Decke of our ſhip, which the Sunne with his extreame heate had opened, craued licenſe to heate a little Pitch in the Cooke roome: which I would not conſent vnto by any meanes; for that my Cooke roomes were vnder the Decke, knowing the danger; vntill the Maſter vndertooke, that no danger ſhould come thereof, But hee recommended the charge to another, who had a better name, then experience. He ſuffered the Pitch to riſe, and to runne into the fire, which cauſed ſo furious a flame as amazed him, and forced all to flee his heate; one of my company, with a double paire of Gloues tooke off the Pitch-pot, but the fire forced him to let ſlip his hold-faſt, before he could ſet it on the Hearth, and ſo ouerturned it, and as the Pitch began to runne, ſo the fire to enlarge it ſelfe, that in a moment a great part of the ſhip was on a light fire. I being in my Cabin, preſently imagined what the matter was, and for all the haſte I could make, before I came, the fire was aboue the Decke: for remedie whereof, I commanded all my company to caſt their

Dangers of fire.

By heating of Pitch.

Rugge

Rugge Gownes in our the Sea, with Ropes fastened vnto them. These I had prouided for my people to watch in: for in many hot Countreyes the nights are fresh and cold; and deuided one Gowne to two men, a Starboord and a Larboord man; so that hee which watched had euer the Gowne: for they which watched not, were either in their Cabbins, or vnder the Decke, and so heated them both. The Gownes being well soaked, euery man that could took one, and assaulted the fire; and although some were sindged, others scalded, and many burned, God was pleased that the fire was quenched, which I thought impossible; and doubtlesse, I neuer saw my selfe in greater perill in all the dayes of my life. Let all men take example by vs, not to suffer (in any case) Pitch to be heate in the ship, except it be with a shoo heate in the fire, which cannot breed danger: nor to permit fire to be kindled, but vpon meere necessitie; for the inconuenience thereof (is for the most part) remediles. Vse of rugge Gownes. Preuention.

Great care is to be had also in oyleding of Wood, in Hooping or Scuttling of Caske, and in any busines where violence is to be vsed with Instruments of Iron, Steele, or Stone; and especially in opening of Powder, those are not to be vsed, but Mallets of Wood, for many mischances happen beyond all expectation. I haue beene credibly informed by diuers persons, that comming one of the Indies, *with Scuttling a Butt of water, the water hath taken fire, and flamed vp, and put all in hazard. And a Seruant of mine* Thomas Grey *told me, that in the ship wherein he came out of the* Indies, *Anno* 1600. *there happened the like; and that if with Mantles they had not smoothered the fire; they had beene all burned with a Pipe of Water, which in Scuttling tooke fire. Master* Iohn Hazlelocke *reported, that in the Arsenall of* Venice *happened the like, he being present. For mine owne part, I am of opinion, that some waters haue this propertie, and especially such as haue their passage by Mines of Brimstone, or other Minerals, which (as all men know) giue extraordinary properties vnto the waters which runne by them: Or it may be that the water being in Wine Caske, and kept close, may retaine an extraordinary propertie of the Wine. Tea, I haue drunke Fountaine and Riuer waters many times, which haue had a sauour as that of Brimstone. Three leagues from* Bayon *in* France, *I haue proued of a Fountaine that hath this sauour, and is medicinable for many Diseases. In the South Sea, in a Riuer some fiue leagues from Cape Saint* Francisco, *in one degree and an halfe to the Northwards of the Line, in the Bay of* Atacames, *is a Riuer of fresh water, which hath the like sauour.* Diuers ships as the Primrose, Iesus of Lubeck, Robuck, Blacke Lion, &c. haue beene burned. By hooping & scutling of Caske. Note. By natures of waters.

We had no small cause to giue God thankes, and tooke an occasion hereby, to banish swearing out of our ships, which amongst the common sort of Mariners and Sea-faring men, is too ordinarily abused. So with a generall consent of all our company, it was ordained that in euery shippe there should be a Palmer or Ferula, which should be in the keeping of him, who was taken with an Oath, and that hee who had the Palmer should giue to euery other that hee tooke swearing in the Palme of the hand a *Palmada* with it, and the *Ferula*. And whosoeuer at the time of Euening, or Morning Prayer, was found to haue the Palmer, should haue three blowes giuen him by the Captaine, or Master, and that he should be still bound to free himselfe by taking another, or else to runne in danger of continuing the penalties; which executed, few dayes reformed the Vice; so that in three dayes together, was not one Oath heard to be sworne. This brought both Ferulaes and swearing out of vse. By swearing. An excellent order for ship-swearing. Custome feeds vice, which seuerity starueth

Ordinarily such ships as Nauigate betweene the Tropickes, are accompanied with three sorts of fish; The Dolphin, which the *Spaniards* call *Dorado*: the *Bonito*, or *Spanish* Makerill: and the *Sharke*, alias *Tiburon*. The Dolphin I hold to be one of the swifteſt fishes in the Sea: He is like vnto a Breame, but that he is longer and thinner, and his scales very small. Hee is of the colour of the Rain-bow, and his head different to other fishes; for, from his mouth halfe a span it goeth straite vpright, as the head of a Wherry, or the Cut-water of a ship. He is very good meate if he be in season, but the best part of him, is his head, which is great. They are some bigger, some lesser; the greatest that I haue seene, might be some foure foot long. I hold it not without some ground, that the ancient Philosophers write, that they bee enamoured of a man: for in meeting with shipping, they accompany them till they approach to cold Climates; this I haue noted diuers times. For disembarking out of the West *Indies*, *Anno* 1583. within three or foure dayes after, we met a Scole of them, which left vs not till wee came to the Ilands of *Azores*, neere a thousand leagues. At other times I haue noted the like. But some may say, that in the Sea are many Scoles of this kind of fish, and how can a man know if they were the same?

Who may be thus satisfied, that euery day in the morning, which is the time that they approach neerest the ship, we should see foure, fiue, and more, which had (as it were) our eare-mark, one hurt vpon the backe; another neere the taile; another about the finnes, which is sufficient proof that they were the same. For if those which had receiued so bad entertainment of vs would not forsake vs, much lesse those which wee had not hurt; yet that which makes them most in loue with ships and men, are the scraps and refreshing they gather from them. Pi. by discourse of diuers fishes and their description. The Dolphin.

The *Bonito*, or *Spanish* Mackerell, is altogether like vnto a Mackerell, but that it is somewhat more browne; he is reasonable food, but drier then a Mackerell. Of them there are two sorts, the one is this which I haue described; the other so great, as hardly one man can lift him; At such times as we haue taken of these, one sufficed for a meale for all my company. These from the finne of the taile forwards haue vpon the chyne seuen small yellow hillockes, close one to another. The Bonito.

ther. The Dolphins and *Bonitos* are taken with certaine Instruments of Iron, which we call *Vysgeis*, in forme of an Eele-speare, but that the blades are round, and the points like vnto the head of a broad Arrow; these are fastned to long staues of ten or twelue foote long, with Lines tied vnto them, and so shot to the fish, from the Beake-head, the Poope, or other parts of the ship, as occasion is ministred. They are also caught with Hookes and Lines, the Hooke beeing bayted with a red Cloth or with a white Cloth, made into the forme of a fish, and sowed vpon the Hooke.

The Sharke. The Sharke or *Tiberune*, is a fish like vnto to those which wee call Dog-fishes, but that hee is far greater. I haue seene of them eight or nine foot long; his head is flat and broad, and his mouth
His mouth. in the middle, vdderneath, as that of the Scate; and he cannot bite of the baite before him, but by making a halfe turne; and then he helpeth himselfe with his taile, which serueth him in stead of a Rudder. His skinne is rough (like to the fish which we call a *rough Hound*) and Russet, with
Superstition. reddish spots, sauing that vnder the belly hee is all white: hee is much hated of Sea-faring men, who haue a certaine foolish Superstition with them, and say that the ship hath seldome good successe, that is much accompanied with them. It is the most rauenous fish knowne in the Sea; for
All-deuouring. he swalloweth all that hee findeth. In the Puch of them hath beene found Hats, Caps, Shooes, Shirts, legges and armes of men, ends of Ropes, and many other things; whatsoeuer is hanged by the ships side, he sheereth it, as though it were with a Razor; for he hath three rowes of teeth
Three rowes of teeth. on either side, as sharpe as nailes; some say, they are good for Pick-tooths. They spawne not, as
Whelping. the greatest part of fishes doe, but Whelpe, as the Dogge or Wolfe; and for many dayes after that she hath whelped euery night, and towardes any storme, or any danger which may threaten them hurt, the Damme receiueth her Whelpes in her mouth, and preserueth them, till they be able to shift for themselues. I haue seene them go in and out, being more then a foot and halfe long; and after taking the Dam, we haue found her young ones in her belly. My company tooke many. At the taile of one, they tied a great logge of wood, at another, an emptie *Batixia* well stopped; one they yoked like a Hogge; from another, they plucked out his eyes, and so threw them into the Sea. In catching two together, they bound them taile to taile, and so set them a swimming; another, with his belly slit, and his bowels hanging out which his fellowes would haue euery one a snatch at; with other infinite Inuentions to entertaine the time, and to auenge themselues; for that they deprined them of swimming, and fed on their flesh being dead: they are taking with Harping Irons, and with great hookes made of purpose, with Swyuels and Chaines; for no Line, nor small Rope can hold them, which they share not asunder.

Pilats fishes. There doth accompany this fish, diuers little fishes, which are called *Pilats fishes*, and are euer vpon his sinnes, his head, or his backe, and feede of the scraps and superfluities of his preyes. They are in forme of a Trowte, and streaked like a Mackerell, but that the streakes are white and blacke, and the blacke greater then the white.

Sea hawking and hunting. The manner of Hunting and Hawking representeth that which we reasonable creatures vse, sauing onely in the disposing of the game. For by our industry and abilitie the Hound and Hawke is brought to that obedience, that whatsoeuer they seize, is for their Master; but here it is otherwise. For the game is for him that seizeth it. The Dolphins and *Bonitos* are the Hounds, and the
Flying fishes. *Alcatraces* the Hawkes, and the flying fishes the game: whose wonderfull making magnifieth the Creator, who for their safetie, and helpe, hath giuen them extraordinary manner of finnes, which serue instead of wings, like those of the Bat or Rere-mouse; of such a delicate skinne, interlaced with bones so curiously, as may well cause admiration in the beholders. They are like vnto Pilchards in colour, and making; sauing that they are somewhat rounder, and (for the most part) bigger. They flee best with a side winde, but longer then their wings bee weate, they cannot sustaine the weight of their bodies; and so the greatest flight that I haue seene them make, hath not beene aboue a quarter of a mile. They commonly goe in Scoles; and serue for food for the greater fishes, or for the Foules. The Dolphins and *Bonitos* doe continually hunt after them, and the *Alcatraces* lie soaring in the Aire, to see when they spring, or take their flight; and ordinarily, hee that escapeth the mouth of the Dolphin, or *Bonito*, helping himselfe by his wings, falleth prisoner into the hands of the *Alcatrace*, and helpeth to fill his gorge.

Alcatrace. The *Alcatrace* is a Sea-fowle, different to all that I haue seene, either on the Land, or in the Sea. His head like vnto the head of a Gull, but his bill like vnto a Snites bill, somewhat shorter, and in all places alike. He is almost like to a *Heronshaw*, his legs a good spanne long, his wings very long, and sharpe towards the points, with a long taile like to a Pheasant, but with three or foure feathers onely, and these narrower. He is all blacke, of the colour of a Crow, and of little flesh; for hee is almost all skinne and bones. Hee soareth the highest of any Fowle that I haue seene, and I haue not heard of any, that haue seene them rest in the Sea.

The fight of the Whale, with the Sword-fish and Thresher. Now of the fight betwixt the Whale and his contraries; which are the Sword-fish and the Thresher. The Sword-fish is not great, but strongly made, and in the top of his chine (as a man may say) betwixt the necke and shoulders, he hath a manner of Sword in substance, like vnto a bone of foure or fiue inches broad, and aboue three foote long, full of prickles of either side; it is but thinne, for the greatest that I haue seene, hath not beene aboue a finger thicke. The Thresher

is

is a greater fish, whose taile is very broad and thicke, and very weighty. They fight in this manner; the Sword-fish placeth himselfe vnder the belly of the Whale, and the Thresher vpon the Ryme of the water, and with his tayle thresheth vpon the head of the Whale, till he force him to giue way, which the Sword-fish perceiuing, receiueth him vpon his sword, and wounding him in the belly forceth him to mount vp againe: (besides that, he cannot abide long vnder water, but must of force rise vp to breath) and when in such manner they torment him, that the fight is sometimes heard aboue three leagues distance, and I dare affirme, that I haue heard the blowes of the Thresher two leagues off, as the report of a peece of Ordnance, the Whales roaring being heard much farther. It also happeneth sundry times, that a great part of the water of the Sea round about them, with the bloud of the Whale changeth his colour. The best remedy the Whale hath in this extremitie to helpe himselfe, is to get him to land, which hee procureth as soone as he discouereth his aduersaries, and getting the shore, there can fight but one with him, and for either of them hand to hand he is too good.

The strokes heard two leagues.

Of Whales, see our *Greeneland* discourses. *li.* 3. *c.* 2. & *f.*

Amber-greece is thought by some to breede in the Whales belly by eating of a certaine heard, but that which carrieth likliest probabilitie is, that it is a liquor which issueth out of certaine Fountaines, in sundry Seas, and being of a light and thicke substance, participating of the Ayre, suddenly becommeth hard, as the yellow Amber, of which they make Beades, which is also a liquor of a Fountaine in the *Germaine* Sea: in the bottome it is soft and white, and partaking of the Ayre becommeth hard and stonie: Also the Corrall in the Sea is soft, but commeth into the Ayre, becommeth a stone. Those who are of this former opinion, thinke the reason (why the Amber-greece is sometimes found in the Whale) to be for that hee swalloweth it, as other things, which he findeth swimming vpon the water, and not able to digest it, it remaineth with him till his death.

Amber-greece

Amber.

Corall.

From the Tropicke of *Cancer* to three or foure degrees of the Equinoctiall, the breze which is the North-east winde, doth raigne in our Ocean Sea the most part of the yeere, except it be neere the shore, and then the winde is variable. In three or foure degrees of either side the line, the winde hangeth Southerly, in the moneths of Iuly, August, September, and October: all the rest of the yeere from the *Cape boua esperança* to the Ilands of *Azores*, the breze raigneth continually; and some yeares in the other moneths also or calmes, but he that purposeth to crosse the line from the Northwards to the Southwards, the best and surest passage is, in the moneths of Ianuary, February, and March. In the moneths of September, October and November is also good passage, but not so sure as in the former.

Best times to passe the line frō the Northwards to the Southward.

Betwixt nineteene and twenty degrees to the Southwards of the line, the winde tooke vs contrary, which together with the sickneſse of my people made me to seeke the shore, and about the end of October, we had sight of the land, which presently by our height and the making of it, discouered it selfe to be the Port of *Souzas*, *alias nostra Senora de Victoria*, and is easie to be knowne, for it hath a great high hill ouer the Port, which (howsoeuer a man commeth with the land) riseth like a bell, and comming neere the shore presently is discouered a white Tower or Fort, which standeth vpon the top of a hill ouer the Harbour, and vpon the Sea-most-land: It is the first land a man must compasse before he enter into the Port: comming within two leagues of the shore we anchored, and the Captaines and Masters of my other Ships, being come aboord, it was thought conuenient (the weakeneſse of our men considered, for wee had not in our three Ships twenty foure men sound) and the winde vncertaine when it might change, wee thought with policie to procure that which we could not by force, and so to offer traffique to the people of the shore.

Port of *Santo.*

Entring the Port, within a quarter of a mile is a small Village, and three leagues higher vp, is the chiefe towne: where they haue two Forts, one on either side of the Harbour, and within them ride the Ships whih come thither to discharge or loade. In the small Village is euer a Garrison of a hundreth Souldiers, whereof part assist there continually, and in the white Tower vpon the top of the hill, which commandeth it.

Here my Captaine, whom I sent with a Letter, had good entertainment, and those of the shore receiued his message and Letter, dispatching it presently to the Gouernor, who was some three leagues off in another place; at least, they beare vs so in hand. In the time that they expected the Post, my Captaine with one other entertained himselfe with the Souldiers ashore, who after the common customs of their profession (except when they be *besonios*) sought to please him, and finding that he craued but Oranges, Lemmons, and matters of small moment for refreshing for his Generall, they suffered the women and children to bring him what he would, which he gratified with double Pistolets, that I had giuen him for that purpose. So got he vs two or three hundreth Oranges and Lemmons, and some few Hens.

The answere of the Gouernor was, that he was sorry that he could not accomplish our desire, being so reasonable & good: for that in consideration of the war betweene *Spaine* and *England*, he had expresse order from his King, not to suffer any *English* to trade within his iurisdiction, no, not to land, or to take any refreshing vpon the shore. And therefore craued pardon, and that we should take this for a resolute answere: And further, required vs to depart the Port within three daies,

which

which he said he gaue vs, for our courteous manner of proceeding: If any of my people from that time forwards, should approach to the shore, that hee would doe his best to hinder and annoy them. With this answere we resolued to depart; and before it came, with the first faire winde, we determined to be packing: but the winde suffered vs not all that night, nor the next day. In which time I liued in a great perplexitie, for that I knew our owne weakenesse, and what they might doe vnto vs, if that they had knowne so much. For any man that putteth himselfe into the enemies Port, had needs of *Argus* eyes, and the winde in a bagge, especially, where the enemy is strong, and the tydes of any force. For, with either ebbe or flood, those who are on the shore, may thrust vpon him inuentions of fire, and with swimming or other deuises may cut his cables. A common practise in all hot Countries. The like may be effected with Raffes, Canoas, Boates or Pinnaces, to annoy and assault him; and if this had beene practised against vs, or taken effect, our Ships must of force haue yeelded themselues; for they had no other people in them but sick men; many times opinion & feare preserueth the Ships, and not the people in them. *Wherefore*

For preuention of annoyances, &c. in Harbours.

is it the part of a prouident Gouernor, to consider well the dangers that may befall him, before he put himself into such places: so shall he euer be prouided for preuention. In Saint Iohn de Vlua, *in the* New-Spain, *when the* Spaniards *dishonoured their Nation with that foule act of periury, and breach of faith, giuen to my Father, Sir,* Iohn Hawkins *(notorious to the whole world) the* Spaniards *fired two great Ships, with intention to burne my Fathers Admirall, which he preuented by towing them with his Boates another way. The great* Armado *of* Spaine, *sent to conquer* England, *Anno* 1588. *was with that selfe-same industry ouerthrowne: for the setting on fire six or seuen Ships (whereof two were mine) and letting them driue with the flood, forced them to cut their Cables, and to put to Sea, to seeke a new way to* Spain. *In which, the greatest part of their best Ships and men were lost and perished.*

Spaniards periury.

Their punishment.

The next night, the winde comming off the shore, we set saile, and with our Boates and Barkes sounded as we went. It flowed vpon the Barre not aboue foure foote water, and once in foure and twenty houres (as in some parts of the West *Indies*) at full Sea there is not vpon the barre aboue seuenteene or eighteene foote water. The harbour runneth to the South-westwards. he that will come into it, is to open the harbours mouth a good quarter of a league before he beare with it, and be bolder of the Wester-side, for of the Easterland lyeth a great ledge of Rockes, for the most part vnder water, which sometimes breake not, but with small shipping, a man may goe betwixt them and the point.

Note for the harbour.

The vertue of Oranges.

Comming aboord of our Ships, there was great ioy amongst my company, and many with the sight of the Oranges and Lemmons, seemed to recouer heart: This is a wonderfull secret of the power and wisedome of God, that hath hidden so great and vnknowne vertue in this fruit, to be a certaine remedy for this infirmity; I presently caused them all to be reparted amongst our sicke men, which were so many, that there came not aboue three or foure to a share: but God was pleased to send vs a prosperous winde the next day, so much to our comfort, that not any one died before we came to the Ilands, where we pretended to refresh our selues: And although our fresh water had failed vs many dayes (before we saw the shore) by reason of our long Nauigation, without touching any land, and the excessiue drinking of the sicke and diseased (which could not be excused) yet with an inuention I had in my Ship, I easily drew out of the water of the Sea sufficient quantitie of fresh water to sustaine my people, with little expence of fewell, for with foure billets I stilled a hogshead of water, and therewith dressed the meate for the sicke and whole. The water so distilled, we found to be wholesome and nourishing.

Distilling of Salt water.

The coast from *Santos* to *Cape Frio* lyeth West and by South Southerly. So wee directed our course West South-west. The night comming on, and directions giuen to our other Ships, wee set the watch, hauing a faire fresh gale of winde and large. My selfe, with the Master of our Ship, hauing watched the night past, thought now to giue nature that which she had beene depriued of, and so commended the care of Steeridge to one of his Mates; who with the like trauell past being drowsie, or with the confidence which he had of him at the Helme, had not that watchfull care which was required; he at the Helme steered West and West by South, & brought vs in a little time close vpon the shore: doubtlesse he had cast vs all away, had not God extraordinarily deliuered vs: for the Master being in his dead sleepe, was suddenly awaked, and with such a fright, that he could not be in quiet: whereupon, waking his youth, which ordinarily slept in his Cabin by him, asked him how the watch went on; who answered, that it could not be an houre since he laid himselfe to rest. He replyed, that his heart was so vnquiet, that he could not by any meanes sleepe, and so taking his Gowne, came forth vpon the Decke, and presently discouered the land hard by vs. And for that it was sandie and low, those who had their eyes continually fixed on it, were dazeled with the reflection of the Starres, being a faire night, and so was hindered from the true discouery thereof. But he comming out of the drake, had his sight more forcible, to discerne the difference of the Sea, and the shoare. So that forthwith hee commanded him at the Helme, to put it close a starbourd, and taking our Ship, we edged off; and sounding, found scant three fathome water, whereby we saw euidently, the miraculous mercy of God, that if hee watched ouer vs, as he doth continually ouer his, doubtlesse wee had perished without remedie: to whom be all glory and praise euerlasting world without end.

Vnskilfulnesse of the Masters Mate.

Prouidence of God, and the care of the Master.

It

In this point of Steeridge, the *Spaniards* & *Portugals* doe exceede all that I haue seene, I meane for their care, which is chiefest in Nauigation. And I wish in this, and in all their workes of Discipline and reformation, we should follow their examples, as also those of any other Nation. In euery Shippe of moment, vpon the halfe decke, or quarter decke, they haue a chaire or seate; out of which whilst they Nauigate, the Pilot, or his Adiutants (which are the same officers which in our Ships wee terme, the Master and his Mates) neuer depart, day nor night, from the sight of the Compasse, and haue another before them, whereby they see what they doe; and are euer witnesses of the good or bad Steeridge of all men that take the Helme. Care of Steeridge. Exquisit in the *Spaniards* and *Portugals*.

The next day about ten of the clocke, we were thwart of *Cape Blanco*, which is low sandie land and perilous, for foure leagues into the Sea (thwart it) lye bankes of sand, which haue little water on them; on a sudden we found our selues amongst them, in lesse then three fathome water, but with our Boate and Shallop we went sounding, and so got cleare of them. The next day following, we discouered the Ilands, where we purposed to refresh our selues: they are two, and some call them Saint *Iames* his Ilands, and others, Saint *Annes*. They lye in two and twentie degrees and a halfe to the Southwards of the line; and towards the euening (being the fift of Nouember) we anchored betwixt them and the maine, in six fathome water, where we found our other Ships. *Cape Blanco*. Saint *Iulmes* Ilands, *alias* Saint *Anthes*.

All which being well Moored, we presently began to set vp Tents & Booths for our sick men, to carry them ashore, and to vse our best diligence to cure them. For which intent our three Surgeons, with their seruants, and adherents, had two Boates to waite continually vpon them, to fetch whatsoeuer was needefull from the Ships, to procure refreshing, and to Fish either with Nets or Hooks, and Lines. Of these implements we had in abundance, and it yeelded vs some refreshing. For the first daies the most of those which had health, occupied themselues in romeging our Ship, in bringing ashore of emptie Caske, in filling of them, and in felling and cutting of wood: which being many workes, and few hands, went slowly forwards.

Neere these Ilands are two great Rocks or small Ilands adioyning. In them wee found great store of yong Gannets in their nests, which we reserued for the sick, and being boyled with pickled Porke well watered, and mingled with Oatmeale, made reasonable Pottage, & was good refreshing and sustenance for them. This prouision failed vs not, till our departure from them. Vpon one of these Rocks also, we found great store of the hearbe Purslane, which boyled and made into Sallets, with oyle and vineger, refreshed the sicke stomackes, and gaue appetite. Gannets. Purslane.

With the ayre of the shore, and good cherishing, many recouered speedily: some died away quickly, and others continued at a stand. We found here some store of Fruits; a kinde of Cherry, that groweth vpon a tree like a Plum-tree, red of colour, with a stone in it, but different in making to ours, for it is not altogether round, and dented about: they haue a pleasing taste. In one of the Ilands we found *Palmito* trees, great and high, and in the top a certaine fruite like Cocos, but no bigger then a Wal-nut. We found also a fruit growing vpon trees in cods, like Beanes, both in the cod and the fruite. Some of my Company proued of them, and they caused vomits and purging. One other fruit we found, very pleasant in taste, in fashion of an Artechoque, but lesse; on the outside of colour red; within white, and compassed about with prickles: our people called them Prick-peares: no Conserue is better, They grow vpon the leaues of a certaine roote, that is like vnto that which we call *semper viua*; and many are wont to hang them vp in their houses: but their leaues are longer and narrower, and full of prickes on either side. The Fruite groweth vpon the side of the leafe, and is one of the best fruites that I haue eaten in the *Indies*. In ripening, presently the Birds or Vermine are feeding on them; a generall rule to know what fruite is wholesome and good in the *Indies*, and other parts. Finding them to be eaten of the Beasts or Fowles, a man may boldly eate of them. Cherries. Palmitos. Purgatiues. Artechoques, or Prick-peares. A good note to take or refuse vnknown fruits.

The water of these Ilands is not good; the one for being a standing water, and full of venemous wormes and Serpents, which is neere a Butt-shot from the Sea-shore, where wee found a great Tree fallen, and in the roote of it the names of sundry *Portugals*, *French-men*, and others, and amongst them *Abraham Cockes*, with the time of their being in this Island. The other, though a running water, yet passing by the rootes of certaine trees, which haue a smell as that of Garlique, taketh a certaine contagious sent of them. Here two of our men died with swelling of their bellies: the accident we could not attribute to any other cause, then to this suspicious water. It is little, and falleth into the sand, and soketh through it into the Sea; and therefore we made a well of a Pipe, and placed it vnder the rocke from which it falleth, and out of it filled our Caske: but we could not fill aboue two tuns in a night and a day. Contagious water.

After our people began to gather their strength, we manned out Boates, and went ouer to the Maine, where presently we found a great Riuer of fresh and sweete water, and a mightie Marish Country, which in the winter seemeth to be continually ouer-flowne with this Riuer, and others, which fall from the mountainous Country adiacent. We rowed some leagues vp the Riuer, and found that the further vp we went, the deeper was the Riuer, but no fruit, more then the sweate of our bodies for the labour of our hands. At our returne we loaded our Boate with water, and afterwards from hence we made our Store.

Waſte & loſſe of men. Hawke burnt.

The ſickneſſe hauing waſted more then the one halfe of my people, we determined to take out the victuals of the *Hawke*, and to burne her; which we put in execution. And being occupied in this worke, we ſaw a Ship turning to windwards, to ſuccour her ſelfe of the Ilands; but hauing deſcried vs, put off to Sea-wards. Two daies after, the winde changing, we ſaw her againe running alongſt the coaſt, and the *Daintie* not being in caſe to goe after her, for many reaſons, wee manned the *Fancie*, and ſent her after her; who about ſetting of the Sunne fetched her vp, and ſpake with her; when finding her to be a great Fly-boate, of (at leaſt) three or foure hundreth tuns, with eighteene Peeces of Artillery, would haue returned, but the winde freſhing in, put her to Leewards; and ſtanding in to ſuccour her ſelfe of the land, had ſight of another ſmall Bark, which after a ſhort chaſe ſhe tooke, but had nothing of moment in her, for that ſhe had bin vpon the great Sholes of *Abreoios* in 18. degrees, and there throwne all they had by the boord, to ſaue their liues. This and the other chaſe were the cauſe that the *Fancie* could not beate it vp in many dayes: but before wee had put all in a readineſſe, the winde changing, ſhee came vnto vs, and made Relation of that which had paſt; and how they had giuen the ſmall Barke to the *Portugals*, and brought with them onely her Pilot, and a Merchant called *Pedro de eſcalante* of *Potoſi*.

Sholes of *Abreoios*.

Induſtry of the *Indians*. They ſurpriſe the *French*.

In this Coaſt the *Portugals*, by induſtry of the *Indians*, haue wrought many feates. At *Cape Frio* they tooke a great *French* Shippe in the night, the moſt of her company being on the ſhore with Canoas, which they haue in this Coaſt ſo great, that they carrie ſeuentie and eightie men, in one of them. And in *Iſla Grand*, I ſaw one that was aboue threeſcore foote long, of one tree as are all I haue ſeene in *Braſil*, with proviſions in them for twenty or thirty daies. At the Iland of *San-ſebaſtian*, neere Saint *Vincent*, the *Indians* killed about eightie of Maſter *Candiſh* his men, and tooke his Boate, which was the ouerthrow of his Voyage.

Great Canoa. *San-ſebaſtian*.

There commeth not any Ship vpon this Coaſt, whereof theſe Canoas giue not notice preſently to euery place. And we were certified in *Iſla Grand*, that they had ſent an *Indian* from the Riuer of *Ienero*, through all the Mountaines & Mariſhes, to take a view of vs, and accordingly made a Relation of our Ships, Boates, and the number of men, which wee might haue. But to preuent the like danger that might come vpon vs being careleſſe and negligent, I determined one night, in the darkeſt and quieteſt of it, to ſee what watch our Company kept on the ſhore; manned our Light-horſman, and Boat, armed them with Bowes and Targets, and got aſhore ſome good diſtance from the places where were our Boothes, and fought to come vpon them vndiſcouered: we vſed all our beſt endeuours to take them at vnawares, yet comming within fortie paces we were diſcouered; the whole and the ſicke came forth to oppoſe themſelues againſt vs. Which we ſeeing, gaue them the Hubbub, after the manner of the *Indians*, and aſſaulted them, and they vs; but being a cloſe darke night, they could not diſcerne vs preſently vpon the Hubbub. From our Ship the Gunner ſhot a peece of Ordnance ouer our heads, according to the order giuen him, and thereof we tooke occaſion to retire vnto our Boates, and within a little ſpace came to the Boothes and landing places, as though we came from our Ships to aide them. They began to recount vnto vs, how that at the Weſter point of the Iland, out of certaine Canoas, had landed a multitude of *Indians*, which with a great out-cry came vpon them, & aſſaulted them fiercely, but finding better reſiſtance then they looked for, and ſeeing themſelues diſcouered by the Ships, tooke themſelues to their heeles, and returned to their Canoas, in which they imbarked themſelues, and departed. One affirmed, he ſaw the Canoas; another, their long haire; a third, their Bowes; a fourth, that it could not be, but that ſome of them had their paiments: And it was worth the ſight, to behold thoſe which had not moued out of their beds in many moneths (vnleſſe by the helpe of others) had gotten, ſome a bow-ſhot off into the woods, others into the tops of trees, and thoſe which had any ſtrength, ioyned together to fight for their liues. In fine, the Booths and Tents were left deſolate.

Wiſe ſtratagem

The merry euents of a carefull watch.

To colour our buſineſſe the better, after we had ſpent ſome houre in ſeeking out, and ioyning the Company together, in comforting, and commending them, I left them an extraordinary Guard for that night, and ſo departed to our Shippes, with ſuch an opinion of the aſſault, giuen by the *Indians*, that many ſo poſſeſſed (through all the Voyage) would not be perſwaded to the contrary; Which impreſſion wrought ſuch effect in moſt of my Company, that in all places where the *Indians* might annoy vs, they were after moſt carefull and vigilant, as was conuenient.

Tides in the Ilands.

In theſe Ilands it heigheth and falleth ſome fiue or ſixe foote water, and but once in two and twentie houres; as in all this Coaſt, and in many parts of the Weſt *Indies*; as alſo in the coaſt of *Peru* and *Chyly* (ſauing where are great Bayes or indraughts) and there the tydes keep their ordinary courſe of twice in foure and twenty houres. In the leſſer of theſe Ilands, is a Coue for a ſmall Ship to ride in, Land-lockt, and ſhe may moore her ſelfe to the trees of either ſide: this we called *Palmito* Iland, for the abundance it hath of the greater ſort of *Palmito* trees, the other hath none at all. A man may goe betwixt the Ilands with his Ship, but the better courſe is out at one end. In theſe Ilands are many Scorpions, Snakes, and Adders, with other venemous Vermine. They haue Parots, and a certaine kinde of fowle like vnto Pheſants, ſomewhat bigger, and ſeeme to be of

Palmito Iland.

The creatures.

their

their nature. Here we spent aboue a moneth in curing of our sicke men, supplying our wants of wood and water, and in other necessary workes. And the tenth of December (all things put in order) we set saile for *Cape Frio*, hauing onely sixe men sicke, with purpose there to set ashore our two Prisoners before named: and anchoring vnder the Cape, we set our Boate ashoare, but they could not finde any conuenient place to land them in, and so returned: the winde being Southerly, and hot good to goe on our voyage, we succoured our selues within *Isla Grand*, which lyeth some dozen or fourteene leagues from the Cape, betwixt the West, and by South and West South-west: the rather to see our Prisoners on shore. *Cape Frio.*

In the mid way betwixt the Cape and this Iland, lyeth the Riuer *Ienero*, a very good Harbour, fortified with a Garrison, and a place well peopled. The *Isla Grand* is some eight or tenne leagues long, and causeth a goodly harbour for shipping: it is full of great sandie Bayes, and in the most of them is store of good water: within this Iland are many other smaller Ilands, which cause diuers sounds and creekes; and amongst these little Ilands, one, for the pleasant situation and fertilitie thereof, called *Placentia*. This is peopled, all the rest desert: on this Iland our Prisoners desired to be put ashore, and promised to send vs some refreshing. Whereto wee condescended, and sent them ashore with two Boates well manned and armed, who found few Inhabitants in the Iland; for our people saw not aboue foure or fiue houses, notwithstanding our Boates returned loaden with Plantines, Pitias, Potatoes, Sugar-canes, and some Hens. Amongst which they brought a kinde of little Plantine, greene, and round, which were the best of any that I haue seene. With our people came a *Portugall*, who said, that the Iland was his; hee seemed to be a *Mistebo* (who are those that are of a *Spanish* and an *Indian* brood) poorely appatelled and miserable; we feasted him, and gaue him some trifles; and hee according to his abilitie answered our courtesie with such as he had. *Ienero.* *Little Iland.*

The winde continuing contrary, we emptied all the water we could come by, which we had filled in Saint *Iames* his Iland, and filled our Caske with the water of this *Isla Grand*. It is a wilderneese couered with Trees and Shrubs so thicke, as it hath no passage through, except a man make it by force. And it was strange to heare the howling and cries of wilde Beasts in these Woods day and night, which we could not come at to see by any meanes; some like Lyons, others like Beares, others like Hogs, and of such and so many diuersities, as was admirable. Here our Nets profited vs much, for in the sandy Bayes they tooke vs store of fish. Vpon the shore at full Seamarke, we found in many places certain shels, like vnto mother of Pearles, which are brought out of the East *Indies*, to make standing cups, called *Caracolles*, of so great curiositie as might moue all the beholders to magnifie the maker of them: and were it not for the brittlenesse of them, by reason of their exceeding thinnesse, doubtlesse they were to be esteemed farre aboue the others, for more excellent workmanship I haue not seene in shels. *Isla Grand.* *Shels of mother of Pearle.*

The eighteenth of December we set saile, the winde at North-east, and directed our course for the Straits of *Magalianes*. The twenty two of this moneth, at the going too of the Sun, we descried a *Portugall* ship, and gaue her chase, and comming within hailing of her, she rendred her selfe without any resistance, she was of an hundred tuns bound for *Angola* to load *Negroes*, to be carried and sold in the Riuer of *Plate*: It is a trade of great profit, and much vsed, for that the *Negroes* are carried from the head of the Riuer of *Plate*, to *Potosi*, to labour in the Mines. It is a bad *Negro*, who is not worth there fiue or six hundreth peeces, euery peece of ten Ryals, which they receiue in Ryals of Plate, for there is no other Merchandize in those parts. The loading of this Ship was meale of *Cassani*, which the *Portugals* call *Farina de Paw*, made of a certaine roote which the *Indians* call *Yuca*, much like vnto Potatoes. Of it are two kindes, the one sweete and good to be eaten (either rosted or sodden) as Potatoes; and the other of which they make their bread, called *Cassani*, deadly poison, if the liquor or iuyce be not throughly pressed out. This *Farina*, in making Pancakes, and frying them with butter or oyle, and sometimes with *Manteca de Puerco*; when strewing a little Sugar vpon them, it was meate that our company desired aboue any that was in the Ship. *Price of Negroes.* *Cassani* meale

The *Indians* also accustome to make their drinke of this meale, and in three seuerall manners. First, is chewing it in their mouthes, and after mingling it with water, after a loathsome manner, yet the commonnest drinke that they haue; and that held best which is chewed by an old woman. The second manner of their drinke, is baking it till it be halfe burned, then they beate it into Powder; and when they will drinke, they mingle a small quantity of it with water, which giueth a reasonable good taste. The third, and best, is baking it (as aforesaid) and when it is beaten into Powder, to seeth it in water; after that it is well boyled, they let it stand some three or foure daies, and then drinke it. So it is much like the Ale which is vsed in *England*, and of that colour and taste. *And for Beuerage.*

The *Indians* are very curious in planting and manuring of this *Yuca*: It is a little shrub, & carrieth branches like hazell wands; being grown as big as a mans finger, they breake them off in the middest, and so pricke them into the ground; it needeth no other art or husbandry, for out of each branch grow two, three or foure roots, some bigger, some lesser: but first they burne and manure the ground, the which labour, and whatsoeuer else is requisite, the men doe not so much *The manner of planting Iuca.*

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With the labour of the women.

as helpe with a finger, but all lyeth vpon their poore women, who are worſe then ſlaues: for they labour the ground, they plant, they digge and delue, they bake, they brew, and dreſſe their meate, fetch their water, and doe all drudgerie whatſoeuer; yea, though they nurſe a childe, they are not exempted from any labour: their childe they carrie in a Wallet about their necke, ordinarily vnder one arme, becauſe it may ſucke when it will.

The men haue care for nothing but for their Canoes, to paſſe from place to place, and of their Bowes and Arrowes to hunt, and their Armes for the warre, which is a ſword of heauie blacke wood, ſome foure fingers broad, an inch thicke, and an Elle long, ſomewhat broader towards the top then at the handle. They call it *Macana*, and it is carued and wrought with inlaid works very curiouſly, but his edges are blunt. If any kill any game in hunting, he bringeth it not with him, but from the next tree to the game, hee bringeth a bough (for the trees in the *Indies* haue leaues for the moſt part all the yeare) and all the way as he goeth ſtreweth little peeces of it, here and there, and comming home giueth a peece to his woman, and ſo ſends her for it. If they goe to the Warre, or in any iourney, where it is neceſſary to carry prouiſion or Merchandize, the women ſerue too carrie all, and the men neuer ſuccour nor eaſe them, wherein they ſhew greater Barbariſme then in any thing (in my opinion) that I haue noted amongſt them, except in eating one another.

We tooke out of this Prize, for our prouiſion, ſome good quantitie of this meale, and the Sugar ſhe had, being not aboue three or foure Cheſts: after three dayes we gaue the Ship to the *Portugals*, and to them libertie. In her was a *Portugall* Knight, which went for Gouernour of *Angola*, of the *habit of Chriſt*, with fiftie Souldiers, and Armes for a hundreth and fiftie, with his wife and daughter. He was old, and complained, that after many yeeres ſeruice for his King, with ſundry miſhaps, he was brought to that poore eſtate, as for the reliefe of his wife, his daughter and himſelfe, he had no other ſubſtance, but that he had in his Ship. It moued compaſſion, ſo as nothing of his was diminiſhed, which though to vs was of no great moment, in *Angola* it was worth good Crownes. Onely we diſarmed them all, and let them depart, ſaying, that they would returne to Saint *Vincents*. We continued our courſe for the Straits, my people much animated with this vnlookt for refreſhing, and praiſed God for his bountie, prouidence, and grace extended towards vs. Here it will not be out of the way to ſpeake a word of the particularities of the Countrie.

The deſcription of *Braſil*.

Braſil is accounted to be that part of *America*, which lyeth towards our North Sea, betwixt the Riuer of the *Amazons*, neere the line to the Northwards, vntill a man come to the Riuer of *Plate* in 36. degrees to the Southwards of the line. This coaſt generally lyeth next of any thing South and by Weſt. It is a temperate Countrie, though in ſome parts it exceedeth in heate; it is full of good ſuccours for ſhipping, and plentifull for Riuers and freſh waters. The principall habitations, are *Fernambuca*, the Bay *De todos los Santos*, *Neſtra Senora de victoria*, alias *Santos*, the Riuer *Ienero*, Saint *Vincents*, and *Placentia*: euery of them prouided of a good Port. The windes are variable, but for the moſt part trade alongſt the Coaſt.

Its Hauens.

Strang worme. Variation of the Compaſſe.

A worme there is in this Countrie, which killed many of the firſt Inhabitants, before God was pleaſed to diſcouer a remedie for it, vnto a religious perſon. It is like a Magot, but more ſlender and longer, and of a greene colour, with a red head. This worme creepeth in at the hinder parts, where is the euacuation of our ſuperfluities, and there (as it were) gleweth himſelfe to the gut, there feedeth of the bloud and humors, and becommeth ſo great, that ſtopping the naturall paſſage, he forceth the principall wheele of the clocke of our body to ſtand ſtill, and with it the accompt of the houre of life to take end, with moſt cruell torment and paine, which is ſuch, that he who hath beene throughly puniſhed with the Collique can quickly decipher or demonſtrate. The Antidote for this pernicious worme is Garlique: and this was diſcouered by a Phiſitian to a Religious perſon.

§. III.

THARLTONS *treacherie: Diſcouerie of Land vnknowne: Entrance of the Straits, accidents therein, and deſcription thereof: diuers occaſionall diſcourſes for the furtherance of Marine and Naturall knowledge.*

IN our Nauigation towards the Straits, by our obſeruation we found, that our Compaſſe varied a point and better to the Eaſtwards.

In the height of the Riuer of *Plate*, we being ſome fiftie leagues off the coaſt, a ſtorme tooke vs Southerly, which endured fortie eight houres: In the firſt day about the going downe of the Sunne, *Robert Tharlton*, Maſter of the *Fancie*, bare vp before the winde, without giuing vs any token or ſigne, that ſhe was in diſtreſſe. We ſeeing her to continue her courſe,

bare

bare vp after her, and the night comming on, we carried our light, but ſhe neuer anſwered vs, for they kept their courſe directly for *England*, which was the ouerthrow of the Voyage, as well for that we had no Pinnace to goe before vs, to diſcouer any danger, to ſeeke out roades and anchoring, to helpe our watering and refreſhing; as alſo for the victuals, neceſſaries, and men which they carried away with them: which though they were not many, yet with their helpe in our fight, we had taken the Vice-admirall, the firſt time ſhee bourded with vs, as ſhall be hereafter manifeſted. For once we cleered her Decke, and had wee beene able to haue ſpared but a dozen men, doubtleſſe, we had done with her what we would, for ſhe had no cloſe fights. Moreouer, if ſhe had beene with me, I had not beene diſcouered vpon the coaſt of *Perw*. But I was worthy to be deceiued, that truſted my Ship in the hands of an hypocrite, and a man which had left his Generall before in the like occation, and in the ſelfe ſame place: for being with Maſter *Thomas Candiſh*, Maſter of a ſmall Shippe in the Voyage wherein hee died, this Captaine being aboord the Admirall, in the night time forſooke his Fleete, his Generall and Captaine, and returned home. Pitie it is that ſuch perfidious perſons are not more ſeuerely puniſhed.

The ouerthrow of the Voyage by a perfidious man.

Theſe abſentings and eſcapes are made moſt times onely to pilfer and ſteale, as well by taking of ſome prize when they are alone, and without command, to hinder or order their bad proceedings, as to appropriate that which is in their intruſted ſhippe; caſting the fault, if they bee called to account, vpon ſome poore and vnknowne Mariners, whom they ſuffer with a little pillage, to abſent themſelues, the cunninglier to colour their greateſt diſorders, and Robberies.

The cunning of Runnawayes.

The ſtorme ceaſing, and being out of all hope, wee ſet ſaile and went on our courſe. During this ſtorme, certaine great Fowles as bigge as Swannes, ſoared about vs, and the winde calming, ſetled themſelues in the Sea, and fed vpon the ſweepings of our ſhip; which I perceiuing, and deſirous to ſee of them, becauſe they ſeemed farre greater then in truth they were, I cauſed a Hook and Line to be brought me; and with a piece of a Pilchard I baited the Hooke, and a foot from it, tied a piece of Corke, that it might not ſinke deepe, and threw it into the Sea, which, our ſhip driuing with the Sea, in a little time was a good ſpace from vs, and one of the Fowles beeing hungry, preſently ſeized vpon it, and the Hooke in his vpper beake. It is like to a Faulcons bill, but that the point is moore crooked, in that manner, as by no meanes hee could cleere himſelfe, except that the Line brake, or the Hooke righted: Plucking him towards the ſhip, with the wauing of his wings he eaſed the weight of his body: and being brought to the ſterne of our ſhip, two of our company went downe by the ladder of the Poope, and ſeized on his neck and wings; but ſuch were the blowes he gaue them with his Pinnions, as both left their hand faſt, beeing beaten blacke and blue; we caſt a ſnare about his necke, and forciced him into the ſhip. By the ſame manner of fiſhing, we caught ſo many of them, as refreſhed and recreated all my people for that day. Their bodies were great, but of little fleſh and tender, in taſte anſwerable to the food whereon they feed. They were of two colours, ſome white, ſome grey; they had three ioynts in each wing; and from the point of one wing to the point of the other, both ſtretched out, was aboue two fathomes.

Birds like Swans. Such the Hollanders found in the Straits which they called Mayres. Gugh with Line & Hooke.

Proue good refreſhment.

The wind continued good with vs, till we came to 49. degrees and 30. minutes where it tooke vs Weſterly, being (as we made our account) ſome fifty leagues from the ſhoare. Betwixt 49. and 48. degrees is Port Saint *Iulian*, a good Harbour, and in which a man may graue his ſhippe, though ſhe draw fifteene or ſixteene foot water: But care is to bee had of the people called *Patagones*. They are treacherous, and of great ſtature, moſt giue them the name of Giants.

Care of the Patagones.

The ſecond of February, about nine of the clocke in the morning, wee deſcried land, which bare South-weſt of vs, which we looked not for ſo timely; and comming neerer and neerer vnto it, by the lying, wee could not coniecture what Land it ſhould be, for wee were next of any thing in 48. degrees, and no Plat, nor Sea-card which we had, made mention of any Land, which lay in that manner, neere about that height; In fine, wee brought our Lar-boord tacke aboord, and ſtood to the North-eaſt-wards all that day and night, and the winde continuing Weſterly and a faire gale, we continued our courſe alongſt the Coaſt the day and night following. In which time we made account we diſcouered well neere threeſcore leagues off the Coaſt. It is bold, and made ſmall ſhew of dangers. The land is a goodly Champion Countrey, and peopled; wee ſaw many fires, but could not come to ſpeake with the people; for the time of the yeere was farre ſpent to ſhoote the Straits, and the want of our Pinnaſſe diſabled vs for finding a Port or Road; not being diſcretion with a ſhip of charge, and in an vnknowne Coaſt, to come neere the ſhoare before it was ſounded; which were cauſes, together with the change of the winde (good for vs to paſſe the Strait) that hindered the further Diſcouery of this Land, with its ſecrets: This I haue ſorrowed for many times ſince for that it had likelihood to bee an excellent Countrey. It hath great Riuers of freſh waters; for the out-ſhoot of them colours the Sea in many places, as we ranne alongſt it. It is not Mountaynous, but much of the diſpoſition of *England*, and as temperate. The things we noted principally on the Coaſt, are theſe following; the Weſtermoſt point of the Land, with which wee firſt fell, is the end of the Land to the Weſtwards, as wee found afterwards. If a man bring this point South-weſt, it riſeth in three Mounts or round Hillockes:

Land vnknowne.

A deſcription of the ſame. A caueat for comming ſuddenly to neere an vnknowne Land.

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bringing it more Westerly, they shoot themselues all into one; and bringing it Easterly, it riseth in two Hillockes. This we called Point *Tremountaine*. Some twelue or fourteene leagues from this point to the Eastwards, faire by the shoare, lyeth a low flat Iland of some two leagues long, we named it *Faire Iland*; for it was all ouer as greene and smooth, as any Meddow in the Spring of the yeare.

Point *Tremountaine*.
Faire Iland.

Some three or foure leagues Easterly from this Iland, is a goodly opening, as of a great Riuer, or an arme of the Sea, with a goodly low Countrey adjacent. And eight or tenne leagues from this opening, some three leagues from the shoare, lyeth a bigge Rocke, which at the first we had thought to be a ship vnder all her sayles; but after, as we came neere, it discouered it selfe to bee a Rocke, which we called *Conduit-head*; for that howsoeuer a man commeth with it, it is like to the Conduit-heads about the Citie of *London*. All this Coast so farre as we discouered, lyeth next of any thing East and by North, and West and by South. The Land, for that it was discouered in the Reigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, my Souereigne Lady and Mistris, and a Mayden Queene, and at my cost and aduenture, in a perpetuall memory of her chastitie, and remembrance of my endeuours, I gaue it the name of *Hawkins Maiden land*. Before a man fall with this Land, some twenty or thirty leagues, he shall meet with beds of Oreweed, driuing to and fro in that Sea, with white flowres growing vpon them, and sometimes farther off; which is a good shew and signe the Land is neere, whereof the Westermost part lyeth some threescore leagues from the neerest Land of *America*.

Conduit-head.
Hawkins Maidenland.
Beds of Oreweed, with white flowres.

With our faire and large wind, wee shaped our course for the Straits, and the tenth of February wee had sight of Land, and it was the head-land of the Straits to the Northwards, which agreed with our height, wherein wee found our selues to bee, which was in 52. degrees and 40. minutes. Within a few houres we had the mouth of the Straits open, which lieth in 52. degrees and 50. minutes. It riseth like the North foreland in *Kent*, and is much like the Land of *Margates*. It is not good to borrow neere the shoare, but to giue it a faire birth; within a few houres we entred the mouth of the Straits, which is some fixe leagues broad, and lieth in 52. degrees, and 50. minutes; doubling the Point on the starbood, which is also flat of a good birth, we opened a faire Bay, in which we might descry the Hull of a ship beaten vpon the Beach. It was of the *Spanish* Fleet, that went to inhabit there, in *Anno* 1582. vnder the charge of *Pedro Sarmiento*, who at his returne was taken Prisoner, and brought into *England*. In this Bay the *Spaniards* made their principall habitation, and called it the Citie of Saint *Philip*, and left it peopled; But the cold barrennesse of the Countrey, and the malice of the *Indians*, with whom they badly agreed, made speedy end of them, as also of those, whom they left in the middle of the Straits, three leagues from Cape *Froward* to the Eastwards, in another habitation.

Our comming to the *Straits*.
Description thereof.
Pedro Sarmiento buildeth *San Philip*.

We continued our course alongst this Reach (for all the Straits is as a Riuer altering his course, sometimes vpon one point, sometimes vpon another) which is some eight leagues long, and lieth West North-west. From this we entred into a goodly Bay, which runneth vp into the Land Northerly many leagues; and at first entrance, a man may see no other thing, but as it were, a maine Sea. From the end of this first Reach, you must direct your course West South-west, and some fourteene or fifteene leagues lyeth one of the narrowest places of all the Straits; This leadeth vnto another Reach, that lyeth West and by North some six leagues. Here in the middle of the Reach, the wind tooke vs by the North-west, and so we were forced to anchor some two or three dayes. In which time we went ashoare with our Boats, and found neere the middle of this Reach, on the starboord side, a reasonable good place to ground and trimme a small ship; where it higheth some nine or ten foot water. Here we saw certaine Hogs, but they were so farre from vs, that we could not discerne whether they were of those of the Countrey, or brought by the *Spaniards*; these were all the beasts which we saw in all the time we were in the *Straits*.

Hogs.

In two tides we turned through this reach, and so recouered the Ilands of *Pengwins*; they lye from this reach foure leagues South-west and by West. Till you come to this place, care is to be taken of not comming too neere to any point of the land; for being (for the most part) sandy, they haue sholding off them, and are somewhat dangerous. These Ilands haue beene set forth by some to be three, we could discouer but two; And they are no more except that part of the Mayne, which lyeth ouer against them, be an Iland; which carrieth little likelihood, and I cannot determine it. A man may saile betwixt the two Ilands, or betwixt them and the Land on the Larboord side; from which Land to the bigger Iland is as it were a bridge or ledge, on which is foure or fiue fathom water; and to him that commeth neere it, not knowing thereof, may iustly cause feare; for it sheweth to be shold water with his ripling, like vnto a Race. Betwixt the former Reach, and these Ilands, runneth vp a goodly Bay into the Countrey to the North-wards. It causeth a great Indraught, and aboue these Ilands runneth a great tide from the mouth of the Straits to these Ilands, the Land on the Larboord-side is low Land and sandy (for the most part, and without doubt, Ilands) for it hath many openings into the Sea, and forcible Indraughts by them, and that on the Starboord side, is all high Mountaynous Land, from end to end; but no wood on either side. Before we passed these Ilands, vnder the Lee of the bigger Iland we anchored, the winde beeing at North-east, with intent to refresh our selues with the Fowles of these Ilands.

Ilands of *Pengwins*.
Note.
Since it hath bin plainly found that all the South part are Ilands.

Ilands they are of diuers ſorts, and in great plentie, as *Pengwins*, wild Ducks, Guls and *Gannets*; of the principall we purpoſed to make prouiſion, and thoſe were the *Pengwins*. Good prouiſion in the *Straits*.

The *Pengwin* is in all proportion like a Gooſe, and hath no feathers, but a certaine downe vpon all parts of his bodie: and therefore cannot flee, but auayleth himſelfe in all occaſions with his feet, running as faſt as moſt men. He liueth in the Sea, and on the Land feedeth on fiſh in the Sea, and as a Gooſe on the ſhore vpon graſſe. They harbour themſelues vnder the ground in Burrowes, as the Conies; and in them hatch their young. All parts of the Iland where they haunted were vndermined, ſaue onely one Valley which (it ſeemeth) they reſerued for their food; for it was as greene as any Medow in the moneth of Aprill, with a moſt fine ſhort graſſe. The fleſh of theſe *Pengwins* is much of the ſauour of a certaine Fowle taken in the Ilands of *Landey* and *Silley*, which we call *Puffins*, by the taſte it is eaſily diſcerned that they feed on fiſh. They are very fat, and in dreſſing muſt be ſtead as the Byter; they are reaſonable meate roſted, baked, or ſodden; but beſt roſted. We ſalted ſome doozen or ſixteene Hogſheads, which ſerued vs (whileſt they laſted) in ſteed of powdred Beefe. The hunting of them (as wee may well terme it) was a great recreation to my company and worth the ſight, for in determining to catch them, neceſſarily was required good ſtore of people, euery one with a cudgell in his hand, to compaſſe them round about, to bring them, as it were, into a Ring; if they chanced to breake out, then was the ſport; for the ground beeing vndermined, at vnawares it failed, and as they ranne after them, one fell here, another there, another offering to ſtrike at one, lifting vp his hand, ſunke vp to the armepits in the earth, another leaping to auoid one hole, fell into another. And after the firſt ſlaughter, in ſeeing vs on the ſhoare, they ſhunned vs, and procured to recouer the Sea: yea many times ſeeing themſelues perſecuted they would tumble downe from ſuch high Rocks and Mountaines, as it ſeemed impoſſible to eſcape with life. Yet as ſoone as they came to the Beach, preſently we ſhould ſee them runne into the Sea, as though they had no hurt. Where one goeth, the other foloweth, like ſheepe after the Bel-weather: but in getting them once within the Ring cloſe together, few eſcaped, ſaue ſuch as by chance hid themſelues in the borrowes, and ordinarily there was no Droue which yeelded vs not a thouſand, and more: the manner of killing them which the Hunters vſed, beeing in a cluſter together, was with their cudgels to knocke them on the head, for though a man gaue them many blowes on the body they dyed not: Beſides the fleſh bruized is not good to keepe. The maſſacre ended, preſently they cut of their heads, that they might bleed well: ſuch as we determined to keepe for ſtore, we ſaued in this manner. Firſt, wee ſplit them, and then waſhed them well in Sea-water, then ſalted them, hauing laine ſome ſixe houres in Salt, we put them in preſſe eight houres, and the bloud being ſoaked out, wee ſalted them againe in our other caske, as is the cuſtome to ſalt Beefe, after this manner they continued good ſome two moneths, and ſerued vs in ſteed of Beefe. Hunting the *Pengwin*. The keeping for ſtore.

The Guls and *Gannets*, were not in ſo great quantitie, yet we wanted not young Guls to eate all the time of our ſtay about theſe Ilands. It was one of the delicateſt foods, that I haue eaten in all my life. The Guls.

The Duckes are different to ours, and nothing ſo good meate; yet they may ſerue for neceſſitie: They were many, and had a part of the Iland to themſelues ſeuerall, which was the higheſt Hill and more then a Muſket ſhot ouer. In all the dayes of my life, I haue not ſeene greater arte and curioſitie in creatures voide of reaſon, then in the placing and making of their Neſts; all the Hill being ſo full of them, that the greateſt Mathematician of the World, could not deuiſe how to place one more then there was vpon the Hill, leauing onely one path-way for a Fowle to paſſe betwixt. The Hill was all leuell, as if it had beene ſmoothed by arte; the Neſts made onely of earth, and ſeeming to be of the ſelfe-ſame mould; for the Neſts and the ſoile is all one, which, with water that they bring in their Beakes, they make into Clay, or a certaine dawbe, and after faſhion them round, as with a compaſſe. In the bottome they containe the meaſure of a foot; in the height about eight inches; and in the top, the ſame quantitie ouer; there they are hollowed in, ſomwhat deep, wherein they lay their Egges, without other preuention. And I am of opinion, that the Sun helpeth them to hatch their young: their Neſts are for many yeares, and of one proportion, not one exceeding another in bigneſſe, in height, nor circumference; and in proportionable diſtance one from another. In all this Hill, nor in any of their Neſts, was to be found a blade of graſſe, a ſtraw, a ſticke, a feather, a meat, no, nor the filing of any Fowle, but all the Neſts and paſſages betwixt them, were ſo ſmooth and cleane, as if they had bin newly ſwept & waſhed. Ducks. Cunning Architecture. Their neatneſſe.

One day hauing ended our hunting of *Pengwins*, one of our Mariners walking about the Iland, diſcouered a great company of Seales, or Sea-wolues (ſo called for that they are in the Sea, as the Wolues on the Land) aduiſing vs, that he left them ſleeping, with their bellies toaſting againſt the Sunne: we prouided our ſelues with ſtaues and other weapons, and ſought to ſteale vpon them at vnawares, to ſurprize ſome of them, and comming downe the ſide of a Hill, we were not diſcouered, till wee were cloſe vpon them; notwithſtanding, their Sentinell (before wee could approach) with a great howle waked them: we got betwixt the Sea and ſome of them, but they ſhunned vs not; for they came diredtly vpon vs; and though we dealt heere and there a blow, yet not a man that withſtood them, eſcaped the ouerthrow. They reckon not Of Seales, or Sea-woolues.

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of a Musket shot, a sword pierceth not their skinne, and to giue a blowe with a staffe, is as to smite vpon a stone: only in giuing the blowe vpon his snout, presently he falleth downe dead. After they had recouered the water, they did as it were, scorne vs, defie vs, and daunced before vs, vntill we had shot some Musket shot through them, and so they appeared no more.

Description of the Seale. This fish is like vnto a Calfe, with foure legs, but not aboue a spanne long: his skinne is hairy like a Calfe: but these were different to all that euer I haue seene, yet I haue seene of them in many parts; for these were greater, and in their former parts like vnto Lions, with shagge haire, and mostaches. They liue in the Sea, and come to sleepe on the Land, and they euer haue one that watcheth, who aduiseth them of any accident. They are beneficiall to man in their skinnes for many purposes: In their mostaches for Pick-tooths, and in their fatte to make Traine-oyle.

Their Sentinel.

Wee embarqued our selues, and set sayle with the winde at North-west, which could serue vs but to an end of that reach, some dozen leagues long, and some three or foure leagues broad. It lieth next of any thing, till you come to Cape *Agreda*, South-west; from this Cape to Cape *Froward*, the coast lieth West South-west. Some foure leagues betwixt them, was the second peopling of the *Spaniards:* and this Cape lieth in 55. degrees and better. Thwart Cape *Froward*, the winde larged with vs, and we continued our course towards the Iland of *Elizabeth*; which lieth from Cape *Froward* some foureteene leagues West and by South. This reach is foure or fiue leagues broad, and in it are many channels or openings into the Sea; for all the land on the Souther part of the Straites are Ilands and broken land; and from the beginning of this reach to the end of the Straits, high mountainous Land on both sides, in most parts couered with Snowe all the yeere long. Betwixt the Iland *Elizabeth*, and the Maine, is the narrowest passage of all the Straites; it may be some two Musket shot from side to side. From this Straite to *Elizabeth* Bay, is some foure leagues, and the course lieth North-west and by West. This Bay is all sandie, and cleane ground on the Easterne part; but before you come at it, there lieth a point of the shoare a good birth off, which is dangerous. And in this reach, as in many parts of the Straites, runneth a quicke and forcible tide. In the Bay it higheth eight or nine foot water. The Northerne part of the Bay hath foule ground, and Rockes vnder water: and therefore it is not wholsome borrowing of the Maine. One of Master *Thomas Candish* his Pinasses (as I haue been enformed) came aground vpon one of them, and he was in hazard to haue left her there.

The second peopling of the *Spaniards.*

Elizabeths Bay.

From *Elizabeth* Bay to the River of *Ieronimo*, is some fiue leagues. The course lieth West and by North, and West. Here the winde scanted, and forced vs to seeke a place to anchor in. Our Boats going alongst the shoare, found a reasonable Harbour, which is right against that which they call, River *Ieronimo:* but it is another channell, by which a man may dissemboque the Straite, as by the other which is accustomed; for with a storme, which tooke vs one night, suddenly wee were forced into that opening vnwittingly; but in the morning, seeing our errour, and the winde larging, with two or three boords we turned into the old channell, not daring for want of our Pinasse to attempt any new Discouerie. This Harbour wee called *Blanches* Bay; for that it was found by *William Blanch*, one of our Masters Mates. Here hauing moored our ship, we beganne to make our prouision of wood and water, whereof was plentie in this Bay, and in all other places from *Pengwin* Ilands, till within a dozen leagues of the mouth of the Straites.

The River of *Ieronimo.*

Another channell.

Blanches Bay.

Now finding our Deckes open, with the long lying vnder the Line, and on the coast of *Brasill*, the Sunne hauing beene in our Zenith many times, we calked our ship, within boord and without, aboue the Deckes. And such was the diligence wee vsed, that at foure dayes end, wee had aboue threescore Pipes of water, and twentie Boats of wood stowed in our ship: no man was idle, nor otherwise busied but in necessarie workes: some in felling and cleauing of wood; some in carrying of water; some in romaging; some in washing, others in baking; one in heating of Pitch, another in gathering of Muskles: no man was exempted, but knew at euening, whereunto he was to betake himselfe the morning following.

Obiection of waste. Answere.

Some man might aske mee, how wee came to haue so many emptie Caske in lesse then two moneths; for it seemeth much, that so few men in such short time, and in so long a Voyage should waste so much? Whereto I answere, that it came not of excessiue expense; for in health we neuer exceeded our ordinarie; but of a mischance which befell vs vnknowne in the Iland of Saint *Iames*, or Saint *Anne*, in the coast of *Brasill*, where wee refreshed our selues, and according to the custome, laid our Caske ashoare, to trimme it, and after to fill it, the place being commodious for vs. But with the water a certaine worme, called *Broma* by the *Spaniard*, and by vs *Arters*, entred also, which eate it so full of holes, that all the water soaked out, and made much of our Caske of small vse. This we remedied the best wee could, and discouered it long before we came to this place.

Warning against wormes which eate through ships.

Hereof let others take warning, in no place to haue Caske on the shoare, where it may be auoyded; for it is one of the prouisions which are with greatest care to be preserued in long Voyages, and hardest to be supplied. These Arters, *or* Broma, *in all hot Countries enter into the plankes of ships, and especially where are Riuers of fresh water, (the common opinion is, that they are bred in fresh water, and with the*

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the current of the Riuers are brought into the Sea) but experience teacheth, that they breede in the great Seas, in all hot climates, especially neere the Equinoctiall Line: for lying so long vnder, and neere the Line, and towing a Shalop at our sterne, comming to cleanse her in Brasill, *wee found her all vnder water couered with these Wormes, as bigge as the little finger of a man, on the outside of the planke, not fully couered, but halfe the thicknesse of their bodie, like to a gellie wrought into the planke as with a Gowdge. In little time, if the ship be not sheathed, they put all in hazard; for they enter in no bigger then a small* Spanish *Needle, and by little and little their holes become ordinarily greater then a mans finger. The thicker the planke is, the greater he groweth; yea, I haue seene many ships so eaten, that the most of their plankes vnder water haue beene like Honie-combes, and especially those betwixt winde and water. If they had not beene sheathed, it had beene impossible that they could haue swomme. The entring of them is hardly to be discerned, the most of them being small as the head of a Pinne. Which, all such as purpose long Voyages, are to preuent by sheathing their ships.*

Of sheathing ships.

And for that I haue seene diuers manners of sheathing, for the ignorant I will set them downe which by experience I haue found best. In Spaine, *and* Portugall, *some sheath their ships with Lead; which, besides the cost and weight, although they vse the thinnest sheet-lead that I haue seene in any place, yet it is nothing durable, but subiect to many casualties. Another manner is vsed with double plankes, as thicke without as within, after the manner of furring; which is little better then that with Lead: for besides his weight, it dureth little, because the Worme in small time passeth through the one and the other.*

In *Spaine* and *Portugall*, with double plankes.

A third manner of sheathing had beene vsed amongst some with fine Canuas; which is of small continuance, and so not to be regarded.

With Canuas.

The fourth preuention, which now is most accounted of is to burne the vpper planke till it come to be in euery place like a Cole, and after to pitch it: this is not bad.

With burnt plankes.

In China, *(as I haue beene enformed) they vse a certaine Betune or Varnish, in manner of an artificiall Pitch, wherewith they trimme the outside of their ships. It is said to bee durable, and of that vertue, as neither worme, nor water pierceth it; neither hath the Sunne power against it. Some haue deuised a certaine Pitch, mingled with Glasse, and other ingredients, beaten into powder, with which if the ship be pitched, it is said, the worme that toucheth it, dieth: but I haue not heard, that it hath beene vsefull. But the most approued of all is the manner of sheathing vsed now adayes in* England, *with thinne boords, halfe inch thicke, the thinner the better, and Elme better then Oake; for it riueth not, it indureth better vnder water, and yeeldeth better to the ships side.*

In *China* with Varnish.

In *England*.

The inuention of the materials incorporated betwixt the planke and the sheathing, is that indeed which anayleth; for without it many plankes were not sufficient to hinder the entrance of this worme: this manner is thus: Before the sheathing boord is nayled on, vpon the inner side of it, they smeare it ouer with Tarre, halfe a finger thicke, and vpon the Tarre, another halfe thicke of haire, such as the Whitelymers vse, and so nayle it on, the nayles not aboue a spanne distance one from another: the thicker they are driuen, the better. Some hold opinion, that the Tarre killeth the worme; others, that the worme passing the sheathing, and seeking a way through, the haire and the Tarre so inuolue, that hee is choaked therewith; which mee thinkes is most probable: this manner of sheathing was inuented by my Father; and experience hath taught it to be the best, and of least cost.

Best manner of sheathing.

Such was the diligence we vsed for our dispatch to shoot the Straits, that at foure dayes end, we had our water and wood stowed in our ship, all our Copper-worke finished, and our ship calked from Post to Stemme: the first day in the morning (the winde being faire) we brought our selues into the channell, and sayled towards the mouth of the Straites, praising God: and beginning our course with little winde, wee descried a fire vpon the shoare, made by the *Indians* for a signe to call vs; which seene, I caused a Boat to bee man'd, and wee rowed ashoare, to see what their meaning was, and approaching neere the shoare, we saw a Canoa made fast vnder a Rocke with a Wyth, most artificially made with the rindes of trees, and sewed together with the finnes of Whales; at both ends sharpe and turning vp, with a greene bough in either end, and ribbes for strengthening it. After a little while we might discerne on the fall of the Mountaine (which was full of trees and shrubs) two or three *Indians* naked, which came out of certaine Caues or Cotes. They spake vnto vs, and made diuers signes; now pointing to the Harbour, out of which we were come; and then to the mouth of the Straites: but we vnderstood nothing of their meaning. Yet left they vs with many imaginations, suspecting it might bee to aduise vs of our Pinnace, or some other thing of moment: but for that they were vnder couert, and might worke vs some treacherie (for all the people of the Straits, and the Land neere them, vse all the villanie they can towards white people, taking them for *Spaniards*, in reuenge of the deceit that Nation hath vsed towards them vpon sundry occasions:) as also for that by our stay wee could reape nothing but hinderance of our Nauigation, wee hasted to our ship, and sayled on our course.

The Naturals.

From *Blanches* Bay to long Reach, which is some foure leagues, the course lieth West South-west entring into the long Reach, which is the last of the Straits, and longest. For it is some thirtie two leagues, and the course lieth next of any thing North-west. Before the setting of the Sunne, wee had the mouth of the Straites open, and were in great hope the next day to be in the South Sea: but about seuen of the clocke that night, we saw a great cloude arise out of the North-east, which began to cast forth great flashes of lightnings, and suddenly sayling with a fresh

Long Reach.

Mouth of the Straits.

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a freſh gale of winde at North-eaſt, another more forcible tooke vs aſtayes, which put vs in danger: for, all our ſayles being a taut, it had like to haue ouerſet our ſhip, before we could take in our ſayles. And therefore in all ſuch ſemblances it is great wiſedome to carrie a ſhort ſayle, or to take in all ſayles. Here we found what the *Indians* fore-warned vs of: for they haue great inſight in the change of weather, and beſides haue ſecret dealing with the Prince of Darkneſſe, who many times declareth vnto them things to come: By this meanes and other witch-crafts, which he teacheth them, he poſſeſſeth them, and cauſeth them to doe what pleaſeth him. Within halfe an houre it began to thunder and raine, with ſo much winde as wee were forced to lie a hull, and ſo darke, that we ſaw nothing, but when the lightning came. This being one of the narroweſt Reaches of all the Straites, we were forced, euery glaſſe, to open a little of our fore-ſayle, to caſt about our ſhips head: any man may conceiue if the night ſeemed long vnto vs, what deſire we had to ſee the day. In fine, *Phœbus* with his beautifull face lightned our Hemiſphere, and reioyced our hearts (hauing driuen aboue twentie foure leagues in twelue houres lying a hull: whereby is to be imagined the force of the winde and current.)

Note.

Tempeſt.

Wee ſet our fore-ſayle, and returned to our former Harbour: from whence, within three or foure dayes, we ſet ſayle againe with a faire winde, which continued with vs till we came within a league of the mouth of the Strait, here the winde tooke vs againe contrarie, and forced vs to returne againe to our former Port: where being ready to anchor, the winde ſcanted with vs in ſuch manner, as we were forced to make aboord. In which time, the winde and tide put vs ſo farre to lee-wards, that we could by no meanes ſeize it: So wee determined to goe to *Elizabeth* Bay, but before we came at it, the night ouertooke vs: and this Reach being dangerous and narrow, we durſt neither hull, nor tne, or turne to and againe with a ſhort ſayle, and therefore bare alongſt in the middeſt of the channell, till we were come into the broad Reach, then lay a hull till the morning.

When we ſet ſayle and ran alongſt the coaſt, ſeeking with our Boate ſome place to anchor in; ſome foure leagues to the Weſtwards of Cape *Froward*, we found a goodly Bay; which we named *Engliſh* Bay: where anchored, wee preſently went aſhoare, and found a goodly Riuer of freſh water, and an old Canoa broken to pieces, and ſome two or three of the houſes of the *Indians*, with pieces of Seale ſtinking ripe. Theſe houſes are made in faſhion of an Ouen ſeuen or eight foot broad, with boughs of trees, and couered with other boughes, as our Summer houſes; and doubtleſſe doe ſerue them but for the Summer time, when they come to fiſh, and profite themſelues of the Sea. For they retire themſelues in the Winter into the Countrie, whereit is more temperate, and yeeldeth better ſuſtenance: for on the Mayne of the Straites, we neither ſaw beaſt nor fowle, Sea-fowle excepted, and a kinde of Black-bird, and two Hogs towards the beginning of the Straits. Here our ſhip being well moored, we began to ſupplie our wood and water, that we had ſpent. Which being a dayes worke, and the winde during many dayes contrary, I endeauored to keep my people occupied, to diuert them from the imagination which ſome had conceiued; that it behoued we ſhould returne to *Braſill*, and winter there, and ſo ſhoot the Straits in the Spring of the yeere. One day wee rowed vp the Riuer, with our Boate and Light-horſeman, to diſcouer it, and the Inland: where hauing ſpent a good part of the day, and finding ſhoald water, and many Trees fallen thwart it, and little fruit of our labour, nor any thing worth the noting, wee returned. Another day, wee trained our people aſhoare, being a goodly ſandy Bay: another, wee had a hurling of Batchelors againſt married men; this day we were buſied in wreſtling, the other in ſhooting; ſo we were neuer idle, neither thought we the time long.

Engliſh Bay.

The natiues houſes.

Sloth cauſe of imagination.

After wee had paſt here ſome ſeuen or eight dayes, one euening with a ſlaw from the ſhoare, our ſhip droue off into the channell, and before wee could get vp our Anchor, and let our Sayles, we were driuen ſo farre to lee-wards, that wee could not recouer into the Bay; and night comming on, with a ſhort ſayle, we beate off and on till the morning. At the breake of the day conferring with the Captaine and Maſter of my ſhip, what was beſt to bee done, wee reſolued to ſeeke out *Tobias Coue*, which lieth ouer againſt Cape *Fryo*, on the Southerne part of the Straits. becauſe in all the Reaches of the Straits (for the moſt part) the winde bloweth trade, and therefore little profit to be made by turning to winde-wards. And from the Ilands of the *Pengwins* to the end of the Straites towards the South-ſea, there is no anchoring in the channell: and if we ſhould be put to lee-wards of this *Coue*, we had no ſuccour till we came to the Ilands of *Pengwins*; and ſome of our companie which had been with *M. Th. Candiſh* in the Voyage in which he died, and in the ſame *Coue* many weekes, vndertooke to be our Pilots thither. Whereupon wee bare vp, being ſome two leagues thither, hauing ſo much winde as we could ſcarce lie by it with our courſe and bonnet of each; but bearing vp before the winde, we put out our Topſayles and Spritſayle, and within a little while the winde began to fayle vs, and immediatly our ſhip gaue a mightie blowe vpon a Rocke, and ſtucke faſt vpon it. And had wee had but the fourth part of the winde, which we had in all the night paſt, but a moment before wee ſtrucke the Rocke, our ſhip, doubtleſſe, with the blowe had broken her ſelfe all to pieces.

Tobias Coue.

Setting of the ſhip vpon a Rocke.

To the laborious God propitious.

All our labour was fruitleſſe till God was pleaſed that the floud came, and then wee had her

off

off with great ioy and comfort, when finding the current fauourable with vs, wee ſtood ouer to *Engliſh* Bay, and fetching it, we anchored there, hauing beene ſome three houres vpon the Rock; and with the blowe, as after we ſaw, when our ſhip was brought a ground in *Perico* (which is the Port of *Panama*) a great part of her ſheathing was beaten off on both ſides of her Bulges, and ſome foure foot long, and a foot ſquare of her falſe ſtemme, ioyning to the Keele, wreſted acroſſe, like vnto a Hogs yoake, which hindered her ſayling very much.

They ſounded a Coue ſome ſixteene leagues from the mouth of the Straite, which after wee called *Crabby Coue*. It brooked his name well for two cauſes; the one, for that all the water was full of a ſmall kinde of red Crabbes; the other, for the crabbed Mountaines which ouer-topped it: a third wee might adde, for the crabbed entertainment it gaue vs. In this Coue wee anchored, but the winde freſhing in, and three or foure Hills ouer-topping (like Sugar-loaues) altered and ſtraightned the paſſage of the wind in ſuch manner, as forced it downe with ſuch violence in flawes and furious bluſtrings, as was like to ouerſet our ſhip at Anchor, and cauſed her to driue, and vs to weigh; but before we could weigh it, ſhe was ſo neere the Rocks and the puffes and guſts of wind ſo ſudden and vncertain, ſomtimes ſcant, ſomtimes large, that it forced vs to cut our Cable, and yet dangerous if our ſhip did not caſt the right way. Here neceſſitie, not being ſubiect to any law, forced vs to put our ſelues into the hands of him that was able to deliuer vs. Wee cut our Cable and Sayle all in one inſtant: And God to ſhew his power and gracious bountie towards vs, was pleaſed that our ſhip caſt the contrarie way towards the ſhoare, ſeeming that hee with his owne hand did wend her about: for in leſſe then her length, ſhe flatted, and in all the Voyage but at that inſtant, ſhee flatted with difficultie, for that ſhee was long; the worſt propertie ſhee had. On either ſide we might ſee the Rockes vnder vs, and were not halfe a ſhips length from the ſhoare, and if ſhee had once couched, it had beene impoſſible to haue eſcaped.

Crabby Coue.

Gods gracious deliuerance.

From hence wee returned to *Blanches* Bay, and there anchored, expecting Gods good will and pleaſure. Here beganne the bitterneſſe of the time to encreaſe with bluſtering and ſharpe windes, accompanied with raine and fleeting ſnowe, and my people to bee diſmayed againe, in manifeſting a deſire to returne to *Braſill*, which I would neuer conſent vnto, no, not ſo much as to heare of.

And all men are to take care, that they goe not one foote backe, more then is of meere force: for I haue not ſeene, that any who haue yeelded thereunto, but preſently they haue returned home. As in the Voyage of Maſter Edward Fenton; *in that which the Earle of* Cumberland *ſet forth, to his great charge; as alſo in that of Maſter* Thomas Candiſh, *in which he died. All which pretended to ſhoote the Straites of* Magelan, *and by perſwaſion of ſome ignorant perſons, being in good poſſibilitie, were brought to conſent to returne to* Braſill, *to winter, and after in the Spring to attempt the paſſing of the Straite againe. None of them made any abode in* Braſill: *for preſently as ſoone as they looked homeward, one, with a little bluſtering winde taketh occaſion to leaſe companie; another complaineth, that he wanteth victuals; another, that his ſhip is leake; another, that his maſts, ſayles, cordidge faileth him. So the willing neuer want probable reaſons to further their pretences. As I ſaw once (being but young, and more bold then experimented) in the yeere* 1582. *in a Voyage, vnder the charge of my Vncle* William Hawkins *of* Plimouth, *Eſquire, in the* Indies, *at the Weſter end of the Iland of* San Iuan de Portorico; *One of the ſhips (called the* Barke bonner) *being ſomewhat leake, the Captaine complayned that ſhee was not able to endure to* England: *whereupon a Counſell was called, and his reaſons heard, and allowed. So it was concluded, that the Victuall, Munition, and what was ſeruiceable, ſhould be taken out of her, and her men diuided amongſt our other ſhips; the Hull remayning to be ſunke, or burned. To which I neuer ſpake word till I ſaw it reſolued; being my part rather to learne, then to adviſe. But ſeeing the fatall ſentence giuen, and ſuſpecting that the Captaine made it worſe then it was, rather vpon policie to come into another ſhip, which was better of ſayle, then for any danger they might runne into: with as much reaſon as my capacitie could reach vnto, I diſſwaded my Vncle priuately; And vrged, that ſeeing wee had profited the Aduenturers nothing, we ſhould endeauour to preſerue our principall; eſpecially, hauing men and victuals. But ſeeing I preuayled not, I went further, and offered to finde out in the ſame ſhip, and others, ſo many men, as with me would be content to carrie her home, giuing vs the third part of the value of the ſhip, as ſhee ſhould be valued at, at her returne, by foure indifferent perſons; and to leaue the Vice-admirall, which I had vnder my charge, and to make her Vice-admirall. Whereupon it was condeſcended, that wee ſhould all goe aboord the ſhip, and that there it ſhould be determined. The Captaine thought himſelfe ſomewhat touched in Reputation, and ſo would not thus further triall ſhould be made of the matter, ſaying, that if another man was able to carrie the ſhip into* England, *he would in no caſe leaue her, neither would he forſake her till ſhee ſunke vnder him. The Generall commended him for his reſolution, and thanked me for my offer, tending to the generall good; my intention being to force thoſe who for gaine could vndertake to carrie her home, ſhould alſo doe it gratis, according to their Obligation. Thus, this leake-ſhip went well into* England; *where, after ſhe made many a good Voyage in nine yeeres.*

Voyage ouerthrowne by giuing way to murderers.

Edward Fenton and Maſter Thomas Candiſh.

Maſter William Hawkins.

As the weather gaue leaue, wee entertained our ſelues the firſt dayes in neceſſarie affaires and workes, and after in making of Coale, with intent (the winde continuing long very contrarie) to ſee if wee could remedie any of our broken Anchours; a Forge I had

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in my ſhip, and of fiue Anchors which we brought out of *England*, there remained but one that was ſeruiceable.

In the Ilands of *Pengwins* we loſt one, in *Crabbie Cone* another: a third, vpon another occaſion, we broke an arme, and the fourth, on the Rocke had the eye of his Ring broken. This (one day deuiſing with my ſelfe) I made to ſerue, without working him a new. Which when I tooke firſt in hand, all men thought it ridiculous: but in fine, we made it in that manner ſo ſeruiceable, as till our ſhip came to *Callao*, which is the Port of *Lyma*, ſhee ſcarce vſed any other Anchor, and when I came from *Lyma* to *Panama*, which was three yeeres after, I ſaw it ſerue the Admirall in which I came (a ſhip of aboue 500. tuns) without other arte or addition, then what my owne inuention contriued.

The mending of an vnſerviceable Anchor.

And for that in the like neceſſitie, or occaſion, others may profit themſelues of the induſtrie, I will recount the manner of the forging our eye without fire, or Iron. It was in this ſort. From the eye of the ſhanke, about the head of the croſſe, we gaue two tunnes with a new ſtrong Halſer, betwixt three and foure inches, giuing a reaſonable allowance for that, which ſhould be the eye, and ſerued in ſtead of the Ring, then we faſtned the two ends of the Halſer, ſo as in that part it was as ſtrong as in any other, and with our Capſten ſtretched the two bightes, that euery part might beare proportionably, then armed we all the Halſer round about with ſixe yarne Synnets, and likewiſe the ſhanke of the Anchor, and the head with a ſmooth Mat made of the ſame Synnet: this done, with an inch Rope, we woolled the two bightes to the ſhanke, from the croſſe to the eye, and that alſo which was to ſerue for the Ring, and fitted the ſtocke accordingly. This done, thoſe who before derided the inuention, were of opinion, that it would ſerue for need; onely they put one difficultie, that with the fall or pitch of the Anchor in hard ground, with his waight he would cut the Halſer in ſunder on the head; for preuention whereof, we placed a panch (as the Mariners terme it) vpon the head of the Anchor, with whoſe ſoftneſſe this danger was preuented, and the Anchor paſt for ſeruiceable.

Entertainment of time to auoid idleneſſe.

A kind of hot Spice in the Straits.

In gathering of *Winters Barke*.

Some of our idle time we ſpent in gathering the barke and fruit of a certaine Tree, which we found in all places of the Straits, where we found Trees. This Tree carrieth his fruit in cluſters like a Hawthorne, but that it is greene, each berry of the bigneſſe of a Pepper-corne, and euery of them contayning within foure or fiue granes, twice as bigge as a Muſtard-ſeed, which broken, are white within, as the good Pepper, and bits much like it, but hotter. The barke of this Tree, hath the ſauour of all kinde of Spices together, moſt comfortable to the ſtomack, and held to bee better then any Spice whatſoer. And for that a learned Countriman of ours Doctor *Turner*, hath written of it, by the name of *Winters Barke*, what I haue ſaid may ſuffice. The leafe of this Tree is of a whitiſh greene, and is not vnlike to the Aſpen leafe.

Of Pearles in the Straits.

Diſcourſe of Pearles how they breed.

Otherwhiles we entertained our ſelues in gathering of Pearles out of Muſcles, whereof there are abundance in all places, from Cape *Froward*, to the end of the Straits. The Pearles are but of a bad colour, and ſmall, but it may be that in the great Muſcles in deeper water, the Pearles are bigger, and of greater value, of the ſmall ſeed Pearle, there was great quantitie, and the Muſcles were a great refreſhing vnto vs: for they were exceeding good, and in great plentie. And here let mee craue pardon if I erre, ſeeing I diſclaime from being a Naturaliſt, by deliuering my opinion touching the breeding of theſe Pearles, which I thinke to be of a farre different nature and qualitie to thoſe found in the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*, which are found in Oyſters, growing in the ſhell, vnder the ruffe of the Oyſter, ſome ſay of the dew, which I hold to be ſome old Philoſophers conceit, for that it cannot be made probable, how the dew ſhould come into the Oyſter: and if this were true, then, queſtionleſſe, we ſhould haue them in our Oyſters, as in thoſe of the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*: but thoſe Oyſters were by the Creator, made to bring forth this rare fruit, all their ſhels being (to looke to) Pearle it ſelfe. And the other Pearles found in our Oyſters and Muſcles, in diuers parts are ingendred out of the fatneſſe of the fiſh, in the very ſubſtance of the fiſh, ſo that in ſome Muſcles haue bin found twentie and thirtie, in ſeuerall parts of the fiſh, and theſe not perfect in colour, nor cleerneſſe, as thoſe found in the Pearle-oyſters, which are euer perfect in colour and cleerneſſe, like the Sunne in his riſing, and therefore called Orientall, and not (as is ſuppoſed) becauſe out of the Eaſt, for they are as well found in the Weſt, and no way inferiour to thoſe of the Eaſt *Indies*. Other fiſh, beſides Seales and Crabbes, like Shrimpes, and one Whale with two or three Porpuſſes, we ſaw not in all the Straits.

Preuention of Rats.

Heere wee made alſo a ſuruay of our victuals, and opening certaine Barrels of Oatten meale, wee found a great part of ſome of them, as alſo of our Pipes and Fats of bread, eaten and conſumed by the Rats; doubtleſſe, a fift part my company did not eate ſo much, as theſe deuoured, as we found daily in comming to ſpend any of our prouiſions. When I came to the Sea, it was not ſuſpected, that I had a Rat in my ſhip; but with the bread in Caske, which wee tranſported out of the *Hawke*, and the going to and againe of our Boats vnto our prize, (though wee had diuers Cats and vſed other preuentions) in a ſmall time they multiplyed in ſuch a manner, is incredible; It is one of the generall calamities of all long Voyages, and would bee carefully preuented, as much as may be. For beſides that which they conſume of the beſt victuals, they eate the ſayles; and neither packe, nor cheſt, is free from their ſurprizes. I haue knowne them to make

make a hole in a Pipe of water, and seying the Pumpe, haue put all in feare, doubting lest some leak had bin sprung vpon the ship. Moreouer, I haue heard credible persons report, that ships haue beene put in danger by them to be sunke, by a hole made in the bulge. All which is easily remedied at the first, but if once they be somewhat increased, with difficultie they are to be destroied. And although I propounded a reward for euery Rat which was taken, and sought meanes by poison, and other industrious deuises to consume them, yet their increase being so ordinary and many; wee were not able to cleare our selues from them. The calamities they bring to a ship.

At the end of fourteene dayes, one euening being calme, and a goodly cleare in the Easterboord, I willed our Anchor to be weyed, and determined to goe into the Channell, being gotten into the Channell, within an houre, the wind came good, and we sailed merrily on our Voyage; and by the breake of the day, we had the mouth of the Straits open, and about foure of the clock in the afternoone, we were thwart of Cape *Desire*; which is the Westermost part of the Land on the Souther side of the Straits. Backwardnes in the company. Cape *Desire*.

§. IIII.

Entrance into the South Sea; discouery of the South parts of the Straits to bee but Ilands by Sir FRANCIS DRAKE *(which the* Hollanders *ascribe to* MAIRE *and* SCHOVTEN.*) Of the Iland* Mocha, *and the parts adioyning.*

FRom Cape *Desire*, some foure leagues Northwest, lie foure Ilands, which are very small, and the middlemost of them is of the fashion of a Sugar-loafe. Wee were no sooner cleere of Cape *Desire*, and his ledge of Rockes (which lie a great way off into the Sea) but the wind tooke vs contrary by the North-west; and so wee stood off into the Sea two dayes and two nights to the Westwards. In all the Straits it ebbeth and floweth more or lesse, and in many places it hieth very little water, but in some Bayes, where are great Indraughes, it highteth eight or ten foot, and doubtlesse, further in, more. South part of the Straits Ilands. The *Hollanders* challenge the discouery of new Straits by *Maire* and *Schouten* before twice sailed about by Sir *F. Drake*. See *sup.* the Preface to the second Chapter of *lib.* 3. Sir *F. Drake* imbraceth the Southermost point of the World. Since this, in that Voiage wherein *W. Adams* was Pilot (whose voiage and *Seb. Wertes* ye haue in the former Tome) *Theodore Gerards* one of that fleet, was caried by tempest, as they write to 64. degrees South, in which height the country was mountainous & couered with snow, looking like *Norway*. It seemed to extend towards the Ilands of *Salomon*. *Simon de Cordes* another of that fleet after prosperous successe in *Chili*, was taken by the *Portugals* at the *Molucas*, and caried to *Malaca* prisoner. *Mocha*, *Baldivia* and *Conception* wonne from the *Spaniards* by the *Indians*. Beefe kept most safely in Pickell.

If a man be furnished with wood and water, and the winde good, hee may keepe the Mayne Sea, and goe round about the Straits to the Southwards, and it is the shorter way; for besides the experience which we made, that all the South part of the Straits is but Ilands, many times hauing the Sea open, I remember, that Sir *Francis Drake* told mee, that hauing shot the Straits, a storme tooke him first at North-west, and after vered about to the South-west, which continued with him many dayes, with that extremitie, that he could not open any sayle, and that at the end of the storme, he found himselfe in fiftie degrees, which was sufficient testimony and proofe, that he was beaten round about the Straits, for the least height of the Straits is in fiftie two degrees and fiftie minutes; in which stand the two entrances or mouthes. And moreouer, hee said, that standing about, when the winde changed, hee was not well able to double the Southermost Iland, and so anchored vnder the lee of it; and going ashoare, carried a Compasse with him, and seeking out the Southermost part of the Iland, cast himselfe downe vpon the vttermost point groueling, and so reached out his bodie ouer it. Presently he imbarked, and then recounted vnto his people, that he had beene vpon the Southermost knowne Land in the World, and more further to the Southwards vpon it, then any of them, yea, or any man as yet knowne. These testimonies may suffice for this truth vnto all, but such as are incredulous, and will beleeue nothing but what they see; for my part, I am of opinion, that the Straite is nauigable all the yeere long, although the best time bee in Nouember, December, and Ianuary, and then the windes more fauourable, which other times are variable, as in all narrow Seas.

Being some fiftie leagues a Sea-boord the Straits, the winde vering to the West-wards, wee cast about to the Northwards; and lying the Coast along, shaped our course for the Iland *Mocha*. About the fifteenth of Aprill, we were thwart of *Baldivia*, which was then in the hands of the *Spaniards*, but since the *Indians*, in *Anno* 1599. dispossessed them of it, and the *Conception*; which are two of the most principall places they had in that Kingdome, and both Ports. *Baldivia* had its name of a *Spanish* Captaine so called, whom afterwards the *Indians* tooke Prisoner, and it is said, they required of him the reason why hee came to molest them, and to take their Countrey from them, hauing no title nor right thereunto; he answered, to get Gold; which the barbarous vnderstanding, caused Gold to bee molten, and powred downe his throate, saying, *Gold was thy desire, glut thee with it.* It standeth in forty degrees, hath a pleasant Riuer and Nauigable; for a Ship of good burthen may goe as high vp as the Citie, and is a goodly Wood Countrey.

Heere our Beefe began to take end, and was then as good, as the day wee departed from *England*; it was preserued in Pickell, which, though it bee more chargeable, yet the profit payeth

the charge, in that it is made durable, contrary to the opinion of many, which hold it impossible, that Beefe should be kept good passing the Equinoctiall Line. And of our Porke I eate in the house of *Don Beltran de Castro* in *Lima*, neere foure yeeres olde, very good, preserued after the same manner, notwithstanding, it had lost his Pickle long before.

Some degrees before a man come to *Baldivia* to the Southwards, as *Spaniards* haue told mee, lyeth the Iland *Chule*, not easily to be discerned from the Mayne; for he that passeth by it, cannot but thinke it to bee the Mayne. It is said to bee inhabited by the *Spaniards*, but badly, yet rich of Gold.

Iland *Chule.*

The nineteenth of Aprill, being Easter-euen, we anchored vnder the Iland *Mocha*. It lyeth in thirty nine degrees, it may bee some foure leagues ouer, and is a high mountaynous Hill, but round about the foot thereof, some halfe league from the Sea-shore, it is Champaine ground, wel inhabited and manured. From the Straits to this Iland, we found, that either the Coast is set out more Westerly then it is, or that we had a great current, which put vs to the Westwards; for wee had not sight of Land in three dayes after our reckoning was to see it; but for that wee coasted not the Land, I cannot determine, whether it was caused by the current, or lying of the Land. But *Spaniards* which haue sayled alongst it, haue told me, that it is a bold and safe Coast, and reasonable sounding of it.

Iland *Mocha.*

Note.

In this Iland of *Mocha* we had communication and contraction with the Inhabitants; but with great vigilancie and care; for they and all the people of *Chily*, are mortall enemies to the *Spaniards*, and held vs to bee of them, and so esteemed Sir *Francis Drake*, when hee was in this Iland, which was the first Land also that hee touched on this Coast. They vsed him with so fine a treachery, that they possessed themselues of all the Oares in his Boat, sauing two, and in striuing to get them also, they slue, and hurt all his men; himselfe who had fewest wounds, had three, and two of them in the head. Two of his company which liued long after, had the one seuenteene; his name was *Iohn Bruer*, who afterward was Pilot with Master *Candish*; and the other aboue twentie, a *Negro* Seruant to Sir *Francis Drake*. And with me they vsed a policie, which amongst barbarous people was not to be imagined, although I wrought sure; for I suffered none to treate with me, nor with my people with Armes. Wee were armed, and met vpon a Rocke compassed with water, whether they came to parley and negotiate. Being in communication with the *Casiques*, and others, many of the *Indians* came to the heads of our Boates, and some went into them. Certaine of my people standing to defend the Boats with their Oares, for that there went a bad sege, were forced to lay downe their Muskets; which the *Indians* perceiuing, endeauoured to fill the barrels with water, taking it out of the Sea in the hollow of their hands. By chance casting mine eye aside, I discouered their slyneſſe; and with a Truncheon, which I had in mine hand, gaue the *Indians* three or foure good Lambeskinnes.

Treacherie of the *Indians.*

The sheepe of this Iland are great, good, and fat; I haue not tasted better Mutton any where. They were as ours, and doubtlesse of the breed of those, which the *Spaniards* brought into the Countrey. Of the sheepe of the Countrey, wee could by no meanes procure any one, although we saw of them, and vsed meanes to haue had of them.

Of Sheepe.

This Iland is situate in the Prouince of *Arawca*, and is held to bee peopled with the most valiant Nation in all *Chily*, though generally the Inhabitants of that Kingdome are very courragious. They are clothed after the manner of antiquitie, all of woollen; their Casiockes made like a Sacke, square, with two holes for the two armes, and one for the head; all open below, without lining or other art: but of them, some are most curiously woven, and in colours, and on both sides alike. Their houses are made round, in fashion like vnto our Pidgeon houses, with a louer in the top, to euacuate the smoake when they make fire. They brought vs a strange kinde of Tobacco, made into little cakes, like Pitch, of a bad smell, with holes through the middle, and so laced many vpon a string. The people of this Iland, as of all *Chily*, are of good stature, and well made, and of better countenance then those *Indians* which I haue seene in many parts. They are of good vnderstanding, and agilitie, and of great strength; Their weapons are Bowes, and Arrowes and Macanas, their Bowes short and strong, and their Arrowes of a small Reed, or Cane, three quarters of a yard long, with two Feathers, and headed with a flint-stone, which is loose, and hurting, the head remaineth in the wound, some are headed with bone, and some with hard wood, halfe burnt in the fire. We came betwixt the Iland and the Mayne; On the South-west part of the Iland lieth a great ledge of Rockes, which are dangerous; and it is good to be carefull how to come too neere the Iland on all parts.

Their apparel, and housing.

Strange Tobacco.

People of *Chily*

Their weapons

Immediatly when they discouered vs, both vpon the Iland and the Mayne, wee might see them make sundry great fires, which were to giue aduice to the rest of the people to bee in a readinesse: for they haue continuall and mortall warre with the *Spaniards*, and the shippes they see, they beleeue to be their Enemies. The Citie *Imperiall* lyeth ouer against this Iland, but eight or ten leagues into the Countrey: for all the Sea-coast from *Baldivia*, till thirtie sixe Degrees, the *Indians* haue now (in a manner) in their hands free from any *Spaniards*.

Their hate to the *Spaniards.*

Imperiall.

Hauing refreshed our selues well in this Iland, for that little time we stayed, which was some three dayes we set sayle with great ioy, and with a faire winde sayled alongst the Coast, and some

ſome eight leagues to the North-wards, wee anchored againe in a goodly Bay, and ſent our Boats aſhoare, with deſire to ſpeake with ſome of the *Indians* of *Arauca*, and to ſee if they would be content to entertaine amitie, or to chop and change with vs. But all that night and the next morning appeared not one perſon, and ſo we ſet ſaile againe; and towards the Euening the wind began to change, and to blow contrary, and that ſo much, and the Sea to riſe ſo ſuddenly, that wee could not take in our Boats, without ſpoyling of them. This ſtorme continued with vs tenne dayes beyond expectation, for that wee thought our ſelues out of the Climate of fowle weather, but truely it was one of the ſharpeſt ſtormes that euer I felt to endure ſo long.

A cruel ſtorme in the Sea of *Ladies*. In it they loſt their light horſman Saint *Maries*.

The ſtorme tooke end, and we ſhaped our courſe for the Iland of Saint *Maries*, which lyeth in thirtie ſeuen degrees and fortie minutes, and before you come vnto the Iland ſome two leagues, in the Trade way lieth a Rocke, which afarre off, ſeemeth to be a ſhip vnder ſayle. This Iland is little and low, but fertill and well peopled with *Indians* and ſome few *Spaniards* in it. Some ten leagues to the Northwards of this Iland, lieth the Citie *Conception*, with a good Port; from this wee coaſted alongſt till wee came in thirtie three degrees and forty minutes. In which height lay the Ilands of *Iuan Fernandes*, betwixt threeſcore and foureſcore leagues from the ſhoare, plentifull of fiſh, and good for refreſhing. I purpoſed for many reaſons not to diſcouer my ſelfe vpon this Coaſt, till we were paſt *Lyma*, (otherwiſe called *Ciudad de los Reyes*, for that it was entred by the *Spaniard* the day of the *three Kings*;) but my company vrged me ſo farre, that except I ſhould ſeeme in all things to ouer-beare them, in not condiſcending to that which in the opinion of all (but my ſelfe) ſeemed profitable and beſt, I could not but yeeld vnto, though it carried a falſe colour, as the end prooued, for it was our perdition. This all my company knoweth to be true, whereof ſome are yet liuing, and can giue teſtimonie.

City of *Conception*. *Iuan Fernandes*.

Good to auoid diſcouery.

But the Mariner is ordinarily ſo carried away with the deſire of Pillage, as ſometimes for very appearances of ſmall moment, he looſeth his Voyage, and many times himſelfe. And ſo the greedineſſe of ſpoile, onely hoped for in ſhips of Trade, which goe too and fro in this Coaſt, blinded them from forecaſting the perill, whereinto wee expoſed our Voyage, in diſcouering our ſelues before we paſt the Coaſt of *Callao*, which is the Port of *Lyma*; To bee ſhort, wee haled the Coaſt aboord, and that Euening wee diſcouered the Port of *Valparizo*, which ſerueth the Citie of Saint *Iago*, ſtanding ſome twentie leagues into the Countrey; when preſently wee deſcried foure ſhippes at an Anchor: whereupon wee manned, and armed our Boate, which rowed towards the ſhippes: they ſeeing vs turning in, and fearing that which was, ranne aſhoare with that little they could ſaue; and left vs the reſt: whereof, wee were Maſters in a moment, and had the rifling of all the Store-houſes on the ſhoare.

Wilfulneſſe of Mariners.

They ſeize vpon foure ſhips.

This night, I ſet a good guard in all the ſhippes, longing to ſee the light of the next morning, to put all things in order; which appearing, I beganne to ſuruay them, and found nothing of moment, ſaue fiue hundred Botozios of Wine, two or three thouſand of Hennes, and ſome refreſhing of Bread, Bacon, dryed Beefe, Waxe, Candles, and other neceſſaries. The reſt of their lading was plankes, Sparres, and Timber, for *Lyma*, and the Valleyes, which is a rich Trade; for it hath no Timber, but that which is brought to it from other places. They had alſo many packs of *Indian* Mantles (but of no value vnto vs) with much Tallow, and *Manteca de Puerco*, and abundance of great new Cheſts, in which we had thought to bee ſome great maſſe of wealth, but opening them, found nothing but Apples therein; all which was good Merchandize in *Lyma*, but to vs of ſmal account. The Merchandize on ſhore, in their ſtore-houſes was the like, and therefore in the ſame predicament. The Owners of the ſhips gaue vs to vnderſtand, that at a reaſonable price they would redeeme their ſhips and loading, which I harkened vnto; and ſo admitted certaine perſons which might treate of the matter, and concluded with them for a ſmall price, rather then to burne them, ſauing for the greateſt, which I carried with me, more to giue ſatisfaction to my people, then for any other reſpect; becauſe they would not be perſwaded, but that there was much Gold hidden in her; otherwiſe ſhe would haue yeelded vs more then the other three.

And the Ware-houſes.

Being in this Treaty, one morning, at the breake of day, came another ſhip towring into the harbor, and ſtanding into the ſhoare, but was becalmed. Againſt her we manned a couple of Boats, and tooke her before many houres. In this ſhip we had ſome good quantitie of Gold, which ſhee had gathered in *Baldinia*, and the *Conception*, from whence ſhee came. Of this ſhip was Pilot, and part owner, *Alonſo Perez bueno*, whom we kept for our Pilot on this Coaſt; till moued with compaſſion (for that he was a man charged with wife and children) we ſet him aſhoare betwixt *Santa* and *Truxillo*. Out of this ſhip we had alſo ſtore of good Bacon, and ſome prouiſion of Bread, Hens, and other victuall. We gaue them the ſhip, and the greateſt part of her loading freely.

They ſeize vpon another ſhip, and ſome gold.

Here wee ſupplied our want of Anchors, though not according to that which was requiſite, in regard of the burden of our ſhip; for in the South Sea, the greateſt Anchor for a ſhip of ſixe or eight hundred tunnes, is not a thouſand waight; partly, becauſe it is little ſubiect to ſtormes, and partly, becauſe thoſe they had till our comming, were all brought out of the North

Light Anchors brought from the North Sea.

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Sea by Land; for they make no Anchors in those Countreyes. And the first Artillerie they had, was also brought ouer Land; which was small, the carriage and passage from *Nombre de Dios*, or *Porto Bello* to *Panama*, being most difficult and steepe, vp hill and downe hill, they are all carried vpon *Negroes* backes. But some yeeres before my imprisonment, they fell to making of Artillery, and since they forge Anchors also. We furnished our ship also with a shift of sailes of Cotton-cloth, which are farre better in that Sea, then any of our double sayles, for that in all the Nauigation of that Sea, they haue little raine and few stormes, but where raine and stormes are ordinary, they are not good; for with the wet they grow so stiffe, that they cannot be handled.

And the first Artillerie.

Sayles of Cotton-cloth.

In treating of the ransomes, and transporting and lading the prouisions wee made choice of, wee spent some sixe or eight dayes, at the end whereof, with reputation amongst our enemies, and a good portion towards our charges and our ship as well stored and victualled, as the day we departed from *England*, we set sayle.

They depart from *Lyma*, and conceale their weaknes.

The time we were in this Port, I took small rest, and so did the Master of our ship, *Hugh Cornish*, a most carefull, orderly, and sufficient man, because wee knew our owne weakneſſe; for entring into the Harbour, wee had but seuentie fiue men and boyes, fiue ships to guard, and euery one moored by himselfe, which (no doubt) if our enemies had knowne, they would haue wrought some stratagem vpon vs; for the Gouernour of *Chili* was there on shoare in view of vs, an ancient *Flanders* Souldier, and of experience, wisdome, and valour, called *Don Alonso de Soto Mayor*, of the habit of Saint *Iago*, who was after Captaine Generall in *Terra firme*, and wrought all the inuentions vpon the Riuer of *Chagres*, and on the shoare, when Sir *Francis Drake* purposed to goe to *Panama*, in the Voyage wherein he died. As also at my comming into *Spaine*, hee was President in *Panama*, and there, and in *Lyma*, vsed mee with great courtesie, like a Noble Souldier, and liberall Gentleman; hee confessed to mee after, that hee lay in ambush, with three hundred horse and foot, to see if at any time we had landed, or neglected our watch, with *Balsas*, which is a certaine Raffe made of Masts or Trees fastened together, to haue attempted something against vs. But the enemy I feared not so much as the Wine; which, notwithstanding all the diligence and preuention I could vse day and night, ouerthrew many of my people. A foule fault, because too common amongst Sea-men, and destrueth some rigorous punishment with seueritie to be executed.

The noblenes of *Alonso de Soto*.

The enemy lesse dangerous then the Wine.

A league or better before a man discouer this Bay to the South-wards, lieth a great Rocke, or small Iland, neere the shoare, vnder which, for a need, a man may ride with his ship. It is a good marke, and sure signe of the Port, and discouering the Bay a man must giue a good birth to the Harbour; for it hath perillous Rockes lying a good distance off. It neither ebbeth nor floweth in this Port, nor from this, till a man come to *Guayaquill*, which is three degrees from the Equinoctiall Line to the South-wards; let this be considered. It is a good Harbour for all winds, that partake not of the North; for it runneth vp South and by West, and South South-west, but it hath much foule ground.

Description of the Bay.

Note of tides.

In one of these ships we found a new deuice for the stopping of a sudden leake in a ship vnder water, without board, when a man cannot come to it within board; which was, taking a round wicker Basket, and to fill it with pieces of a Iunke or Rope chopped very small, and of an inch long, and after tozed all as Oacombe; then the Basket is to bee couered with a Net, the Meshes of it being at the least two inches square, and after to be tied to a long Pike or Pole, which is to goe a crosse the Baskets mouth, and putting it vnder water, care is to be had to keepe the Baskets mouth towards the ships side: if the leake bee any thing great, the Oacombe may bee somewhat longer, and it carrieth likelihood to doe good, and seemeth to bee better then the stitching of a Bonnet; or any other diligence, which as yet I haue seene. Another thing I noted of these ships, which would be also vsed by vs, that euery ship carrieth with her a spare Rudder, and they haue them to hang and vnhang with great facilitie: and besides, in some part of the ship, they haue the length, breadth, and proportion of the Rudder marked out, for any mischance that may befall them; which is a very good preuention.

A new deuise for stopping a leake without boord.

Spare Rudders and to take off at pleasure.

Ten leagues to the Northwards of this Harbour, is the Bay of *Quintera*, where is good anchoring, but an open Bay; where Master *Thomas Candish* (for the good hee had done to a *Spaniard*, in bringing him out of the Straits of *Magellan*, where, otherwise, hee had perished with his company) was by him betrayed, and a doozen of his men taken and slaine: But the iudgement of God left not his ingratiude vnpunished; for, in the fight with vs, in the Vice-admirall, he was wounded and maymed in that manner, as three yeeres after, I saw him begge with crutches; and in that miserable estate, as he had beene better dead, then aliue.

Bay of *Quintera*.

Ingratitude punished.

From *Balparizo*, wee sayled directly to *Coquinbo*, which is in thirtie degrees, and comming thwart the place, we were becalmed, and had sight of a ship: but for that she was farre off, and night at hand, she got from vs, and we hauing winde entred the Port, thinking to haue had some shipping in it; but we lost our labour: and for that the Towne was halfe a league vp in the Countrey, and we not manned for any matter of attempt, worthy prosecution, we made no abode on the shoare; but presently set sayle for the *Peru*. This is the best Harbour that I haue seene in the South Sea, it is land-locked for all winds, and capeable of many shippes; but the ordinary place where

Coquinbo.

Excellent harbour.

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where the ſhips lade, and vnlade, and accommodate themſelues, is betwixt a Rocke, and the Mayne on the Weſter ſide, ſome halfe a league vp within the entrance of the Port, which lieth South, and South and by Eaſt, and North and by Weſt. In the in-countrie, directly ouer the Port, is a round piked hill, like a Sugar loafe, and before the entrance on the Southerne point of the Port comming in, out of the Sea, is a great Rocke, a good birth from the ſhoare; and theſe are the markes of the Port, as I remember.

Being cleare of this Port, we ſhaped our courſe for *Arica*, and left the Kingdomes of *Chily*, one of the beſt Countries that the Sun ſhineth on: for it is of a temperate climate, and abounding in all things neceſſarie for the vſe of man, with infinite rich Mynes of Gold, Copper, and ſundry other mettals. The pooreſt houſes in it, by report of their Inhabitants, haue of their owne ſtore, Bread, Wine, Fleſh, and Fruit; which is ſo plentifull, that of their ſuperfluitie they ſupplie other parts: ſundrie kindes of cattell; as Horſes, Goates, and Oxen brought thither by the *Spaniards*, are found in heards of thouſands, wilde, and without owner; beſides thoſe of the Countrie, which are common to moſt parts of *America*: in ſome of which are found the Bezar ſtones, and thoſe very good and great.

Arica in *Chili* much commended.

For all ſorts of fruits.

Amongſt others they haue little beaſts, like vnto a Squirrell, but that hee is grey, his skinne is the moſt delicate ſoft, and curious Furre that I haue ſeene of much eſtimation, (as is reaſon) in the *Peru*; few of them come into *Spaine*, becauſe difficult to be come by, for that the Princes and Nobles lay waite for them, they call this beaſt *Chinchilla*, and of them they haue great abundance. All fruits of *Spaine*, they haue in great plentie, ſauing ſtone fruit, and Almonds: for in no part of the *Indies*, haue I knowne, that Plummes, Cherries, or Almonds haue borne fruit: but they haue certaine little round Cocos, as thoſe of *Braſil*, of the bigneſſe of a Wall-nut, which is as good as an Almond: beſides, it hath moſt of the fruits naturall to *America*. The Gold they gather, is in two manners; the one is waſhing the earth in great Trayes of wood in many waters; as the earth waſteth away, the Gold in the bottome remaineth. The other is, by force of Art, to draw it out of the Mynes, in which they finde it. In moſt parts of the Countrie, the earth is mingled with Gold; for the *Butizias* (in which the Wine was) which wee found in *Balpharizo*, had many ſparkes of Gold ſhining in them. Of it the Gold-ſmiths I carried with me (for like purpoſes) made experience.

Chinchilla a rare beaſt.

Litle Cocos.

And plentie of Gold.

When *Baldivia* and *Arawca* were peaceable, they yeelded greateſt plentie, and the beſt: but now, their greateſt Mynes are in *Coquimbo*; as alſo the Mynes of Copper, which they carrie to the *Peru*, and ſell it better cheape, then it is ordinarily ſold in *Spaine*. The *Indians* knowing the end of the *Spaniards* moleſtation, to be principally the deſire of their riches, haue enacted, that no man, vpon paine of death, doe gather any Gold. In *Coquimbo* it raineth ſeldome, but euery ſhowre of raine, is a ſhowre of Gold vnto them; for with the violence of the water falling from the Mountaines, it bringeth from them the Gold: and beſides, giues them water to waſh it out, as alſo for their ingenious to worke; ſo that ordinarily euery weeke they haue Proceſſions for raine.

The *Indians* forbid the ſearch of gold. Euery ſhowre, a ſhowre of gold.

In this Kingdome they make much linnen and woollen Cloth, and great ſtore of *Indian* Mantles, with which they furniſh other parts, but all is coarſe ſtuffe. It hath no Silke, nor Iron, except in Mynes, and thoſe as yet not diſcouered. Pewter is well eſteemed, and ſo are fine linnen, woollen cloth, Haberdaſhers wares, edge-tooles, and Armes, or Munition. It hath his Gouernour, and *Audiencia*, with two Biſhops: the one of Saint *Iago*, the other of the *Imperiall*; all vnder the Vice-roy, *Audiencia*, and Primate of *Lyma*. Saint *Iago* is the Metropolitan and Head of the Kingdome, and the ſeate of Iuſtice, which hath his appellation of *Lyma*.

Linnen and woollen cloth made in *Coquimbo*.

The people are induſtrious and ingenious, of great ſtrength, and inuincible courage; as in the warres, which they haue ſuſtained aboue fortie yeeres continually againſt the *Spaniards*, hath beene experienced. For confirmation whereof, I will alledge onely two proofes of many; the one was of an *Indian* Captaine, taken priſoner by the *Spaniards*; and for that, hee was of name and knowne to haue done his deuoire againſt them, they cut off his hands, thereby intending to diſenable him to fight any more againſt them: but he returning home, deſirous to reuenge this iniurie, to maintain his liberty, with the reputation of his nation, and to helpe to baniſh the *Span.* with his tongue intreated & incited them to perſeuere in their accuſtomed valor and reputation abaſing the enemie, and aduancing his Nation; condemning their contraries cowardlineſſe, and confirming it by the cruelty vſed with him, and others his companions in their miſhaps; ſhewing them his armes without hands, & naming his brethren, whoſe halfe feet they had cut off, becauſe they might be vnable to ſit on horſebacke with force, arguing, that if they feared them not, they would not haue vſed ſo great inhumanitie; for feare produceth crueltie, the companion of cowardiſe. Thus encouraged he them to fight for their liues, limbes, and libertie, chooſing rather to die an honourable death fighting, then to liue in ſeruitude, as fruitleſſe members in their Common-wealth. Thus, vſing the office of a Sergeant Maior, and hauing loden his two ſtumpes with bundles of Arrowes, ſuccoured thoſe, who in the ſucceeding battell had their ſtore waſted, and changing himſelfe from place to place, animated and encouraged his Countri-men, with ſuch comfortable perſwaſions, as it is reported, and credibly beleeued, that hee did much more good

The valour of the *Arawcans*.

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with his words, and presence, without striking a stroke, then a great part of the Armie did with fighting to the vtmost.

The other proofe is, that such of them as fight on horsebacke, are but slightly armed, for that their Armour is a Beasts hide, fitted to their body, greene, and after worne till it be drie and hard. He that is best armed, hath him double: yet any one of them with these Armes, and with his Launce, will fight hand to hand with any *Spaniard* armed from head to foot. And it is credibly reported, that an *Indian* being wounded through the bodie by a *Spaniards* Launce, with his own hands hath crept on vpon the Launce, and come to grapple with his Aduersarie, and both fallen to the ground together. By which is seene their resolution and inuincible courage, and the desire they haue to maintayne their reputation and libertie.

The mischiefe of corrupt, or scarcie prouisions

This let me manifest, that there haue beene and are certaine persons, who before they goe to Sea, either robbe part of the prouisions, or in the buying, make penurious, vnwholsome, and smartlesse penie-worths; and the last I hold to be the least; for they robbe onely the Victuallers and owners, but the others steale from owners, victuallers, and companie, and are many times the onely ouerthrowers of the Voyage, for the companie thinking themselues to be stored with foure or sixe moneths Victuals, vpon surmay, they finde their Bread, Beefe or Drinke short; yea, perhaps all, and so are forced to seeke home in time of best hopes and employment. This mischiefe is most ordinarie in great actions. Lastly, some are so cunning, that they not onely make their Voyage by robbing before they goe to Sea, but of that also which commeth home. Such Gamesters, a wise man of our Nation resembled to the Mill on the Riuer of Thames, *for grinding both with flood and ebbe: So, these at their going out, and comming home, will be sure to robbe all others of their shares.*

Of detayning and defrauding of wages.

But the greatest and most principall robberie of all, in my opinion, is the defrauding or the detayning of the Companies thirds or wages, accursed by the iust God, who forbiddeth the hire of the labourer to sleep with vs. To such I speake, as either abuse themselues in detayning it; or else to such as force the poore man to sell it at vile and lowe prices: And lastly, to such as vpon fained cauils and suits, doe deterre the simple and ignorant sort from their due prosecutions: which being too much in vse amongst vs, hath bred in those that follow the Sea a iealousie in all employments, and many times causeth mutinies and infinite inconueniences. To preuent this, a Chest with three lockes was appointed: I kept one, the Master another, the third one chosen by the Companie.

Of Mariners by challenge of Pillage.

No lesse worthie reformation are the generall abuses of Mariners and Souldiers, who robbe all they can, vnder the colour of Pillage, and after make Ordnance, Cables, Sayles, Anchors, and all aboue Deckes to belong vnto them of right, whether they goe by thirds or wages: this proceedeth from those pilfering warres, wherein euery Gallant that can arme out a Ship, taketh vpon him the name and office of a Captaine, not knowing what to commaund, or what to execute. Such Commanders for the most part consort and ioyne vnto themselues disorderly persons, Pirates, and Ruffians, vnder the title of men of valour and experience: they meeting with any Prize, make all vpon the Deckes theirs of dutie, &c.

The lawes of *Oleron*, concerning Pillage.

In the time of warre in our Countrie, as also in others, by the lawes of Oleron *(which to our ancient Sea-men were fundamentall) nothing is allowed for Pillage but Apparell, Armes, Instruments, and other necessaries belonging to the persons, in that ship which is taken: and these to, when the ship is gained by dint of sword; with a prouiso, that if any particular Pillage, exceed the value of sixe crownes, it may be redeemed for that value, by the generall stocke, and sold for the common benefit. If the prize render it selfe without forcible entrie, all in generall ought to be preserued and sold in masse, and so equally diuided; yea, though the ship be wonne by force and entrie, yet whatsoeuer belongeth to her of takling, Sayles, or Ordnance, is to be preserued for the generalitie: saying a Peece of Artillerrie for the Captaine; another for the Gunner, and a Cable and Anchor for the Master, which are the rights due vnto them; and these to be deliuered, when the ship is in safety, and in harbour, either vnloden or sold: which Law or Custome well considered, will rise to be more beneficiall for the Owners, Victuallers, and Companie, then the disorders newly crept in and before remembred. For the Sayles, Cables, Anchors, and Hull, being sold (euery one apart) yeeld not the one halfe which they would doe if they were sold all together, besides the excusing of charges, and robberies in the vnloding and parting.*

In the warres of France, *in the time of Queene* Marie, *and in other warres (as I haue heard of many ancient Captaines) the Companie had but the fourth part, and euery man bound to bring with him the Armes, with which he would fight: which in our time, I haue knowne also vsed in* France: *and if the Companie victualed themselues, they had then the one halfe, and the Owners the other halfe for the ship, powder, shot, and munition. If any Prize were taken, it was sold by the tunne, ship and goods, so as the loading permitted it; that the Merchant hauing bought the goods, hee might presently transport them whither soeuer he would: By this manner of proceeding, all rested contented, all being truly payd; for this was iust dealing, if any deserued reward, he was recompenced out of the generall stocke. If any one had filched or stolne, or committed offence, he had likewise his desert: and who once was knowne to be a disordered person, or a thiefe, no man would receiue him into his ship: whereas now a dayes many vaunt themselues of their thefts and disorders; yea, I haue seene the common sort of Mariners, vnder the name of pillage, maintaine and iustifie their robberies most insolently, before the Queens Maiesties Commissioners, with arrogant and vnseemly termes. Opinion hath held such for tall fellowes, when in truth, they neuer*

proue

proue the best men in difficult occasions. For their mindes are all set on spoyle, and can be well contented to suffer their associates to beare the brunt, whilest they are prolling after pillage, the better to gaine and maintaine the aforesaid attributes, in Tauernes, and disorderly places. For the orderly and quiet men, I haue euer found in all occasions to be of best vse, most valiant, and of greatest sufficiency. Yet I condemne none: but those who will be reputed valiant, and are not, examine the accusation. All whatsoeuer is found vpon the Decke, going for Merchandise, is exempted out of the censure of pillage; Silkes, Linnen, or Woollen cloth in whole pieces, Apparell, that goeth to be sold, or other goods whatsoeuer (though they be in remnants) manifestly knowne to bee carried for that end; or being comprehended in the Register, or Bills of lading, are not to be contayned vnder the name of Pillage.

Note or brand rather for tal-tongued-fingred fellowes. What ought to be reputed pillage.

But as I haue said of the consort, so can I not but complaine of many Captaines and Gouernours, who ouercome with like greedy desire of gaine, condiscend to the smothering and suppressing of this ancient discipline, the cleanlier to smother their owne disloyalties, in suffering these breake-bulkes to escape, and absent themselues, till the heate be past, and partition made. Some of these cause the Bills of lading to be cast into the Sea, or so to be hidden, that they neuer appeare. Others send away their prisoners, who sometimes are more worth then the ship and her lading, because they should not discouer their secret stolne treasure: for many times, that which is left out of the Register or Bills of lading (with purpose to defraud the Prince of his Customes (in their conceits, held to be excessiue) is of much more value, then that which the ship and lading is worth. Yea, I haue knowne ships worth two hundred thousand pounds, and better, cleane swept of their principall riches, nothing but the bare bulke being left vnsacked. The like may be spoken, of that which the disorderly Mariner, and the Souldier termeth Pillage.

Against the disloyalties of Captaines.

Concealment; of much more value, then the Trading.

My Father, Sir Iohn Hawkins, *in his instructions, in actions vnder his charge, had this particular Article: That whosoeuer rendred, or tooke any ship, should be bound to exhibite the Bills of lading; to keepe the Captaine, Master, Merchants, and persons of account, and to bring them to him to be examined, or into* England: *If they should bee by any accident separated from him, whatsoeuer was found wanting (the prisoners being examined) was to be made good by the Captaine and Companie, which tooke the ship, and this vpon great punishments.*

The preuention of vndue pillagings.

Running alongst the coast, till wee came within few leagues of *Arica*, nothing happened vnto vs of extraordinarie noueltie or moment, for wee had the Breze fauourable, which seldome happeneth in this climate, finding our selues in 19. degrees, wee haled the shoare close aboord, purposing to see, if there were any shipping in the Road of *Arica*. It standeth in a great large Bay, in 18. degrees: and before you come to it, a league to the Southwards of the Road and Towne, is a great round Hill, higher then the rest of the land of the Bay, neere about the Towne: which we hauing discouered, had sight presently of a small Barque, close aboord the shoare becalmed; manning our Boat, wee tooke her, being loden with fish from *Moormereno*; which is a goodly head-land, very high, and lieth betwixt 24. and 25. degrees, and whether ordinarily some Barques vse to goe a fishing euery yeere.

Arica.

Moormereno.

In her was a *Spaniard* and sixe *Indians*; The *Spaniard*, for that he was neere the shoare, swam vnto the Rockes, and though we offered to returne him his barke, and fish (as was our meaning) yet he refused to accept it, and made vs answere, that he durst not, for feare lest the Iustice should punish him. In so great subiection are the poore vnto those who haue the administration of Iustice in those parts, and in most parts of the Kingdomes and Countries subiect to *Spaine*. Insomuch, that to heare the Iustice to enter in at their doores, is to them destruction and desolation: for this cause wee carried her alongst with vs. In this meane while, wee had sight of another tall ship, comming out of the Sea, which wee gaue chase vnto, but could not fetch vp, being too good of sayle for vs. Our small Prize and Boate standing off vnto vs, descried another shippe, which they chased and tooke also, loden with fish, comming from the Ilands of *Iuan Fernandes*.

The seuerities of *Spaine*.

After we opened the Bay and Port of *Arica*, but seeing it cleane without shipping, wee haled the coast alongst, and going aboord to visite the bigger Prize, my Companie saluted mee with a vollie of small shot. Amongst them one Musket brake, and carried away the hand of him that shot it, through his owne default, which for that I haue seene to happen many times, I thinke it necessary to note in this place, that others may take warning by his harme. The cause of the Muskets breaking, was the charging with two bullets, the powder being ordayned to carrie but the weight of one, and the Musket not to suffer two charges, of powder or shot. By this ouersight, the fire is restrained with the ouerplus of the weight of shot, and not being able to force both of them out, breaketh all to pieces, so to finde a way to its owne Centre.

Ouercharging of Artileries.

And I am of opinion, that it is a great errour, to proue great Ordnance, or small shot, with double charges of powder, or shot; my reason is, for that ordinarily the mettall is proportioned to the waight of the shot, which the Peece is to beare, and the powder correspondent to the waight of the bullet: and this being granted, I see no reason why any man should require to proue his peece with more, then is belonging to it of right: for I haue seene many goodly peeces broken with such trials, being cleane without hony combes, cracke, flawe, or other perceauable blemish, which no doubt, with their ordinary allowance would haue serued many yeares. If I should make choice for my selfe, I would not willingly, that any peece should come into Fort,

or

or ſhip (vnder my charge) which had borne at any time more then his ordinary allowance, miſdoubting, leaſt through the violence of the double charge, the Peece may be craſed within, or ſo forced, as at another occaſion, with his ordinary allowance he might breake in peeces: how many men ſo many mindes: for to others, this may ſeeme harſh, for that the contrary cuſtome hath ſo long time beene receiued, and therefore I ſubmit to better experience, and contradict not but that in a demy culuering, a man may put two Saker or Minion ſhots, or many of ſmaller waight: and ſo in a Musket, two Calieuer ſhot, or many ſmaller, ſo they exceede not the ordinary waight, preſcribed by proportion, art, and experience.

The amity of the *Indians.*

Hauing viſited our prizes, and finding in them nothing but fiſh, we tooke a ſmall portion for our victualling, and gaue the bigger Ship to the *Spaniards* againe, and the leſſer wee kept with purpoſe to make her our Pinnace. The *Indians* (which we tooke in her) would by no meanes depart from vs, but deſired to goe with vs for *England*, ſaying that the *Indians* and *Engliſh* were brothers; and in all places where wee came, they ſhewed themſelues much affectionated vnto vs. Theſe were Natiues of *Moremorene*, and the moſt brutiſh of all that euer I had ſeene: and except it were in forme of men and ſpeech, they ſeemed altogether voide of that which appertained to reaſonable men. They were expert ſwimmers, but after the manner of Spaniels, they diue, and abide vnder water a long time, and ſwallow the water of the Sea, as if it were of a freſh Riuer, except a man ſee them, he would hardly beleeue how they continue in the Sea, as if they were Mermaides, and the water their naturall Element. Their Countrie is moſt barren, and poore of foode: if they take a fiſh aliue out of the Sea, or meete with a peece of ſalted fiſh, they will deuoure it without any dreſſing, as ſauourly as if it had beene moſt curiouſly ſodden or dreſſed, all which makes me beleeue, that they ſuſtaine themſelues of that which they catch in the Sea. The *Spaniards* profit themſelues of their labour and trauell, and recompence them badly, they are in worſe condition then their ſlaues, for to thoſe they giue ſuſtenance, houſe-roome, and clothing, and teach them the knowledge of God; but the other they vſe as beaſts, to doe their labour without wages, or care of their bodies or ſoules.

Their rude manners and expert ſwimming.

§. V.

The Viceroy ſends an Armado againſt the Engliſh; *which viewes them and returneth: is againe ſet forth: their fight; the* Engliſh *yeelde vpon compoſition: Diuers martiall diſcourſes.*

Bay of *Piſco.* Cape *Sangalean*

BY generall accord we eaſed our ſelues of a leake priſe, and continued our courſe alongſt the coaſt, till we came thwart of the Bay of *Piſco*, which lyeth within 15. degrees and 15. minutes. Preſently after we were cleare of Cape *Sangalean*, and his Ilands, we ranged this Bay with our Boate and Pinnace. It hath two ſmall Ilands in it, but without fruite, and being becalmed, we anchored two dayes thwart of *Chilca*.

Chilca.

Aduiſe giuen by Sea and Land.

By Sea and by Land, thoſe of *Clyly* had giuen aduiſe to *Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoca*, Marquis of *Canete*, Vice-roy of *Peru*, reſident in *Lima*, of our being on the Coaſt. He preſently with all poſſible diligence, put out ſix Ships in warlike order, with well neere two thouſand men, and diſpatched them to ſeeke vs, and to fight with vs, vnder the conduct of *Don Beltrian de Caſtro Ydelaluca*, his wiues brother; who departing out of the Port of *Callao*, turned to wind-ward, in ſight ouer the ſhore, from whence they had daily intelligence, where wee had beene diſcouered. And the next day after our departure out of *Chilca*, about the middle of May, at breake of day, we had ſight each of other, thwart of *Canete*, we being to wind-wards of the *Spaniſh* Armado, ſome two leagues, and all with little or no winde. Our Pinnace or prize being furniſhed with Oares came vnto vs, out of which we thought to haue taken our men, and ſo to leaue her; but being able to come vnto vs at all times, it was held for better, to keepe her till neceſſitie forced vs to leaue her: and ſo it was determined, that if we came to likelihood of boording, ſhe ſhould lay our Boate aboord, and enter all her men, and from thence to enter our Ship, and ſo to forſake her: Although by the euent in that occaſion, this proued good, notwithſtanding I hold it to be reproued, where the enemy is farre ſuperiour in multitude and force, and able to come and boord, if he liſt: and that the ſureſt courſe, is to fortifie the principall, and the beſt that may be, and to cut off all impediments, where a man is forced to defence; for that no man is aſſured to haue time anſwerable to his purpoſe and will, and vpon doubt whether the others in hope to ſaue themſelues, will not leaue him in greateſt extremitie.

We preſently put our ſelues in the beſt order we could, to fight, and to defend our ſelues: our prayers we made vnto the Lord God of battels, for his helpe and our deliuerance, putting our ſelues wholly into his hands. About nine of the clocke, the Breſe began to blow, and wee to ſtand off into the Sea, the *Spaniards* cheeke by iole with vs, euer getting to the wind-wards vpon vs; for that the ſhipping of the South Sea, is euer moulded ſharpe vnder water, and long; all

all their voyages depending vpon turning to wind-wards, and the Breese blowing euer Southerly.

As the Sunne began to mount aloft, the winde began to fresh: which together with the rowling Sea, that euer beateth vpon this coast, comming out of the westerne-board, caused a chapping Sea, wherewith the Admirall of the *Spaniards* snapt his maine Mast asunder, and so began to lagge a sterne, and with him, other two Ships. The Vice-admirall split her maine-saile, being come within shot of vs vpon our broad side, but to lee-wards: the Reare-admirall cracked her maine-yard asunder in the middest, being a head of vs: one of the Armado, which had gotten vpon the broad side of vs, to wind-wards, durst not assault vs.

With these disgraces vpon them, and the hand of God helping and deliuering vs, night comming, we began to consult what course was best to be taken, to free our selues; wherein were diuers opinions: some said it was best to stand off to the Sea close by, all the night: others to lye it a bull: others to cast about to the shoare-wards two glasses, and after all the night to stand off to Sea close by. The Admirall of the *Spaniards* with the other two were a sterne of vs, some foure leagues: the Vice-admirall a mile right to lee-wards of vs: the Reare-admirall in a manner right a head, some culuering shot; and one vpon our loofe, within shot also, the Moone was to rise within two houres. After much debating, it was concluded, that we should beare vp before the winde, and seeke to escape betwixt the Admirall and the Vice-admirall, which we put in execution, not knowing of any other disgrace befallen them, but that of the Reare-admirall: till after our surrender, when they recounted vnto vs all that had past. In the morning at breake of day, we were cleare of all our Enemies, and so shaped our course alongst the Coast, for the Bay of *Atacames*, where we purposed to trim our Pinnace, and to renew our wood and water, and so to depart vpon our Voyage with all possible speede.

The *Spanish* Armado, returned presently to *Callao*, which is the Port of *Lyma*, or of the Citie of the *Kings*. It was first named *Lyma*, and retaineth also that name of the Riuer, which passeth by the Citie called *Lyma*, the *Spanish* Armado being entred the Port, the people began to goe ashore, where they were so mocked and scorned by the women, as scarce any one by day would shew his face, they reuiled them with the name of cowards and golnias, and craued licence of the Vice-roy to be admitted into their roomes, and to vndertake the surrendry of the *English* Shippe. I haue beene certified for truth, that some of them affronted their Souldiers with Daggers and Pistols by their sides. This wrought such effects in the hearts of the disgraced, as they vowed either to recouer their reputation lost, or to follow vs into *England*, and so with expedition, the Vice-roy commanded two Shippes and a Pinnace to be put in order, and in them placed the chiefe Souldiers and Marriners of the rest, and furnished them with victuals and munition.

Returne of the *Spanish* Armado.

Scoffed at.

The foresaid Generall is once againe dispatched to seeke vs; who ranged the Coasts and Ports, enforming himselfe what he could: Some fiftie leagues to the North-wards of *Lyma*, in sight of *Mongon*, we tooke a Ship halfe loaden with Wheate, Sugar, *Miell de Canas*, and Cordouans kins: which for that she was leake, and sailed badly, and tackled in such manner (as the Marriners would not willingly put themselues into her) we tooke what was necessary for our prouision, and fired her. Thwart of *Truxillo*, wee set the company of her ashoare, with the Pilot which we had taken in *Balparizo*, reseruing the Pilot of the burnt Shippe, and a Greeke, who chose rather to continue with vs, then to hazard their liues in going ashore; for that they had departed out of the Port of *Santa* (which is in eight degrees) being required by the Iustice not to weigh anchor before the Coast was knowne to be cleare.

They set forth the second time.

It is a thing worthy to be noted, and almost incredible, with how few men they vse to saile a Shippe in the South Sea, for in this prise, which was aboue an hundred tunnes, were but eight persons: and in a Ship of three hundreth tuns, they vse not to put aboue foureteene or fifteene persons: yea I haue beene credibly enformed, that with foureteene persons, a Ship of fiue hundred tuns hath beene carried from *Guayaquil* to *Lyma*, deepe loaden: which is aboue two hundred leagues. They are forced euer to gaine their Voyage by turning to wind-wards, which is the greatest toyle and labour that the Marriners haue; and slow sometimes in this Voyage foure or fiue moneths, which is generall in all the Nauigations of this coast: but the security from stormes, and certainty of the Breese (with the desire to make their gaine the greater) is the cause that euery man forceth himselfe to the vttermost, to doe the labour of two men.

Few men vsed a Ship in the South Sea.

In the height of the Port of *Santa*, some seuen hundred and fiftie leagues to the West-wards, lye the Ilands of *Salomon*, of late yeares discouered. At my being in *Lyma*, a Fleete of foure saile was sent from thence to people them; which through the emulation and discord that arose amongst them, being landed and setled in the Countrey, was vtterly ouerthrowne, onely one Shippe, with some few of the people, after much misery, got to the *Philippines*. This I came to the knowledge of, by a large relation written from a person of credit, and sent from the *Philippines* to *Panama*: I saw it at my being there, in my voyage towards *Spaine*. Hauing edged neere the coast, to put the *Spaniards* on shore, a thicke fogge tooke vs, so that we could not see the land; but recouering our Pinnace and Boate, we sailed on our course, till wee came thwart of the Port called *Malabrigo*. It lieth in seuen degrees.

Port of *Santa*. Plantation of the Ilands of *Salomon*.

Malabrigo.

In

Current. In all this Coaſt the currant runneth with great force, but neuer keepeth any certaine courſe, ſauing that it runneth alongſt the coaſt, ſometimes to the South-wards, ſometimes to the North-wards, which now runneth to the North-wards, forced vs ſo farre into the Bay (which a point of the land cauſeth, that they call *Punta de Auguſſa*) as thinking to cleare our ſelues by rouing North-weſt, we could not double this point, making our way North North-weſt. Therefore ſpeciall care is euer to be had of the current: and doubtleſſe, if the prouidence of Almighty God had not freede vs, we had runne alhore vpon the Land, without ſeeing or ſuſpecting any ſuch danger; his name be euer exalted and magnified, for deliuering vs from the vnknowne danger, by calming the winde all night: the Suns riſing manifeſted vnto vs our errour and perill, by diſcouering vnto vs the land within two leagues right a head. The current had carried vs without any winde, at the leaſt foure leagues: which ſeene, and the winde beginning to blow, we brought our tackes aboord, and in ſhort time cleared our ſelues.

Punta de Auguſſa.

Point of *Auguſſa.* *Illas de Lobos.* Thwart of this point of *Auguſſa*, lye two deſert Ilands; they call them *Illas de Lobos*, for the multitude of Seales, which accuſtome to haunt the ſhore. In the bigger is very good harbour, and ſecure: they lye in ſix degrees and thirty minutes. The next day after we loſt ſight of thoſe Ilands, being thwart of *Payta*, which lyeth in fiue degrees, and hauing manned our Pinnace and Boate to ſearch the Port, we had ſight of a tall Ship, which hauing knowledge of our being on the coaſt, and thinking her ſelfe to be more ſafe at Sea, then in the harbour, put her ſelfe then vnder ſaile: to her we gaue chaſe all that night, and the next day; but in fine, being better of ſaile then we, ſhe freed her ſelfe. Thus being to lee-ward of the Harbour, and diſcouered, we continued our courſe alongſt the ſhore. That euening, wee were thwart of the Riuer of *Guyayaquill*, which hath in the mouth of it two Ilands: the Souther-moſt and biggeſt, called *Puna*, in three degrees; and the other to the North-wards, *Santa clara*.

Puna. *Puna* is inhabited, and is the place where they build their principall ſhipping: from this Riuer, *Lima* and all the valleyes are furniſhed with Timber, for they haue none but that which is brought from hence, or from the Kingdome of *Chile*. By this Riuer paſſeth the principall trade of the Kingdome of *Quito*; it is Naugable ſome leagues into the Land, and hath great abundance of Timber.

Medicinable Riuer. Thoſe of the *Peru*, vſe to ground and trim their Shippes in *Puna*, or in *Panama*, and in all other parts they are forced to carene their Shippes. In *Puna* it higheth and falleth, fifteene or ſixteene foote water, and from this Iland, till a man come to *Panama*, in all the coaſt it ebbeth and floweth more or leſſe; keeping the ordinary courſe, which the Tides doe in all Seas. The water of this Riuer, by experience, is medicinable, for all aches of the bones, for the ſtone and ſtrangurie: the reaſon which is giuen, is, becauſe all the bankes and low land adioyning to this Riuer, are repleniſhed with *Salſaperillia*: which lying for the moſt part ſoaking in the water, it participateth of this vertue, and giueth it this force. In this Riuer, and all the Riuers of this coaſt, are great abundance of *Alagartoes*; and it is ſaid that this exceedeth the reſt, for perſons of credit haue certified me, that as ſmall fiſhes in other Riuers abound in ſcoales, ſo the *Alagartoes* in this; they doe much hurt to the *Indians* and *Spaniards*, and are dreadfull to all whom they catch within their clutches.

Scoales of Crocodiles.

P. de S. Elena. Some fiue or ſix leagues to the North-wards of *Puna*, is *la Punta de Santa Elena*; vnder which is good anchoring, cleane ground, and reaſonable ſuccour. Being thwart of this point, wee had ſight of a Shippe, which wee chaſed, but being of better ſaile then wee, and the night comming on, we loſt ſight of her; and ſo anchored vnder the *Iſla de Plata*; to recouer our Pinnace and Boate, which had gone about the other point of the Iland, which lyeth in two degrees, and fortie minutes. The next day we paſt in ſight of *Puerto Viejo*, in two degrees ten minutes; which lying without ſhipping, we directed our courſe for Cape *Paſſaos*. It lyeth directly vnder the Equinoctiall line; ſome foureſcore leagues to the Weſt-wards of this Cape, lyeth a heape of Ilands, the *Spaniards* call *Illas de los Galapagos*; they are deſert and beare no fruite: from Cape *Paſſaos*, we directed our courſe to Cape Saint *Franciſco*, which lyeth in one degree to the North-wards of the line: and being thwart of it, we deſcried a ſmall Shippe, which we chaſed all that day and night, and the next morning our Pinnace came to bourd her; but being a Ship of aduiſe, and full of paſſengers, and our Ship not able to fetch her vp, they entreated our people badly, and freed themſelues, though the feare they conceiued, cauſed them to caſt all the diſpatches of the King, as alſo of particulars into the Sea, with a great part of their loading, to be lighter and better of ſaile, for the Ships of the South Sea loade themſelues like lighters or ſand barges, preſuming vpon the ſecuritie from ſtormes.

Puerto viejo.

Being out of hope to fetch vp this Shippe, we ſtood in with the Cape, where the Land beginneth to trend about to the Eaſt-wards. The Cape is high land, and all couered ouer with trees, and ſo is the land ouer the Cape, and all the coaſt (from this Cape to *Panama*) is full of wood, from the Straits of *Magelan*, to this Cape of *San Franciſco*. In all the coaſt from head-land to head-land, the courſes lye betwixt the North and North and by Weſt, and ſometimes more Weſterly, and that but ſeldome: It is a bold coaſt, and ſubiect to little foule weather, or alteration of windes, for the Breſe, which is the Southerly winde, bloweth continually from *Balparizo* to Cape

Cape *San Francisco*, except it be a great chance. Trending about the Cape, wee haled in East North-east, to fetch the Bay of *Atacames*, which lyeth some seuen leagues from the Cape. In the mid way (some three leagues from the shore) lyeth a banke of sand, whereof a man must haue a care; for in some parts of it there is but little water. Bay of *Atacames*.

The tenth of June we came to an anchor in the Bay of *Atacames*, which on the Wester part hath a round hammock. It seemeth an Iland, & in high Springs, I iudge, that the Sea goeth round about it. To the Eastwards it hath a high sandie Cliffe, and in the middest of the Bay, a faire birth; from the shoare lieth a bigge blacke Rocke aboue water: from this Rocke to the sandy Cliffe, is a drowned Marsh ground, caused by his lownesse; And a great Riuer, which is broad but of no depth.

Manning our Boate, and running to the shoare, wee found presently in the Westerne bight of the Bay, a deepe Riuer, whose Indraught was so great, that we could not benefit our selues of it, being brackish, except at a low water; which hindred our dispatch, yet in fiue dayes, wee filled all our emptie Caske, supplied our want of wood, and grounded and put in order our Pinnasse. Here, for that our *Indians* serued vs to no other vse, but to consume our victuals, we eased our selues of them; gaue them Hookes and Lines which they craued, and some bread for a few dayes, and replanted them in a farre better Countrey, then their owne, which fell out luckily for the *Spaniards* of the Shippe which wee chased thwart of Cape *San Francisco*; for victuals growing short with her, having many mouthes, shee was forced to put ashoare fifty of her passengers, neere the Cape; whereof more then the one halfe died with famine, and continuall wading through Riuers and waters: the rest (by chance) meeting with the *Indians*, which we had put ashore, with their fishing, guide, and industry were refreshed, sustained, and brought to habitation. They dismisse their *Indians*. Distresse of *Spaniards*.

Our necessary businesse being ended, we purposed the fifteenth day of May, in the morning, to set saile, but the fourteenth in the euening, we had sight of a Shippe, some three leagues to Sea-wards; and through the importunitie of my Captaine and Companie, I condiscended that our Pinnace should giue her chase, which I should not haue done, for it was our destruction; I gaue them precise order, that if they stood not in againe at night, they should seeke me at Cape *San Francisco*, for the next morning I purposed to set sayle without delay, and so seeing that our Pinnace slowed her comming, at nine of the cloeke in the morning, we waied our Anchors, and stood for the Cape; where we beate off and on two dayes; and our Pinnace not appearing, wee stood againe into the Bay, where we descried her, turning in without a maine Mast, which standing off to the Sea, chase by, with much winde and a chopping Sea, bearing a raut-sayle, whereas little was too much (being to small purpose) sothinely they bare it by the board; and standing in with the shore, the winde, or rather God blinding them for our punishment, they knew not the land; and making themselues to be to wind-wards of the Bay, bare vp and were put into the Bay of *San Mathew*: It is a goodly harbour, and hath a great fresh Riuer, which higheth fifteene or sixteene foote water, and is a good Countrey, and well peopled with *Indians*; they haue store of Gold and Emeralds. Here the *Spaniards* from *Guayaquil* made an habitation; whilst I was prisoner in *Lyma*, by the *Indians* consent; but after not able to suffer the insolencies of their guests, and being a people of stomacke and presumption, they suffered themselues to bee perswaded and led by a *Molato*. This leader many yeares before had fled vnto them from the *Spaniards*, him they had long time held in reputation of their Captaine Generall, and was admitted also vnto a chiefe Office by the *Spaniards*, to gaine him vnto them. But now the *Indians* vniting themselues together, presuming that by the helpe of this *Molato* they should force the *Spaniards* out of the Countrey, put their resolution in execution, droue their enemies into the woods, and slew as many as they could lay hands on, few escaped with life; and those who had that good hap, suffered extreame misery before they came to *Quito*; the place of neerest habitation of *Spaniards*. Occasion of their ruine. A raut-saile is that which proportionably is to high for the vessell. Bay of S. *Mathew*. The *Indians* led by a *Molato* Chase the *Spaniards*.

To this Bay, as soone as our people in the Pinnace saw their errour, they brought their tackes aboord, and turned and tyded it vp, as they could. Assoone as we came to Anchor, I procured to remedy that was amisse; in two dayes we dispatched all we had to doe, and the next morning we resolued to set sayle and to leaue the coast of *Peru* and *Quito*. The day appearing, we began to weigh our Anchors, and being a Pike ready to cut sayle, one out of the top descried the *Spanish* Armado, comming about the Cape: which by the course it kept, presently gaue vs to vnderstand, who they were: though my company (as is the custome of Sea men) made them to be the Fleete bound for *Panama*, loaden with treasure, and importuned that in all haste wee should cut sayle and stand with them, which I contradicted, for that I was assured that no Shipping would stirre vpon the coast, till they had securitie of our departure (except some Armado that might be sent to seeke vs) and that it was not the time of the yeare to carry the treasure to *Panama*. And besides, in riding still at an Anchor, they euer came neerer vnto vs, for they stood directly with vs, and we kept the weather gage; where if wee had put our selues vnder sayle (the ebbe in hand) we should haue giuen them the aduantage, which we had in our power, by reason of the point of the Bay. And being the Armado (as it was) we gained time to fit our selues, *Spanish* Armado.

the

the better to fight. And truly (as before, to a ſtiffe-necked Horſe) ſo now againe, I cannot but reſemble the condition of the Mariner to any thing better, then to the current of a furious Riuer, repreſſed by force or Arte, which neuertheleſſe ceaſſeth not to ſeeke a way to ouerthrowe both fence and banke: Euen ſo the common ſort of Sea-men, apprehending a conceit in their imagination, neither experiment, knowledge, examples, reaſons nor authoritie, can alter or remoue them from their conceited opinions. In this extremitie, with reaſon I laboured to conuince them, and to contradict their pretences: but they altogether without reaſon, or againſt reaſon, breake out, ſome into vaunting and bragging, ſome into reproaches of want of courage, others into wiſhings, that they had neuer come out of their Countrie, if wee ſhould refuſe to fight with two ſhips whatſoeuer. And to mend the matter, the Gunner (for his part) aſſured me that with the firſt tire of ſhot, he would ſay the one of them in the ſuds: And our Pinnace, that ſhe would take the other to taske. One promiſed, that he would cut downe the Maine-yard, another that hee would take their Flagge; and all in generall ſhewed a great deſire to come to triall with the Enemie. To ſome I turned the deafe eare, with others I diſſembled, and armed my ſelfe with patience (hauing no other defence nor remedie for that occaſion) ſoothing and animating them to the execution of what they promiſed, and perſwaded them to haue a little ſufferance, ſeeing they gained time and aduantage by it. And to giue them better ſatisfaction I condiſcended, that our Captaine with a competent number of men, ſhould with our Pinnace goe to diſcouer them; with order, that they ſhould not engage themſelues in that manner, as they might not be able to come vnto vs, or we to ſuccour them. In all theſe diuiſions and opinions, our Maſter, *Hugh Dennis* (who was a moſt ſufficient man for gouernment and valour, and well ſaw the errours of the multitude) vſed his office, as became him; and ſo did all thoſe of beſt vnderſtanding.

Pride and vnruſineſſe forerunners of ruine.

The vnaduiſed courage of the multitude.

In ſhort ſpace, our Pinnace diſcouered what they were, and caſting about to returne vnto vs, the Vice-admirall (being next her) began with her chaſe to ſalute her with three or foure Peeces of Artilerie, and ſo continued chaſing her, and gunning at her. My Companie ſeeing this, now began to change humour: And I then, to encourage and perſwade them to performe the execution of their promiſes and vaunts of valour, which they had but euen now proteſted, and giuen aſſurance of, by their profers and forwardneſſe. And that we might haue Sea-roome to fight, we preſently weighed Anchor, and ſtood off to Sea with all our ſayles, in hope to get the weather gage of our contraries. But the winde ſcanting with vs, and larging with them, we were forced to lee-ward. And the Admirall weathering vs, came roome vpon vs: which being within Muſket ſhot, wee hailed firſt with our noiſe of Trumpets, then with our Waytes, and after with our Artilerie: which they anſwered with Artilerie, two for one. For they had double the Ordnance we had, and almoſt ten men for one. Immediatly they came ſhearing aboord of vs, vpon our lee quarter contrarie to our expectation, and the cuſtome of men of Warre. And doubtleſſe, had our Gunner beene the man hee was reputed to be, and as the world ſold him to me, ſhee had receiued great hurt by that manner of boording: But contrarie to all expectation, our ſtearne-Peeces were vnprimed, and ſo were all thoſe which we had to lee-ward (ſaue halfe one in the quarter) which diſcharged wrought that effect in our contraries, as that they had fiue or ſixe foot water in hold, before they ſuſpected it.

The beginning of the fight.

The inexperience of the *Spaniards*, and of the *Engliſh* Gunner. And careleſneſſe of the *Engliſh*.

Hereby all men are to take warning by me, not to truſt any man in ſuch extremities, when he himſelfe may ſee it done: and comming to fight, let the Chieftaine himſelfe bee ſure to haue all his Artilerie in a readineſſe, vpon all occaſions. This was my ouerſight, this my ouerthrow. For I, and all my Companie, had that ſatisfaction of the ſufficiency and care of our Gunner, as not any one of vs euer imagined there would be any defect found in him. For my part, I with the reſt of our Officers, occupied our ſelues in clearing our Deckes, lacing our Nettings, making of Bulwarkes, arming our Toppes, fitting our Waſt-clothes, tallowing our Pikes, ſlinging our Yards, doubling our Sheetes and Tackes, placing and ordering our People, and procuring that they ſhould be well fitted and prouided of all things; leauing the Artilerie, and other Inſtruments of fire, to the Gunners diſpoſe and order, with the reſt of his Mates and Adherents: which (as I ſaid) was part of our perdition. For bearing me euer in hand, that he had fiue hundred Cartredges in a readineſſe, within one houres fight, wee were forced to occupie three perſons, onely in making and filling Cartredges, and of fiue hundred elles of Canuas and other Cloth giuen him for that purpoſe, at ſundry times, not one yard was to be found. For this we haue no excuſe, and therefore could not auoide the danger, to charge and diſcharge with the Ladle, eſpecially in ſo hot a fight. And comming now to put in execution the ſinking of the ſhip, as he promiſed, hee ſeemed a man without life or ſoule. So the Admirall comming cloſe vnto vs, I my ſelfe, and the Maſter of our ſhip, were forced to play the Gunners.

How farre a Commander is to truſt his officers.

Deceit of the Gunner, and his extreme careleſneſſe, and ſuſpicious diſloyaltie.

Thoſe Inſtruments of fire, wherein he made me to ſpend exceſſiuely (before our going to Sea) now appeared not; Neither the braſſe Bals of Artificiall fire to be ſhot with Slurbowes (whereof I had ſixe Bowes, and two hundreth Bals, which are of great account and ſeruice, either by Sea or Land) he had ſtowed them in ſuch manner (though in double Barrels) as the ſalt water had ſpoyled them all; ſo that comming to vſe them, not one was ſeruiceable. Some of our Companie had him in ſuſpicion, to be more friend to the *Spaniards*, then to vs; for that hee had ſeruued

ued some yeates in the Peruan, as Gunner, and that he did all his of purpose. For when the Peeces were cleere, when we came to vse them, and charged the last first in, and after the powder. Besides, after our surrendry; it was said to his charge, that he should say, he had a Brother that seru'd the King in Peru, and did the vttermost he could in the Armado, and knew he would not for all the world, he should be slaine. Whether this were true or no, I know not, but I am sure all in generall gaue him an ill report, and that hee, in whose hands the chiefe execution of the whole fight consisted, executed nothing as was promised and expected.

It is requisite that all Captaines and Commanders were such, and so experimented in all offices, that they might be able as well to controule as to examine all manner of errors in officers. For the Gouernment of Sea-men doth suffereth a blind without exquisite experience. The deficience whereof hath ouerthrowne some ancient Sea-men to straighten the attributes of Mariners in such sort, as that it ought not to be giuen but to the man who is able to build a Ship, to fit and prouide her of all things necessarie, and after to carry her about the world, besides, to be true saylers. Hereby giuing vs to vnderstand, that hee should know the plots and peeces of the Ship, the value of the timber, planke and Iron worke, fit to be able of it well to build in proportion, and to procure all materials in iust price. And againe, to know how to lay the sayles, what length is competent to euery Roape, and to be of sufficiencie to reprehend and reforme those who erre, and doe amisse. In prouiding his Ship for victuals, munition and necessaries, as before is said he must be expected that he be able to make his estimate, and (that once prouided and perfected) in season, and with expedition to see it loden and stowed commodiously, with care and proportion. After that, Hee is to order the spending thereof, that in nothing he be defrauded at home, and at Sea, euer to know how much is spent, and what remaineth to be spent. To the Art of Nauigation, he is bound also to know, so much, as to be able to giue directions to the Pilot & Master, and consequently to all the rest of inferior officers.

Who to account a true Mariner.

His knowledge for Materials.

For prouisions.

For Nauigation.

In matter of guide and disposing of the Sayles, with the ordering of the Ship, and the worke about the same thereunto, within board and without, all is to be committed to the Masters charge. The Pilot is to looke carefully to the Sterridge of the Ship, to be watchfull in taking the heights of Sunne and Starre; to note the way of his Ship, with the augmenting and lessening of the winds, &c. The Boatswaine is to see his Ship kept cleane; his Maines, yards and rackings well geared, mated and armed; his shrouds and staies well set; his sides repaired, and sufficiently prouided with mariners, blocks, ordinance; his boate fitted with Sayle, Oares, thongs, tholes, boyes, needles and rosiers. His cables well fitted, safely stopped and secured, with the rest to him appertaining. The Steward is to see the prouision of victuals and necessaries, committed vnto his charge; and by a iust and weighty to deliuer the portions appointed, and with discretion and good tearmes, to giue satisfaction to all. The Carpenter is to view the maines and yards, the sides of the Ship, her decker and cabines, her pumpes and boate; and moreouer to occupie himselfe in the most seruiceable worke, except he be otherwise commanded. The Gunner is to care for the bringing and tacking of his Artillery; the fitting of his shot, Tampins, coynes, wedges and ramstaues, &c. To be prouident in working his fire worke, making and filling his Cartredges, in accommodating his ladles, sponge, and other necessaries; in fitting and drying his powder; in cleansing the armes, munition, and such like workes, intrusted vnto him.

Office of the Master.

Office of the Pilot.

The Boatswaine.

The Quarter.

The Mariner.

The Steward.

The Carpenter

Officers in a

The Gunner

Charging of the Ship.

Charging of the Soldiers.

M. Del Campo.

&c.

In this manner euery officer in his office, ought to be an absolute Commander, yet ready in obedience and loue, to sacrifice his will to his superiors command: This cannot but cause vnitie, and vnitie cannot but purchase a happie issue to dutifull trauels. Lastly, except it be in vrgent and precise cases, the Head should neuer direct his command to any, but the officers, and those secretly, except the occasion require publication; or that it concerne all in generall. Such orders would be (for the most part) in writing, that all might know what in generall is commanded and required.

Directions in secret.

All order.

The reason why the Admirall came to leewards (as after I vnderstood) was for that her Artillery being very long, and the winde fresh, bearing a taut sayle, to fetch vs vp, and to keepe vs company, they could not vse their Ordnance to the weather of vs, but lay thrashing in the winds: And doubtlesse it is most proper for shippes to haue short Ordnance, except in the sterne or chase. *The reasons are many:* viz. *easier charging, ease of the Shippes sides, better trauersing and mounting, yea, greater securitie of the Artillery, and consequently of the Shippes. For the longer the Peece is, the greater is the retention of the fire, and the torments and danger of the Peece the greater. But here will be contradiction by many, that dare auouch that longer Peeces are to be preferred; for that they burne their powder better, and carry the shot further, and so necessarily of better execution: whereas the short Artillery many times spends much of their powder without burning, and workes thereby the slanderous effect. To which I answere, that for Land seruice, Forts, or Castles, the long Peeces are to be preferred; but for shipping, the short are much more seruiceable. And the powder in them, being such as it ought, will be all fired long before the shot come forth; and to reach farre in fights at Sea, is to little effect: For he that purposeth to annoy his Enemie, must not shoote at random, nor at point blanke, if he purpose to accomplish with his desire, neither must he spend his shot nor powder, but where a pot-gun may reach his enemy: how much the nearer, so much the better: and this duely executed, the short Artillery will worke his effect, as well as the long; otherwise, neither short nor long are of much importance: but here, my meaning is not, to approue the ouershort Peeces, deuised by some persons, which at euery shot they make, deuice out of their carriages, but those of different length, and which keepe themselues, betwixt seauen and eight foote.*

Why the Spanish Admirall came to leewards.

Rules for Ordnance.

Intertainment of *Spaniards.*

The entertainment we gaue vnto our contraries, being otherwise then was expected, they fell off, and ranged ahead, hauing broken an peeces all our gallerie: and presently they cast about vpon vs, and being able to keepe vs company, with their fighting sailes lay a weather of vs, ordinarily within Musket shot; playing continually with them and their great Artillerie; which we endured, and answered as we could. Our Pinnace engaged her selfe so farre, as that before she could come vnto vs; the Vice-admirall had like to cut her off, and comming to lay vs aboord, and to enter her then, the Vice-admirall boorded with her; so that some of our company entred our Ship ouer her bow-sprit, as they themselues reported. Wee were not a little comforted with the sight of our people in safetie, within our Ship, for in all, wee were but threescore and fifteene men and boyes, when we began to fight, and our enemies thirteene hundred men and boyes, little more or lesse, and those of the choise of *Peru.*

The *English* 75. The *Spaniards* 1300.

The *Spanish* discipline.

Here is shall not be out of the way, to discourse a little of the Spanish *Discipline, and manner of their gouernment in generall, which is in many things different to ours. In this expedition came two Generals, the one* Don Beltran de Castro, *who had the absolute authoritie and command: The other* Michael Angell Pulpon, *a man well in yeares, and came to this preferment by his long and painefull seruice, who though he had the title of Generall by Sea, I thinke it was rather of courtesie shew by Patent, and for that he had beene many yeares Generall of the South Seas, for the carriage and swaftage of the Siluer from* Lyma *to* Panama; *Hee seemed to be an assistant, to supply that with his counsell, aduice, and experience, whereof* Don Beltran *had neuer made triall (for he commanded not absolutely, but with the confirmation of* Don Beltran) *for the Spaniards neuer giue absolute authorities to more then one. A custome that hath beene, and is approued in all Empires, Kingdomes, Common-wealths, and Armies, rightly disciplined: the mixture hath beene seldome seene to prosper, as will manifestly appeare, if we consider the issue of all actions and iourneys committed to the gouernment of two or more generally.*

The Souldiers.

The Gunner.

The Marriner.

The Spaniards *in their Armadaes by Sea, imitate the discipline, order and officers, which are in an Army by Land, and deuide themselues into three bodies, to wit, Souldiers, Marriners and Gunners. Their Souldiers watch and watch, and their officers in euery Ship round, as if they were on the shoare; this is the onely taske they vndergoe, except cleaning their Armes, wherein they are not ouer curious. The Gunners are exempted from all labour and care, except about the Artillerie. And these are either* Almaynes, Flemmings, *or strangers; for the* Spaniards *are but indifferently practised in this Art. The Marriners are but as slaues to the rest, to worke and to toyle day and night, and those but few and bad, and not suffered to sleepe or harbour themselues vnder the deckes. For in faire or foule weather, in stormes, sowne or rowne, they must passe vnder of couert or succour.*

Officers in a Ship of War.

Captaine of the Ship.

Captaine of the Soldiers.

M. Del Campo. &.

There is ordinarily in euery Ship of warre a Captaine, whose charge is, as that of our Masters with vs, and also a Captaine of the Souldiers, who commandeth the Captaine of the Ship, the Souldiers, Gunners and Marriners in her; yea, though there be diuers Captaines, with their companies in one Shippe (which is vsuall amongst them) yet one hath the supreame authoritie, and the residue are at his ordering and disposing. They haue their Maistros de Campo, Sergeant, Master, Generall (or Captaine) of the Artillery, with their Alfere Maior, and all other officers, as in a Campo. If they come to fight with another Armada, they order themselues as in a battell by land: In a Vanguard, rereward, maine battell, and wings, &c. In euery particular Ship the Souldiers are set all vpon the deckes; their forecastle they account their head Front, or Vanguard of their company; that abaft the Mast, the rereward; and the waste, the maine battell, wherein they place their principall force, and on which they principally relye, which they call their place de armas *or place of Armes; which taken, their hope is lost. The Gunners fight not, but with their great Artillerie: the Marriners attend onely on the tackling of the Ship, and handling of the sailes, and are vnarmed, and subiect to all misfortunes; not permitted to shelter themselues, but to be still aloft, whether it be necessary or needelesse. So ordinarily, those which first faile are the Marriners and Sailers, of which they haue greatest need. They vse few close fights or fireworks, & all this proceedeth (as I iudge) of errour in placing land Captaines for Gouernors and Commanders by Sea, where they seldome vnderstand what is to be done or commanded.*

Ill order.

Spying of the *Spaniards* into our Discipline.

Some that haue beene our prisoners, haue perfited themselues of that they haue seene amongst vs: and others disguised, vnder colour of treaties, for ransoming of prisoners, for bringing of presents, & other Imbassages, haue noted our formes of shipping, our manner of defences and discipline: Sithence which espiall in such actions as they haue beene imployed in, they seeke to imitate our gouernment, and reformed discipline at Sea, which doubtlesse is the best, and most proper that is at this day knowne, or practised in the whole world, if the execution be answerable to that which is knowne and receiued for true and good amongst vs.

Their imitation of our Discipline.

*English*man lost the *English* and therefore the man.

In the Captaine (for so the *Spaniards* call their Admirall) was an *English* Gunner, who to gaine grace with those vnder whom he serued, preferring himselfe, and offered to sinke our Ship with the first shot he made; who, by the *Spaniards* relation, being trauersing a peece in the bowe, to make his shot, had his head carried away with the first or second shot, made out of our Ship. It fell also two or three of those which stood next him. A good warning for those which fight against their Country.

The fight continued so hot on both sides, that the Artillery and Muskets neuer ceased playing. Our contraries, towards the euening, determined the third time to lay vs aboard, with resolution to take vs, or to hazard all. The order they set downe for the execution hereof,

hereof, was, that the Captaine (or Admirall) should bring himselfe vpon our weather bow, and so fall aboord of vs, vpon our broad side: And that the Vice-admirall, should lay his Admirall aboord vpon his weather quarter, and so enter his men into her; that from her, they might enter vs, or doe as occasion should minister.

The Captaine of the Vice-admirall, being more hardie then considerate, and presuming with his ship and company to get the prize, and chiefe honour; waited not the time to put in execution the direction giuen, but presently came aboord to wind-wards vpon our broad side. Which doubtlesse was the great and especiall Prouidence of Almightie God, for the discouraging of our enemies, and animating of vs. For although she was as long, or rather longer then our ship, being rarely built, and vtterly without fights or defence; what with our Muskets, and what with our fire-works we clered her decks in a moment; so that scarce any person appeared. And doubtlesse if we had entred but a doozen men, we might haue enforced them to haue rendred vnto vs, or taken her, but our company being few, and the principall of them slaine, or hurt; wee durst not, neither was it wisdome, to aduenture the separation of those which remayned: and so held that for the best and soundest resolution, to keepe our forces together in defence of our owne.

The Spaniards pay deerly for their rashnesse.

The Vice-admirall seeing himselfe in great distresse, called to his Admirall for succour: who presently laid him aboord, and entred a hundred of his men; and so cleered themselues of vs. In this boording the Vice-admirall had at the least thirtie and six men hurt, and slaine; and amongst them his Pilot shot through the bodie, so as he died presently. And the Admirall also receiued some losse; which wrought in them a new resolution; only with their Artillery to batter vs; and so with time to force vs to surrender, or to sink vs, which they put in execution; and placing themselues within a Musket shot of our weather quarter, and sometimes on our broad side, lay continually beating vpon vs without intermission; which was doubtlesse the best and securest determination they could take, for they being rare ships, and without any manner of close fights, in boording with vs, their men were all open vnto vs, and we vnder couert and shelter. For on all parts our ship was Musket free, and the great Artillery of force must cease on either side (the ships being once grapled together) except we resolued to sacrifice our selues together in fire. For it is impossible, if the great Ordnance play (the ships being boorded) but that they must set fire on the ship they shoot at; and then no suretie can bee had to free himselfe, as experience daily confirmeth. A Peece is as a Thunder-clap. As was seene in the *Spanish* Admirall after my imprisonment, crossing from *Panama* to Cape *San Francisco*, a *Rayao*, (for so the *Spaniards* call a Thunderclap) brake ouer our ship, killed one in the fore-top, astonished either two or three in the shroudes, and split the Mast in strange manner; where it entred, it could hardly be discerned, but where it came forth, it draue out a great splinter before it; and the man slaine, was cleane in a manner without signe or token of hurt, although all his bones turned to powder, and those who liued and recouered, had all their bodies blacke, as burnt with fire. In like manner the Peece of Ordnance burteth not those which stand aside, nor those which stand aslope from his mouth, but those alone which stand directly against the true point of his leuell: though sometimes the wind of the shot ouerthroweth one, and the splinters (beeing accidents) mayne and hurt others. But principally where the Peece doth resemble the Thunderclap, as when the ships are boorded. For then, although the Artillerie be discharged without shot, the fury of the fire, and his piercing nature is such, as it entreth by the seames, and all parts of the ships sides, and meeting with so fit matter as Pitch, Tarre, Oaombe, and sometimes with powder, presently conuerteth all into flames. For auoyding whereof, as also the danger and damage which may come by Pikes and other inuentions of fire, and if any ship be oppressed with many ships at once, and subiect by them to be boorded; I hold it a good course to strike his fire and mayne yards close to his decke, and to fight with sprit-saile, and my son, and top-sailes loose: so shall hee bee able to hinder them from oppressing him. Some haue thought it a good policie to launce out some ends of masts or yards by the Ports or other parts: but this is to be vsed in the greater ships, for in the lesser, though they be neuer so strong, the waight of the bigger will beate out the opposite sides, and doe hurt, and make great spoile in the lesser. And in boording, ordinarily the lesser ship hath al the harme, which the one ship can doe vnto the other.

Great Ordnance fire a ship neere.

Strange effects of Thunder.

Policies to auoide boordings.

Here is offered to speake of a point much canuassed amongst Carpenters, and Sea Captaines, diuersly maintained, but yet vndetermined: that is, whether the race or loftie built ship, be best for the Merchant; and those which imploy themselues in trading: I am of opinion, that the race ship is most conuenient; yet so, as that euery perfect ship ought to haue two decks, for the better strengthening of her; the better succouring of her people; the better preserving of her Merchandize and victuall, and for her greater safetie from Sea and stormes. But for the Princes ships, and such as are imployed continually in the Warres, to bee built lofue I hold very necessarie for many Reasons. First, for Maiestie and terrour of the Enemie; Secondly, for harbouring of many men: Thirdly, for accomodating more men to fight; Fourthly, for placing and vsing more Artillerie; Fifth, for better strengthning and securing of the ship; Sixtly, for ouer-topping and subiecting the Enemie; Seuenthly, for greater safegard and defence of the shippe and company. For it is plaine, that the shippe with three decks, or with two and an halfe, shewes more pompe then another of her burthen with a decke and halfe, or two decker, and

Dispute concerning ships of Trade.

Concerning the Prince his ships.

breedeth great terror to the enemy, discouering her selfe to be a more powerfull ship as she is, then the other, which being indeed a ship of force, seemeth to be but a Barke, and with her low building hideth her burthen. And who doubteth that a decke and a halfe cannot harbour that proportion of men, that two deckes, and two deckes and a halfe can accommodate to fight, nor carrie the Artillerie so plentifully, nor so commodiously. Neither can the ship be so strong with a decke and a halfe, as with two deckes, nor with two as with three, nor carrie her Masts so taut, nor spread so great a clue, nor contriue so many sights to answere one another for defence & offence. And the aduantage the one hath of the other, experience daily teacheth.

Courses for Artillery after boording.

That which hath beene spoken of the danger of the Artillerie in boording is not to be wrested, nor interpreted to cut off vtterly the vse of all Artillerie after boording, but rather I hold nothing more conuenient in ships of Warre, then Fowlers and great Bases in the cage workes, and Murderers in the Cobridge heads, for that their execution and speedie charging and discharging is of great moment.

Disuse of engines of Antiquitie.

Many I know haue left the vse of them, and of sundry other preuentions, as of sherebookes, stones in their tops, and arming them, Pikebolts in their wales and diuers other engines of Antiquitie. But vpon what inducement I cannot relate, vnlesse it be because they neuer knew their effects and benefit, and may no doubt be vsed without the inconueniences before mentioned in great Ordnance. As also such may bee the occasion, that without danger some of the great Artillery may be vsed, and that with great effect, which is in the discretion of the Commanders and their Gunners, as hath beene formerly seene and daily is experimented. In the Reuenge *of her Maiesties, good experience was made, who sunke two of the* Spanish *Armado lying aboord her.*

In these boordings and skirmishes diuers of our men were slaine, and many hurt, and my selfe amongst them receiued six wounds; one of them in the necke very perillous; another through the arme perishing the bone, and cutting the sinewes close by the Arme-pit; the rest not so dangerous. The Master of our ship had one of his eyes, his nose, and halfe his face shot away. Master *Henry Courton* was slaine; on these two I principally relied for the prosecution of our voyage, if God by sicknes, or otherwise should take me away. The *Spaniards* with their great Ordnance lay continually playing vpon vs, and now and then parled and inuited vs to *surrender* our selues *a Buena Querra*. The Captaine of our ship, in whose direction and guide, our liues, our honour, and welfare now remained; seeing many of our people wounded and slaine, and that few were left to sustaine and maintaine the fight, or to resist the entry of the enemy (if hee should againe boord vs) and that our contraries offered vs good *partido*: came vnto me accompanied with some others, and began to relate the state of our ship, and how that many were hurt and slain, and scarce any men appeared to trauerse the Artillery, or to oppose themselues for defence if the enemy should boord with vs againe. And how that the Admirall offered vs life and liberty, and to receiue vs *a Buena querra*, and to send vs into our owne Countrey. Saying, that if I thought it so meet, hee and the rest were of opinion that wee should put out a flag of truce, and make some good composition. The great losse of blood had weakned me much. The torment of my wounds newly receiued made me faint, and I laboured for life, within short space expecting I should giue vp the *ghost*.

Sir R. H. wounded.

The Spaniards parley.

But this parly pierced through my heart, and wounded my soule; words failed mee whereewith to expresse it, and none can conceiue it, but hee which findeth himselfe in the like agonie: yet griefe and rage ministred force, and caused me to breake forth into this reprehension and execution following.

Great is the Crosse, which almightie God hath suffered to come vpon mee; that assaulted by our professed enemies, and by them wounded (as you see) in body, lying gasping for breath) those whom I reputed for my friends to fight with me, those which I relied on as my brethren to defend me in all occasions. Those whom I haue nourished, cherished fostered and loued as my children to succour me, helpe me, and to sustaine my reputation in all extremities, are they who first draw their swords against me, are they which wound my heart, in giuing me vp into mine enemies hands, whence proceedeth this ingratitude? whence this faintnesse of heart? whence this madnesse? is the cause you fight for, vniust? is the honor and loue of your Prince and Countrey buried in the dust? your sweet liues, are they become loathsome vnto you? will you exchange your liberty for thraldome, will you consent to see that, which you haue sweat for, and procured with so great labour and aduenture at the dispose of your enemies? can you content your selues to suffer my blond spild before your eyes? and my life bereft me in your presence? with the blond and liues of your deere brethren to be vnreuenged? is not an honourable death to be preferred, before a miserable and slauish life? The one sustaining the honor of our Nation, of our predecessors, and of our societie; the other ignominious to our selues, and reproachfull to our Nation. Can you be perswaded that the enemy will performe his promise with you, that neuer leaueth to breake it with others when he thinketh it aduantagious? and know you not, that with him all is conuenient that is profitable? Hold they not this for a maxime; *that,* nulla fides est seruanda cum hereticis. *In which number they account vs to be. Haue you forgotten their faith violated with my father, in S.* Iohn de Vlua, *the conditions & capitulations being firmed by the* Viceroy, *& twelue Hostages, all principall personages giuen for the more securitie of either partie to other? Haue you forgotten their promise broken with* Iohn Vibao, *& his company, in* Florida, *hauing conditioned to giue them shipping and victuals to carry them into their country? immediately after they had deliuered their weapons & armes, had they not their throats cut? haue you forgotten how they deale with* Iohn Oxenham, *& his Company,*

Perfidiousnesse often found in Spanish promises.

in

in this Sea, yeelding vpon compoſition? and how after a long impriſonment, and many miſeries (being carried from Panama *to Lyma) and there hanged with all his Company, as Pyrates, by the Iuſtice? And can you forget how daily they abuſe our noble natures, which being void of malice, meaſure all by ſinceritie; but to our loſſe? for that when we come to demand performance, they ſtop our mouthes: Either with laying the* inquiſition *vpon vs, or with delinering vs into the hands of the ordinary Iuſtice, or of the Kings Miniſters. And then vrged with their promiſes, they ſhrinke vp to the ſhoulders, and ſay, That they haue now no further power ouer vs. They ſorrow in their hearts, to ſee their promiſe is not accompliſhed; but now they cannot doe vs any good office, but to pray to God for vs, and to intreat the Miniſters in our behalfe. Came wee into the South-ſea to put out flags of truce? And left we our pleaſant* England, *with all her contentments, with intention or purpoſe to anaile our ſelues of white rags?*

The reſt of this conference, being long, is omitted.

The Captaine and Company were perſwaded to reſolution; and in accompliſhment of this promiſe and determination, they perſeuered in ſuſtaining the fight all this night, with the day and night following, and the third day after. In which time the Enemy neuer left vs day nor night, beating continually vpon vs with his great and ſmall ſhot. Sauing that euery morning, an houre before breake of day, hee edged a little from vs to breath, and to remedie ſuch defects as were amiſſe; as alſo to conſult what they ſhould doe the day and night following. This time of interdiction we imployed in repairing our Sayles and Tacklings, in ſtopping our Leakes, in fiſhing and woolling our Maſts and Yards, in mending our Pumpes, and in fitting and prouiding our ſelues for the day to come: though this was but little ſpace for ſo many workes, yet gaue it great reliefe and comfort vnto vs, and made vs better able to endure the defence: for otherwiſe our ſhip muſt of force haue ſuncke before our ſurrendrie, hauing many ſhot vnder water, and our Pumpes ſhot to pieces euery day. In all this ſpace, not any man of either part tooke reſt or ſleepe, and little ſuſtenance, beſides Bread and Wine.

They reſolue to fight out.

The Enemy breatheth.

The *Engliſh* repaire their defects.

In the ſecond dayes fight, the Vice-admirall comming vpon our quarter, *William Blanch*, one of our Maſters mates, with a luckie hand, made a ſhot vnto her with one of our ſterne Peeces; it carried away his maine Maſt cloſe by the deck: wherewith the Admirall beare vp to her to ſee what harme ſhee had receiued, and to giue her ſuch ſuccour, as ſhee was able to ſpare: which we ſeeing, were in good hope that they would haue now left to moleſt vs any longer, hauing wherewithall to entertaine themſelues in redreſſing their owne harmes. And ſo we ſtood away from them cloſe by as wee could: which wee ſhould not haue done, but proſecuted the occaſion, and brought our ſelues cloſe vpon her weather gage, and with our great and ſmall ſhot hindered them from repairing their harmes: if we had thus done, they had beene forced to cut all by the boord, and it may be (lying a hull, or to le-wards of vs) with a few ſhot we might haue ſunke her. At the leaſt, it would haue declared to our enemies that we had them in little eſtimation, when able to go from them, we would not: and perhaps beene a cauſe to haue made them to leaue vs.

Vice-admirals maſt ſhot away

Aduantages omitted.

But this occaſion was let ſlip, as alſo, that other to fight with them, ſayling quarter winds, or before the wind: for hauing ſtood off to Sea a day and a night, we had ſcope to fight at our pleaſure, and no man hauing ſea roome is bound to fight as his enemy will with diſaduantage, being able otherwiſe to deale with equalitie: contrariwiſe, euery man ought to ſeeke the meanes hee can, for his defence and greateſt aduantage to the anoyance of his contrary.

Now we might with our fore-ſaile low ſet haue borne vp before the winde, and the enemy of force muſt haue done the like, if he would fight with vs, or keep vs company; and then ſhould we haue had the aduantage of them. For although their Artillery were longer, waightier, and many more then ours, and in truth did pierce with greater violence; yet ours being of greater bore, and carrying a waightier and greater ſhot, was of more importance and of better effect for ſinking and ſpoyling: for the ſmaller ſhot paſſeth through, and maketh but his hole, and harmeth that which lyeth in his way; but the greater ſhaketh and ſhiuereth all it meeteth, and with the ſplinters, or that which it encountreth, many times doth more hurt, then with his proper circumference: as is plainely ſeene in the battery by land, when the Saker, the Demy-coluerin, the Coluerin, and Demi-canon (being peeces that reach much further point blanke then the Canon) are nothing of like importance for making the breach, as is the Canon; for that this ſhot being ponderous pierceth with difficultie, yea worketh better effects, tormenting, ſhaking and ouerthrowing all; whereas the others, with their violence, pierce better, and make onely their hole, and ſo hide themſelues in the Woolf or Rampire.

The difference of ſhot.

Their effects.

Beſides (our ſhip being yare and good of ſteeridge) no doubt but we ſhould haue plaied better with our Ordnance, and with more effect then did our enemies; which was a greater terrour, being able to fight with leſſe diſaduantage, and yet to fight with the moſt that could be imagined, which I knew not of, neither was able to direct though I had knowne it; being in a manner ſenſleſſe, what with my wounds, and what with the agony of the ſurrendry propounded, for that had ſeldome knowne it ſpoken of, but that it came afterwards to be put in execution.

Errors in fight.

The General not being able to ſuccour his Vice-admirall, except he ſhould vtterly leaue vs, gaue them order to ſhift as well as they could for the preſent, and to beare with the next Port, and there to repaire their harmes. Himſelfe preſently followed the Chaſe, and in ſhort ſpace fetched vs vp, and began a freſh to batter vs with his great and ſmall ſhot. The Vice-admirall (hauing

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ſaued what they could) cut the reſt by the boord, and with Fore-ſayle and Myſon came after vs alſo, and before the ſetting of the Sun, were come vpon our broad ſide, we bearing all our Sayles, and after kept vs company, lying vpon our weather quarter, and anoying vs what ſhee could.

Here I hold it neceſſary, to make mention of two things, which were moſt preiudiciall vnto vs, and the principall cauſes of our perdition, the errours and faults of late dayes, crept in amongſt thoſe who follow the Sea, and learned from the Flemings *and* Eaſterlings. *I wiſh that by our misfortunes others would take warning, and procure to redreſſe them as occaſions ſhall be offered. The one, is to fight vnarmed, where they may fight armed. The other, is in comming to fight, to drinke themſelues drunke. Yea, ſome are ſo mad, that they mingle Powder with Wine to giue it the greater force, imagining that it giueth ſpirit, ſtrength and courage, and taketh away all feare and doubt. The latter is, for the moſt part true, but the former is falſe and beaſtly, and altogether againſt reaſon. For though the nature of wine with moderation, is to comfort and reuiue the heart, and to fortifie and ſtrengthen the ſpirit; yet the immoderate vſe thereof worketh quite contrary effects.*

Learned from the *Flemings & Eaſterlings.*
1. To fight vnarmed.
2. To drinke to exceſſe.

In fights, all receits which adde courage and ſpirit, are of great regard to be allowed and vſed; and ſo is a draught of wine to be giuen to euery man before he come to action, but more then enough is pernicious; for, exceeding the meanes, it offendeth, and infeebleth the ſences, conuerting the ſtrength (which ſhould reſiſt the force of the enemy) into weakeneſſe: it dulleth and blindeth the vnderſtanding, and conſequently depraueth any man of true valour. For that hee is diſenabled to iudge and apprehend the occaſion, which may bee offered to aſſault and retire in time conuenient, the raynes of reaſon being put into the hands of paſſion and diſorder. For after I was wounded, this nimium *bred great diſorder and inconuenience in our ſhip, the pot continually walking, infuſed deſperate and fooliſh hardineſſe in many, who blinded with the fume of the liquor, conſidered not of any danger, but thus, and thus would ſtand at hazard; ſome in vaine glory vaunting themſelues; ſome other raylng vpon the* Spaniards; *another inuiting his companion to come and ſtand by him, and not to budge a foote from him: which indiſcreetly they put in execution, and coſt the liues of many a good man, ſlaine by our enemies Muſkettiers, who ſuffered not a man to ſhew himſelfe, but they preſently ouerthrew him with ſpeed and watchfulneſſe. For preuention of the ſecond errour, although I had great preparation of Armour, as well of proofe, as of light Corſolets, yet not a man would vſe them, but eſteemed a pot of wine, a better defence, then an armour of proofe: which truly was great madneſſe, and a lamentable fault, worthy to be baniſhed from amongſt all reaſonable people, and well to be weighed by all Commanders. For if the* Spaniard *ſurpaſſeth vs in any thing, it is in his temperance and ſuffering: and, where he hath had the better hand of vs, it hath beene (for the moſt part) through our owne folly, for that wee will fight vnarmed with him being armed. And although I haue heard many maintaine, that in ſhipping, armour is of little profit; all men of good vnderſtanding, will condemne ſuch deſperate ignorance. For beſides, that the ſlighteſt armour ſecureth the parts of a mans bodie (which it couereth) from pike, ſword, and all hand weapons: it likewiſe giueth boldneſſe and courage; a man armed, giueth a greater and a weightier blow, then a man vnarmed, he ſtandeth faſter, and with greater difficultie is to be ouerthrowne.*

Folly of the bold *Engliſh.*

The *Spaniard* ſurpaſſeth vs onely in temperance.

And I neuer read, but that the gliſtering of the armour hath beene by Authors obſerued, for that (as I imagine) his ſhow breedeth terrour in his contraries, and deſpaire to himſelfe if he be vnarmed. And therefore in time of warre, ſuch as deuote themſelues to follow the profeſſion of Armes (by Sea or by Land) ought to couet nothing more then to bee well armed, for as much as it is the ſecond meanes, next Gods protection, for preſerning and prolonging many mens liues. Wherin the Spaniſh nation deſerueth commendation aboue others, euery one from the higheſt to the loweſt, putting their greateſt care in prouiding faire and good Armes. Hee which cannot come to the price of a Corſlet; will haue a coate of Mayle, a Iacket, at leaſt, a Buffe-ierkin, or a priuie Coate; And hardly will they bee found without it, albeit they liue, and ſerue (for the moſt part) in extreame hot Countries.

The vſe & profit of arming, exactly obſerued by the *Spaniſh.*

Whereas I haue knowne many bred in cold Countries, in a moment complaine of the weight of their Armes, that they ſmother them and then caſt them off, chuſing rather to be ſhot through with a bullet, or launched through with a pike, or thruſt through with a ſword, then to endure a little trauaile and ſuffering. But let mee giue theſe lazie ones this leſſon, that hee that will goe a warfare, muſt reſolue himſelfe to fight, and he that putteth on this reſolution, muſt be contented to endure both heate and weight, firſt, for the ſafeguard of his life, and next for ſubduing of his enemy; both which are hazarded and put into great danger, if hee fight vnarmed with an enemy armed. Now for mine owne opinion, I am reſolued that armour is more neceſſary by Sea, then by Land, yea, rather to be excuſed on the ſhoare, then in the ſhip. My reaſon is, for that on the ſhoare the bullet onely hurteth, but in the ſhip, I haue ſeene the ſplinters kill and hurt many at once, and yet the ſhot to haue paſſed without touching any perſon. As in the Galeon, *in which I came out of the* Indies, *in* Anno 1597. *in the rode of* Tarcera, *when the Queenes Maieſties ſhips, vnder the charge of the Earle of* Eſſex, *chaſed vs into the roade; with the ſplinters of one ſhot, were ſlaine, maymed, and ſore hurt, at the leaſt a dozen perſons, the moſt part whereof had beene excuſed if they had beene armed.*

Armes more neceſſary by Sea, then at Land.

And doubtleſſe, if theſe errours had beene foreſeene, and remedied by vs, many of thoſe who were ſlaine and hurt, had beene on foot, and wee enabled to haue ſuſtained and maintained the fight much better and longer; and perhaps at laſt had freed our ſelues. For if our enemy had come to board with vs, our cloſe fights were ſuch as wee were ſecure, and they open vnto vs. And what with our Cubridge heads,

one

one answering the other, our hatches vpon bolts, our brackes in our Deckes and Gunner roome, it was impossible to take vs as long as any competent number of men had remained, twentie persons would haue sufficed for defence, and for this such ships are called Impregnable, *and are not to be taken, but by surrender, nor to be ouercome, but with boording or sinking, as in vs by experience was verified; and not in vs alone, but in the* Reuenge *of the Queenes Maiestie, which being compassed round about with all the* Armado *of* Spaine, *and boorded sundry times by many at once, is said to haue sunke three of the* Armado *by her side.* The *Reuenge* auenged.

A third and last cause of the losse of sundry of our men, most worthy of note for all Captaines, owners, and Carpenters: was the race building of our ship; the onely fault shee had, and now adayes held for a principall grace in any ship: but by the experience which I haue had, it seemeth for sundry reasons verie preiudiciall for ships of Warre. For in such, those which tackle the sayles, of force must bee vpon the deckes, and are open without shelter or any defence: yet here it will bee obiected, That for this inconuenience, waste clothes are prouided, and for want of them it is vsuall to lace a bonnet, or some such shadow for the men: worthily may it bee called a shadow, and one of the most pernitious customes that can bee vsed for this shadow or defence, being but of linnen or woollen cloth emboldneth many, who without it would retire to better securitie, whereas now thinking themselues vnseene, they become more bold then otherwise they would, and thereby shot through, when they least thinke of it. Some Captaines obseruing this error, haue sought to remedie it in some of his Maiesties ships, not by altering the building, but by deuising a certaine defence made of foure or fiue inch planks, of fiue foot high, and sixe foote bread, running vpon wheeles, and placed in such parts of the ship, as are most open. These they name Bienders, *and made of Elme, for the most part, for that it shiuers not with a shot, as Oake and other Timber will doe, which are now in vse and seruice, but best it is when the whole side hath one blender, and one armour of proofe for defence of those, which of force must labour and be aloft.* The third cause. Race-ships of Warre disliked. Waste-clothes, not so vsefull as other deuises.

This race building, first came in by ouermuch homing in of our ships, and receiued for good, vnder colour of making our ships thereby the better sea-ships, and of better aduantage to hull and try: but in my iudgement it breedeth many inconueniences, and is farre from working the effect they pretend, by disinabling them for bearing their cage worke correspondent, to the proportion and mould of the ship, making them tender sided, and vnable to carry sayle in any fresh gaile of winde, and diminishing the play of their Artillery, and the place for accommodating their people to fight, labour, or rest. And I am none of those who hold opinion, that the ouer-much homing in, the more the better, is commodious and easier for the ship, and this is out of the experience that I haue learned, which with forcible reasons I could proue, to be much rather discommodious and worthy to be reformed. But withall I hold it not necessarie to discourse here of that particularitie, but leaue the consequence to men of vnderstanding, and so surceasse.

All this second day, and the third day and night, our Captaine and company sustained the fight, notwithstanding the disaduantage where they fought: The enemy being euer to windwards, and wee to lee-ward, their shot much damnifying vs, and ours little annoying them, for whensoeuer a man encountereth with his enemie at Sea, in gayning the weather gage, hee is in possibilitie to sinke his contrarie, but his enemy cannot sinke him; and therefore he which is forced to fight with this disaduantage, is to procure by all meanes possible to shoote downe his contraries Masts or Yards, and to teare or spoyle his tackling and sayles: for which purpose, Billets of some heauie wood fitted to the great Ordnance, are of great importance. And so are Arrowes of fire to be shot out of Slur-bowes, and Cases of small shot ioyned two and two together, with pieces of Wyer of fiue or sixe inches long, which also shot out of Muskets are of good effect for tearing the sayles, or cutting the tackling. Some are of opinion, that Crosse-barres and Chaine-shot, are of moment for the spoyling of Masts and Yards, but experience daily teacheth them not to bee of great importance, though neere at hand, I confesse, they worke great execution: but the round shot, is the onely principall and powerfull meane to breake Mast or Yard. And in this our fight, the Admirall of the *Spaniards* had his Fore-mast shot through, with two round shot, some three yards beneath the head; had either of them entred but foure inches further into the heart of the Mast, without all doubt it had freed vs, and perhaps put them into our hands. The disaduantage of Ships to lee-ward. And the best remedie. Crosse-barre, and Chainshot misliked. The *Spaniards* Fore Mast thrice shot through.

The third day, in the after-noone, which was the two and twentieth of *Iune*, 1594. according to our computation, and which I follow in this my discourse, our sayles being torne, our Masts all perished, our Pumpes rent and shot to pieces, and our ship with fourteene shot vnder water, and seuen or eight foot of water in hold; many of our men being slaine, and the most part of them (which remained) sore hurt, and in a manner altogether fruitlesse, and the enemy offering still to receiue vs a *buena querra*, and to giue vs life and libertie, and imbarkation for our Countrey. Our Captaine, and those which remained of our Companie, were all of opinion that our best course was to surrender our selues before our ship sunke. And so by common consent agreed the second time, to send a seruant of mine *Thomas Sanders*, to signifie vnto mee the estate of our ship and company: and that it was impossible by any other way to expect for hope of deliuerance or life, but by the miraculous hand of God in vsing his Almightie power, or by an honourable surrender, which in euerie mans opinion was thought most conuenient. So was I desired by him to giue also my consent, that the Captaine might capitulate with the Spanish Generall, The Company againe importunate to come to composition.

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rall, and to compound the beſt *partido* he could by ſurrendring our ſelues into his hands, vpon condition of life and libertie. This hee declared vnto mee, being in a manner void of ſence, and out of hope to liue or recouer: which conſidered, and the circumſtances of his relation, I anſwered as I could, that he might iudge of my ſtate, ready euery moment to giue vp the Ghoſt, and vnable to diſcerne in this cauſe what was conuenient, except I might ſee the preſent ſtate of the Ship. And that the honour or diſhonour, the wel-fare or miſery, was for them, which ſhould be partakers of life: At laſt, for that I had ſatisfaction of his valour and true dealing in all the time, he had ſerued me, and in correſpondence of it, had giuen him (as was notorious) charge and credit in many occaſions, I bound him, by the loue and regard he ought me, and by the faith and duetie to Almighty God, to tell me truely, if all were as he had declared. Whereunto he made anſwere, that he had manifeſted vnto me the plaine and naked truth, and that he tooke God to witneſſe of the ſame truth: with which receiuing ſatisfaction, I forced my ſelfe what I could, to perſwade him to *animate his companions, and in my name to intreate the Captaine and the reſt to perſeuere in defence of their libertie, liues, and reputation, remitting all to his diſcretion: not doubting, but he would be tender of his duetie, and zealous of my reputation, in preferring his libertie, and the libertie of the Company aboue all reſpects whatſoeuer. As for the welfare hoped by a ſurrender, I was altogether vnlikely to be partaker thereof, Death threatning to depriue me of the benefit, which the enemie offered; but if God would be pleaſed to free vs, the ioy and comfort I ſhould receiue, might perhaps giue mee force and ſtrength to recouer health.*

Which anſwere being deliuered to the Captaine, he preſently cauſed a flagge of truce to be put in place of our Enſigne, and began to parley of our ſurrendry with a *Spaniard*, which *Don Beltran* appointed for that purpoſe, from the poope of the Admirall, to offer in his name, the conditions before ſpecified; with his faithfull promiſe and oath, as the Kings Generall, to take vs a *buena querra*, and to ſend vs all into our owne Countrey. The promiſe he accepted, and ſaid, that vnder the ſame he yeelded, and ſurrendred himſelfe, Ship and Company. Immediately, there came vnto me another ſeruant of mine, and told me, that our Captaine had ſurrendred himſelfe and our Ship; which vnderſtood, I called vnto one *Iuan Gomes de Pineda*, a *Spaniſh* Pilot, which was our Priſoner, and in all the fight we had kept cloſe in hold, and willed him to goe to the Generall *Don Beltran de Caſtro* from me, to tell him, that if he would giue vs his word and oath, as the Generall of the King, and ſome pledge for confirmation, to receiue vs a *buena querra*, and to giue vs our liues and liberty, and preſent paſſage into our owne Countrey, that wee would ſurrender our ſelues, and Ship into his hands: Otherwiſe, that he ſhould neuer enioy of vs, nor ours, any thing, but a reſolution euery man to dye fighting.

With this Meſſage I diſpatched him, and called vnto me all my Company, and encouraged them to ſacrifice their liues fighting and killing the enemy, if hee gaue but a fillip to any of our companions. The *Spaniards* willed vs to hoiſe out our boate, which was ſhot all to peeces; and ſo was theirs. Seeing that he called to vs to amaine our ſailes, which wee could not well doe, for that they were ſlung, and we had not men enough to hand them. In this parley, the Vice-admirall comming vpon our quarter, & not knowing of what had paſt, diſcharged her two chaſe peeces at vs, and hurt our Captaine very ſore in the thigh, and maimed one of our Maſters Mates, called *Hugh Maires*, in one of his Armes, but after knowing vs to be rendred, he ſecured vs: And we ſatisfied them that we could not hoiſe out our boate, nor ſtrike our ſayles, the Admirall laid vs abourd, but before any man entred, *Iohn Gomes* went vnto the Generall, who receiued him with great curteſie, and asked him what we required; whereunto hee made anſwere that my demand was that in the Kings name, he ſhould giue vs his faith and promiſe, to giue vs our liues, to keepe the Lawes of faire warres and quarter, and to ſend vs preſently into our Countrey; and in confirmation hereof, that I required ſome pledge, whereunto the Generall made anſwere, that in the Kings Maieſties name his Maſter, he receiued vs a *buena querra*, and ſwore by God Almighty, and by the habit of *Alcantara* (whereof he had receiued Knighthood, and in token whereof, he wore in his breaſt a greene croſſe, which is the enſigne of that Order) that hee would giue vs our liues with good entreatie, and ſend vs as ſpeedily as he could into our owne Countrey. In confirmation whereof, he tooke off his gloue, and ſent it to me as a pledge.

The Engliſh ſurrender.

Gloue ſent for pledge.

With this meſſage *Iohn Gomes* returned, and the *Spaniards* entred and tooke poſſeſſion of our Ship, euery one crying *buena querra, buena querra, oy por immaniana por ti*: with which our Company began to ſecure themſelues.

The Generall was a principall Gentleman of the ancient Nobilitie of *Spaine*, and brother to the *Conde de Lemos*, whoſe intention no doubt was according to his promiſe; and therefore conſidering that ſome bad intreaty and inſolency might be offered vnto me in my Ship, by the common Souldiers, who ſeldome haue reſpect to any perſon in ſuch occaſions, eſpecially in the caſe I was, whereof he had enformed himſelfe; for preuention, he ſent a principall Captain, brought vp long time in *Flanders*, called *Pedro Alueres de Pulgar*, to take care of me, and whileſt the Ship were one abourd the other, to bring me into his Ship: which he accompliſhed with great humanity and courteſie; deſpiſing the barres of Gold which were ſhared before his face, which hee might alone haue enioyed, if he would: And truely he was, as after I found by triall, a true

Braue & worthy Spaniard.

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true Captaine; a man worthy of any charge, and of the noblest condition that I haue knowne any *Spaniard*.

The Generall receiued me with great courtesie and compassion, euen with teares in his eyes, and words of great consolation and commanded mee to bee accommodated in his owne Cabbine, where hee sought to cure and comfort mee the best hee could; the like hee vsed with all our hurt men, sixe and thirtie at least. And doubtlesse as true courage, valour, and resolution, it requisite in a Generall in the time of battell. So humanitie, mildnesse, and courtesie after victorie. The mildnesse of a Generall after victorie.

Whilest the ships were together, the Maine-mast of the *Daintie* fell by the boord, and the people being occupied in ransacking and seeking for spoile and pillage neglected the principall; whereof ensued, that within a short space the *Daintie* grew so deepe with water, which increased for want of preuention, that all who were in her desired to forsake her, and weaued and cried for succour to be saued, being out of hope of her recouerie. Whereupon, the Generall calling together the best experimented men hee had, and consulting with them what was best to bee done: it was resolued, that Generall *Michael Angel* should goe aboord the *Daintie*, and with him threescore Mariners, as many Souldiers; and with them the *English* men, who were able to labour to free her from water, and to put her in order if it were possible: and then to recouer *Perico* the Port of *Panama* for that of those to wind-wards it was impossible to turne vp to any of them, and neerer then to leward was not any that could supply our necessities and wants, which lay from vs East, North-east, aboue two hundred leagues. The *Daintie* in danger of perishing.

Michael Angel, being a man of experience and care accomplished that hee tooke in hand, although in cleering and bayling the water, in placing a pumpe, and in fitting and mending her Fore-saile he spent aboue six and thirtie houres. During which time the Ships lay all a hull; but this worke ended, they set saile and directed their course for the Iles of Pearles: And for that the *Daintie* sailed badly, what for want of her Maine-saile, and with the aduantage which all the South Sea ships haue of all those built in our North Sea. The Admirall gaue her a taw, which notwithstanding (the wind calming with vs as wee approached neerer to the Land) twelue daies were spent before wee could fetch sight of the Ilands, which lie alongst the Coast beginning some eight leagues West South-west from *Panama*, and run to the Southwards neere thirtie leagues. They are many and most inhabited, and those which haue people haue some *Negros*, slaues vnto the *Spaniards*, which occupie themselues in labour of the Land, or in fishing for Pearles. *Michael Angel* recouereth the ship. Many Ilands.

In times past many enriched themselues with that trade, but now it is growne to decay. The manner of fishing for Pearles is, with certaine long Pinnasses or small Barkes, in which there goe foure, fiue, six, or eight *Negros*, expert swimmers and great diuers, whom the *Spaniards* call *Buzos*, with tract of time, vse, and continuall practise, hauing learned to hold their breath long vnder water for the better atchieuing their worke. These throwing themselues into the Sea, with certaine instruments of their Art, goe to the bottome and seeke the Bankes of the Oysters in which the Pearles are ingendred, and with their force and Art remoue from their foundation, in which they spend more or lesse time, according to the resistance the firmnesse of the ground affordeth. Once losed, they put them into a bag vnder their armes, and after bring them vp into their Boats, hauing loaden it they goe to the shoare, there they open them and take out the Pearles: they lie vnder the vttermost part of the circuit of the Oyster in rankes and proportions, vnder a certaine part which is of many pleights and folds, called the Ruffe, for the similitude it hath vnto a Ruffe. The Pearles increase in bignesse, as they bee neerer the end or ioynt of the Oyster. The meate of those which haue these Pearles is milkie, and not verie wholsome to be eaten. In *Anno* 1583. in the Iland of *Margarita*, I was at the dregging of Pearle Oysters, after the manner we dreg Oysters in *England*, and with mine owne hands I opened many, and tooke out the Pearles of them; some greater, some lesse, and in good quantitie. Fishing for Pearles.

They are found in diuers parts of the world, as in the West *Indies*, in the *South Sea*, in the East *Indian* Sea, in the Straits of *Magellane*, and in the *Scottish* Sea. Those found neere the Poles are not perfect, but are of a thicke colour, whereas such as are found neere the line are most orient and transparent: the curious call it their water, and the best is a cleere white shining, with fierie flames. And those of the East *India* haue the best reputation, though as good are found in the West *India*: the choice ones are of great valew and estimation, but the greatest that I haue heard of, was found in these Ilands of *Pearles*; the which King *Philip* the second of *Spaine*, gaue to his daughter *Elizabeth*, wife to *Albertus*, *Arch-Duke* of *Austria*, and Gouernour of the States of *Flanders*, in whose possession it remaineth, and is called, *la Peregrina*, for the rarenesse of it, being as big as the pomell of a Poniard. The places where Pearle are found. Great Pearle.

In this Nauigation, after our surrender, the Generall tooke speciall care for the good intreatie of vs, and especially of those who were hurt. And God so blessed the hands of our Surgions (besides that they were expert in their Art) that of all our wounded men not one died, that was aliue the day after our surrendry, and many of them with eight, ten, or twelue wounds, and some with more. The thing that ought to moue vs to giue God Almightie especiall thankes and praises The Generall continueth his honourable vsage, towards the sicke and wounded.

was,

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was, that they were cured in a manner without Instruments or Salues: For the Chests were all broken to pieces; and many of their Simples and Compounds throwne into the Sea; those which remayned, were such, as were throwne about the ship in broken pots and bagges, and such as by the Diuine Prouidence were reserued, at the end of three dayes, by order from the Generall, were commanded to be sought and gathered together. These with some Instruments of small moment, bought and procured from those, who had reserued them to a different end, did not onely serue for our cures, but also for the curing of the *Spaniards*, beeing many more, then those of our Company. For the *Spanish* Surgeons were altogether ignorant in their profession, and had little or nothing wherewith to cure. And I haue noted, that the *Spaniards* in generall are nothing so curious, in accommodating themselues, with good and carefull Surgeons, nor to fit them with that which belongeth to their profession, as other Nations are, though they haue greater need then any, that I doe know.

Spanish Surgeons ignorant.

At the time of our surrender, I had not the *Spanish* Tongue, and so was forced to vse an Interpreter, or the *Latine*, or *French*; which holpe mee much for the vnderstanding of those, which spake vnto me in *Spanish*; together with a little smattering I had of the *Portugall*.

Through the Noble proceeding of *Don Beltran* with vs, and his particular care towards mee, in curing and comforting me, I began to gather heart, and hope of life, and health; my seruants which were on foot, aduised me ordinarily of that which past. But some of our enemies, badly inclined, repined at the proceedings of the Generall; and said, he did ill to vse vs so well; *That we were* Lutherans; *and for that cause, the faith which was giuen vs, was not to be kept nor performed:* Others, that we had fought as good Souldiers, and therefore deserued good quarter. Others, nicknamed vs with the name of *Corsarios*, or Pirats; not discerning thereby that they included themselues within the same imputation. Some were of opinion, that from *Panama*, the Generall would send vs into *Spaine*; Others said, that he durst not dispose of vs, but by order from the Vice-roy of *Peru*, who had giuen him his authoritie. This hit the naile on the had.

To all I gaue the hearing, and laid vp in the store-house of my memory, that which I thought to be of substance, and in the store-house of my consideration, endeauoured to frame a proportionable resolution to all occurrents, conformable to Gods most holy Will. Withall I profited my selfe of the meanes, which should bee offered, and beare greatest probabilitie to worke our comfort, helpe, and remedie. And so, as time ministred oportunitie, I began, and endeauoured to satisfie the Generall, and the better sort in the points I durst intermeddle. And especially to perswade (by the best reasons I could) that wee might bee sent presently from *Panama*: Alleaging the promise giuen vs, the cost and charges ensuing, which doubtlesse would bee such as deserued consideration and excuse: besides that, now whilest hee was in place, and power, and authoritie in his hands, to performe with vs, that he would looke into his honour, and profit himselfe of the occasion, and not put vs into the hands of a third person; who perhaps being more powerfull then himselfe, he might be forced to pray and intreate the performance of his promise; whereunto he gaue vs the hearing, and bare vs in hand, that he would doe, what he could.

Misprision of the terme Pirats.

What a Pirate is.

The Generall, and all in generall, not only in the Peru, *but in all* Spaine, *and the Kingdomes thereof (before our surrendry) held all* Englishmen *of warre, to bee* Corsarios, *or Pirats; which I laboured to reforme, both in the* Peru, *and also in the Counsels of* Spaine, *and amongst the Chieftaines, Souldiers, and better sort, with whom I came to haue conuersation; Alledging that a Pirate, or* Corsario, *is he, which in time of peace, or truce spoyleth, or robbeth those, which haue peace or truce with them: but the* English *haue neither peace nor truce with* Spaine, *but warre; and therefore not to bee accounted Pirats. Besides,* Spaine *broke the peace with* England, *and not* England *with* Spaine; *and that by* Ymbargo, *which of all kinds of defiances, is most reproued, and of least reputation; The ransoming of prisoners, and that by the Canon, being more honorable, but aboue all, the most honorable is with Trumpet and Herald, to proclaime and denounce the warre by publike defiance. And so if they should condemne the* English *for Pirats, of force, they must first condemne themselues. Moreouer, Pirats are those, who range the Seas without licence of their Prince; who when they are met with, are punished more seuerely by their owne Lords, then when they fall into the hands of strangers: which is notorious to bee more seuerely prosecuted in* England *(in time of peace) then in any the Kingdomes of Christendome. But the* English *haue all license, either immediately from their Prince, or from other thereunto authorized, and so cannot in any sense be comprehended vnder the name of Pirats, for any hostilitie vndertaken against* Spaine, *or the dependancies thereof.*

Three sorts of defiances.

The custome of Spaine for warre.

And so the state standing as now it doth, if in Spaine *a particular man should arme a ship, and goe in warfare with it against the* English, *and happened to be taken by them: I make no question, but the company should be intreated according to that manner, which they haue euer vsed since the beginning of the warre: without making further inquisition. Then if he were rich or poore, to see if hee were able to giue a ransome, in this also they are not very curious. But if this* Spanish *ship should fall athwart his Kings Armado, or Gallies, I make no doubt but they would hang the Captaine and his company for Pirats. My reason is, for that by a speciall Law it is enacted: that no man in the Kingdomes of* Spaine, *may arme any ship, and goe in warfare, without the Kings speciall licence and commission; vpon paine to be reputed a Pirate, and to be chastized with the punishment due to* Corsarios. *In* England *the case is different,*

The custome of England.

for

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for the warre once proclamed, euery man may arme that will, and hath wherewith; which maketh for our greater encouragement, from being comprehended within the number of Pirats.

With these, and or like Arguments to the purpose (to auoid tediousnesse) I omit; I conuinced all those whom I heard to harpe vpon this string, which was of no small importance for our good entreatie, and motiues for many, to further and fauour the accomplishment of the promise lately made vnto vs.

One day after dinner (as was the ordinary custome) the Generall, his Captaines, and the better sort of his followers, being assembled in the Cabbin of the Poope in conference, an eager contention arose amongst them, touching the capitulation of *Buena Querra* and the purport thereof. Some said, that onely life and good entreatie of the prisoners, was to be comprehended therein; others enlarged, and restrained it, according to their humours and experience. In fine my opinion was required, and what I had seene, and knowne touching that point: wherein I pawsed a little, and suspecting the Worst, feared that it might be a baite laid to catch me withall, and so excused my selfe; saying, that where so many experimented Souldiers were ioyned together, my young iudgement was little to be respected; whereunto the Generall replied: That knowledge was not alwaies incident to yeeres, (though reason requireth, that the aged should be the wisest) but an Art acquired by action, and management of affaires. And therefore they would bee but certified, what I had seene, and what my iudgement was in this point, vnto which, seeing I could not well excuse my selfe, I condescended; and calling my wits together; holding it better, to shoot out my bolt, by yeelding vnto reason, (although I might erre) then to stand obstinate, my will being at warre with my consent, and fearing my denial might bee taken for discourtesie, which peraduenture might also purchase mee mislike with those, who seemed to wish mee comfort and restitution. I submitted to better iudgement, the reformation of the present assembly; saying, *Sir, vnder the capitulation of* Buena Querra, *(or faire warres) I haue euer vnderstood, and so it hath beene obserued in these, as also in former times, that preseruation of life, and good entreatie of the prisoner, haue beene comprehended: and further by no meanes to bee vrged to any thing contrary to his conscience, as touching his Religion; nor to be seduced, or mouued from the allegeance due to his Prince and Country: but rather to ransome him for his moneths pay. And this is that which I haue knowne practised in our times, in generall amongst all Ciuill and Noble Nations. But the* English, *haue enlarged it one point more towards the* Spaniards *vnder a* Buena Querra, *in these warres; haue euer deliuered them, which haue beene taken vpon such compositions without ransome: but the couetousnesse of our age hath brought in many abuses, and excluded the principall Officers from partaking of the benefit of this priuiledge, in leauing them to the discretion of the Vulgar, being many times poorer then the common Souldiers, their qualities considered, whereby they are commonly put to more, then the ordinary ransome, and not being able of themselues to accomplish it, are forgotten of their Princes, and sometimes suffer long imprisonment, which they should not.*

A disputation concerning *Buena Querra.*

The Resolution, &c.

The noble vsage of the *English.*

But a-used in these dayes.

With this, *Don Beltran* said, This ambiguitie you haue well resolued; And like a worthy Gentleman (with great courtesie and liberalitie) added; *Let not the last point trouble you: but be of good comfort, for I beare giue you my word anew, that your ransome (if any shall be thought due) shall be but a couple of Grey-hounds for me; and other two for my Brother, the* Conde de Lemes, *And this I sweare to you by the habit of Alcantara.* Prouided alwayes, that the King my Master leaue you to my disposse, as of right you belong vnto me.

Don Beltran satisfied and answereth.

For amongst the *Spaniards* in their Armadoes, if there bee an absolute Generall, the tenth of all is due to him, and he is to take choise of the best: where in other Countries, it is by lot, that the Generals tenth is giuen; And if they be but two ships, hee doth the like, and being but one, she is of right the Generals. This I hardly believed, vntill I saw a Letter, in which the King willed his Vice-roy, to giue *Don Beltran* thankes for our ship and Artillery, which hee had giuen to his Maiestie. I yeelded to the Generall, most heartie thankes for his great fauour, where with he bound me euer to seeke how to serue him, and deserue it.

In this discourse Generall *Michaell Angell* demanded, for what purpose serued the little short Arrowes, which we had in our ship, and those in so great quantitie: I satisfied them, that they were for our Muskets. They are not as yet in vse amongst the *Spaniards*, yet of singular effect and execution as our enemies confessed: for the vpper worke of their ships being Muskets proofe, in all places they passed through both sides with facilitie, and wrought extraordinary disasters, which caused admiration, to see themselues wounded with small shot, where they thought themselues secure; and by no meanes could find where they entred, nor come to the sight of any of the shot.

Short arrowes for Muskets.

Hereof they proued to profit themselues after, but for that they wanted the *Tampkings*, which are first to bee driuen home, before the Arrow bee put in, and as then vnderstood not the secret, they reiected them, as vncertaine, and therefore not to bee vsed, but of all the shot vsed now a dayes; for the annoying of an Enemie in fight by Sea, few are of greater moment for many respects: which I hold not conuenient to treate of in publike.

Tampkin is a small piece of wood turned fit for the mouth of a Peece.

A little to the South wards of the Iland of Pearle, betwixt seuen and eight degrees, is the great Riuer of Saint *Buena Ventura*. It falleth into the South Sea with three mouthes, the head of which

Iohn Oxnams Voyage to the South Sea.

which, is but a little distant from the North Sea. In the yeere 1575. or 1576. one *Iohn Oxnam* of *Plimouth*, going into the West *Indies*, ioyned with the *Symarons*. These are fugitiue *Negroes*, and for the bad intreatie which their Masters had giuen them, were then retired into the Mountaines, and liued vpon the spoyle of such *Spaniards*, as they could master, and could neuer bee brought into obedience, till by composition they had a place limited them for their freedome, where they should liue quietly by themselues. At this day they haue a great habitation neere *Panama*, called *Saint Iago de los Negros*, well peopled, with all their Officers and Commanders of their owne, saue onely a *Spanish* Gouernour.

What the *Symarons* are.

Their habitation.

Their assistance.

By the assistance of these *Symarons*, hee brought to the head of this Riuer, by piecemeale, and in many Iourneyes a small Pinnace, hee fitted it by time in warlike manner, and with the choice of his Companie, put himselfe into the South Sea, where his good happe, was to meete with a couple of shippes of trade, and in the one of them a great quantitie of Gold. And amongst other things two pieces of speciall estimation, the one a Table of massy Gold, with Emralds, sent for a present to the King; the other a Lady of singular beautie, married, and a mother of children. The latter grew to bee his perdition: for hee had capitulated with these *Symarons*, that their part of the bootie, should be onely the prisoners, to the end to execute their malice vpon them, such was the rancour they had conceiued against them, for that they had beene the Tyrants of their libertie.) But the *Spaniards* not contented to haue them their slaues; who lately had beene their Lords, added to their seruitude, cruell intreaties. And they againe to feede their insatiable reuenges, accustomed to roast and eate the hearts of all those *Spaniards*, whom at any time they could lay hand vpon.

Iohn Oxnam capitulateth with them,

His folly, and Breach of promise.

His pursuit.

Iohn Oxnam (I say) was taken with the loue of this Lady, and to winne her good will, what through her teares and perswasions, and what through feare and detestation of their barbarous inclinations; breaking promise with the *Symarons*, yeelded to her request, which was, to giue the prisoners libertie with their shippes; for that they were not vsefull for him: notwithstanding *Oxnam* kept the Lady, who had in one of the rescued shippes, either a Sonne, or a Nephew. This Nephew with the rest of the *Spaniards*, made all the haste they could to *Panama*, and they vsed such diligence, as within few houres, some were dispatched to seeke those, who little thought so quickly to bee ouertaken. The pursuers approaching the Riuer, were doubtfull by which of the afore-remembred three mouthes, they should take their way. In this wauering one of the Souldiers espied certaine feathers, &c.

See the Storie before. This is added of later intelligence.

Comming in sight of the *Ilands of Pearles*, the winde beganne to fresh in with vs, and wee profited our selues of it: but comming thwart of a small Iland, which they call *La Pacheta*, that lieth within the *Pearle Ilands*, close aboord the Mayne, and some eight or tenne leagues South and by West from *Panama*, the winde calmed againe.

La Pacheta.

This Iland belongeth to a priuate man, it is a round hummocke, containing not a league of ground, but most fertile. Insomuch that by the owners industrie, and the labour of some few slaues, who occupie themselues in manuring it; and two Barkes, which he employeth in bringing the fruit it giueth, to *Panama*; it is said to be worth him euery weeke, one with another, a barre of siluer; valued betwixt two hundreth and fiftie, or three hundreth Pezos; which in *English* money, may amount to fiftie or threescore pounds: and for that, which I saw at my being in *Panama*, touching this, I hold to be true.

In our course to fetch the Port of *Panama*, we put our selues betwixt the Ilands and the Main: which is a goodly Channell, of three, foure, and fiue leagues broad, and without danger; except a man come too neere the shoare on any side; and that is thought the better course, then to goe a Sea-boord of the Ilands, because of the swift running of the tides, and the aduantage to stop the ebbe: As also for succour, if a man should happen to be becalmed at any time beyond expectation; which happeneth sometimes.

The seuenth of Iuly wee had sight of *Perico*; they are two little Ilands, which cause the Port of *Panama*, where all the shippes vse to ride; It is some two Leagues West North-west of the Citie, which hath also a *Pere* in it selfe for small Barkes, at full Sea, it may haue some sixe or seuen foot water, but at lowe water, it is drie.

The Generall certifieth the *Audiencia* of his successe. The great ioy of the *Spaniards*.

The ninth of Iuly wee anchored vnder *Perico*, and the Generall presently aduised the *Audiencia*, of that which had succeeded in his Iourney: which vnderstood by them, caused Bonfires to be made, and euery man to put Luminaries in their houses; the fashion is much vsed amongst the *Spaniards* in their feasts of ioy, or for glad tidings; placing many lights in their Churches, in their windowes, and Galleries, and corners of their houses; which being in the beginning of the night, and the Citie close by the Sea-shoare, shewed to vs (being farre off) as though the Citie had beene on a light fire.

About eight of the clocke all the Artilerie of the Citie was shot off, which wee might discerne by the flash of fire, but could not heare the report: yet the Armado being aduised thereof, and in a readinesse, answered them likewise with all their Artilerie: which taking end (as all the vanities of this earth doe) The Generall setled himselfe to dispatch aduice for the King, for the Vice-roy of *Peru*, and the Vice-roy of *Noua Spania*, for hee also had

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had beene certified of our being in that Sea, and had fitted an Armado to seeke vs, and to guard his coast.

But now for a farewell, (and note it) Let mee relate vnto you this Secret; How *Don Beltran* shewed mee a Letter from the King his Master, directed to the Vice-roy, wherein hee gaue him particular relation of my pretended Voyage; of the shippes; their burden; their munition; their number of men, which I had in them, as perfectly as if hee had seene all with his owne eyes; Saying vnto mee: *Hereby you may discerne, whether the King my Master haue friends in* England, *and good and speedy aduice of all that passeth.* Whereunto I replyed; It was no wonder, for that hee had plenty of Gold and Siluer, which worketh this and more strange effects: for my Iourney was publique and notorious to all the Kingdome, whereunto he replyed, that if I thought it so conuenient, leaue should be giuen me to write into *England* to the Queens Maiestie my Mistresse, to my Father, and to other personages, as I thought good; and leauing the Letters open; that hee would send some of them, in the Kings Packet, others to his Vncle *Don Rodrigo de Castro*, Cardinall and Archbishop of *Seuill*, and to other friends of his: Not making any doubt but that they would bee speedily in *England*. For which I thanked him, and accepted his courtesie, and although I was my selfe vnable to write, yet by the hands of a seruant of mine, I wrote three or foure copies of one Letter to my Father, Sir *Iohn Hawkins*. In which I briefly made relation of all that had succeeded in our Voyage.

Note. *English* treachery procured by *Spanish* Gold.

I haue this Letter translated into *Spanish*, and printed by them; together with the discourse of the whole action, much agreeing with this, except where they lust to magnifie their *Spanish* worth.

The Dainty, named the *Visitation*.

The dispatches of *Spaine* and *New Spaine*, went by ordinarie course in ships of aduice; but that for the *Peru* was sent by a kinsman of the Generals, called *Don Francisco de la Cuena*. Which being dispatched, *Don Beltran* hasted all that euer he could, to put his ships in order, to returne to *Lima*. Hee caused the *Daintie* to be grounded and trimmed, for in those Ilands it higheth and falleth some fifteene or sixteene foot water.

And the Generall with his Captaines, and some Religious men being aboord her, and new naming her, named her the *Visitation*; for that shee was rendred on the day, on which they celebrate the Visitation of the Virgin *Marie*. In that place the ground being plaine, and without vantage (whereby to helpe the tender sided and sharpe Ships) they are forced to shoare them on either side. In the middest of their solemnitie, her props and shores of one side fayled and so shee fell ouer vpon that side suddenly, intreating many of them (which were in her) very badly, and doubtlesse had shee beene like the ships of the South Sea, shee had broken out her bulge: but being without Masts and emptie (for in the South Sea, when they bring aground a shippe, they leaue neither Mast, Balast, nor any other thing aboord, besides the bare Hull) her strength was such, as it made no great showe to haue receiued any damage, but the feare shee put them all into was not little, and caused them to runne out of her faster then a pace.

In these Ilands is no succour, nor refreshing; onely in the one of them is one house of straw, and a little spring of small moment. For the water which the Shippes vse for their prouision, they fetch from another Iland, two leagues West North-west of these; which they call *Tabaga*, hauing in it some fruit and refreshing, and some few *Indians* to inhabite it.

What succeeded to mee, and to the rest during our Imprisonment, with the rarities and particularities of the *Peru*, and *Tierra firme*, my Voyage to *Spaine*, and the successe, with the time I spent in prison in the *Peru*, in the *Tercera*, in *Seuill*, and in *Madrid*, with the accidents which befell mee in them; I leaue for a second part of this discourse, if God giue life, and conuenient place and rest, necessarie for so tedious and troublesome a worke: desiring God that is Almightie, to giue his blessing to this and the rest of my intentions: that it and they may be fruitfull, to his glorie; and to the good of all: then shall my desires bee accomplished, and I account my selfe most happie. To whom be all glory, and thankes from all eternitie.

CHAP. VI.

A briefe Note written by Master IOHN ELLIS, *one of the Captaines with Sir* RICHARD HAWKINS, *in his Voyage through the Strait of* MAGELAN, *begunne the ninth of April, 1593. concerning the said Straite, and certaine places, on the coast and Inland of* Peru.

THE second of Februarie, 1593. wee fell with the Land of *Terra Australis*, in 50. degrees fiftie fiue leagues off the Straite of *Magelan*, which Land lay East and by North, or East North-east from the Straite, which is a part of *Terra Australis*: from which Land wee entred the Straite vpon the West South-west course: then we ran ten leagues West North-west, other ten leagues West South-west, then eight leagues South-west, and came to an anchor on the starboord side, in a hooke where you may moore any ship in twelue fathomes water. From thence wee ranne South-west and by

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Penguin Iland. South ſeuen leagues, where we came to an Iland called, *Penguin Iland*, and tooke in fiue or ſixe tunnes of Penguins, and flayed them, and ſalted them. Thence twelue leagues South South-weſt, and found good riding in twelue fathoms, fine ſand: from thence to Port *Famine*, the new Towne of *Pedro Sarmiento*, fiue leagues South-weſt. Then Weſt North-weſt ſixteene leagues, where we anchored in good riding. Then North-weſt and by Weſt, till wee came to the Riuer of *Genenera*, on the ſtarboord ſide eight leagues. Then fiue leagues North-weſt. Then North-weſt and by Weſt thirtie leagues, till wee came out of the Straite, which is in length one hundred and eleuen leagues. The mouth or entrance of the Straite is in thirtie two degrees and an halfe, and the Out-let is in the ſame heigth. The middle is in fiftie foure degrees and a terce.

Mocha. After wee were come out of the Straite wee went away North-weſt and by North fortie leagues into the Sea: then North, vntill wee came to the Iland of *Mocha*, which is in thirtie eight degrees and thirtie minutes, where we had good trade with the People. This Ile is three leagues long, where great reliefe, of Mutton, Maiz, and other things may bee had from the *Indians*. This Ile is twelue leagues from the mayne Land. From thence wee went North, and paſt by the Ile of Saint *Marie*: from thence vnto *Valparaiſo*, which ſtandeth in thirtie three degrees, into which Hauen I went with our Boate, and tooke foure ſhippes, in which wee had Wines, and other good prouiſion: and there wee remayned the ſpace of twelue dayes. And in this time I went on ſhoare, and tooke fiue houſes, which were full of Wine, and other good things: And in this time there came a ſhippe by the Harbour, which the Generall went to take, but hee did not: yet I with twelue men did take her, and within one houre the Generall came to vs. The ſhippe had clothes of Cotton for men to weare, of the *Indian* making, and ſome Gold.

Santa Maria. Valparaſo.

Gold.

Valparaiſo is a Port and a [illegible] in the bottome of the Bay, where they make excellent Wine. From thence eighteene leagues into the Land is Saint *Iago*, a great Towne of *Spaniards*. From thence wee paſſed to *Arica*, which is in twentie degrees, as I take it. All this Coaſt lieth North and South. From thence wee paſſed to *Piſco* and *Chincha*, where the Generall, and the Maſter *Hugh Corniſh*, went to goe on ſhoare, but they did not. Heere wee met with ſixe of the Kings ſhippes, which came to ſeeke vs: but at that time wee eſcaped them. Theſe places are in fourteene degrees and an halfe. From thence wee paſſed by the Citie of *Lima*, which is in twelue degrees and an halfe. From thence by *Paita*, which is an Hauen, and a Towne, and ſtandeth in fiue degrees. From thence wee paſſed by the Equinoctiall Line, and went to *Atacame*, where wee were taken, the two and twentieth of Iune, 1594. This place is in one degree to the Northward of the Line. There is from thence ſome eight leagues, a Bay called, The Bay of Saint *Matthew*. From thence wee were carried vnto *Panama*, which is in nine degrees to the Northward of the Line: where wee were held Priſoners. From *Panama* wee were returned to *Paita*, and ſo to *Lima*. *Lima* is neere as bigge as *London* within the walls: the houſes are of Lome baked, for want of Stone. There are neere twentie thouſand *Negros* in *Lima*. There are in it of Horſemen an hundred Launces, and an hundred Carbiners, at a thouſand Ducats a man by the yeere. From *Lima* I went to *Guamanga*, which is a good Citie ſixtie leagues from *Lima*, to the South-eaſt. Twelue leagues from *Lima* Eaſtward it raineth, but neuer at *Lima*. Twentie leagues more Southerly, towards *Guamanga*, at *Paricaca*, which is a Mountaine, it is as cold as in *England* in our Winter: But none will dwell there, becauſe of the cold. Then is the Valley of *Chooſa* hauing Hills on both ſides, and a Riuer in the middeſt. The Valley is eighteene leagues long, and well peopled, and hath diuers Townes: it is fortie leagues from *Lima*, and ſo through that I trauelled to *Guamanga*.

Sixe of the Kings ſhips.

Lima.

Paita.

Atacame.

Baia de Santo Mateo.

Panama.

Paita.

Lima.

Guamanga.

Cuſco. From *Guamanga* wee paſſed towards *Cuſco* on hard wayes cut out of the Rockes by *Guamacapo*, with great difficultie by the wayes there are Tambos or houſes to lodge people, and ſome Villages. Then wee came to *Cuſco*, which is a Citie about the bigneſſe of *Briſtow*, without a wall, hauing a Caſtle halfe a mile off on the ſide of an Hill, builded with ſtones of twentie tuns weight ſtrangely ioyned without morter. From *Lima* they trade to *Cuſco* all that comes out of *Spaine*. They of *Quito* trade to *Cuſco*, with wollen Cloth and Cottons: for *Quito* hath abundance of ſheepe about it, and is a great Citie. They driue ſheepe to *Lima* twentie thouſand in a Flocke, and be halfe a yeere in the Paſſage.

Potoſi. Betweene *Cuſco* and *Potoſi* there is continuall trade, and the Lords or *Caciques* of the Naturals will entertaine you in the way, feed you in Siluer veſſell, and giue you very good lodging, and if they like you, they will guide you with three or foure hundred *Indians*.

In *Potoſi* there are at worke neere an hundred thouſand *Indians*, which the *Caciques* bring in for ſo many dayes to worke the Mynes; and then other *Caciques* bring in as many more.

Maſter *Lucas* ſonne to Maſter *Tho. Lucas.* *I haue alſo two Letters written by* Thomas Sanders *ſeruant to Sir* Richard Hawkins, *written to Sir* Iohn Hawkins *out of the priſon of Saint* Lucar; *in one of which hee maketh a large relation of their Voyage and taking (which is here needleſſe to reiterate) with mention of one Maſter* Lucas, *condemned by the Holy Houſe to the Gallies, and ſent to* Nombre de Dios, *in which Voyage hee died: out of*

of the other I haue hither added this transcript touching the vsage and respect which Sir Richard Hawkins *found in* Peru.

I wrote in like sort of my Masters health, and of his entertaynment in his taking, and in the Citie of *Lima* by the Vice-king of the Countrey, and how hee was beloued for his valour, by all braue men in those parts, the which I learned by many which came from thence, as well rich as poore, and many *Negroes*, seruants to Merchants, which came from thence, and were there when hee came. Hee was receiued by all the best in the Countrie, carried by them to a Princely house all richly hanged, the which hee had to himselfe, with a great allowance from the King, besides many presents from the Queene: but within sixe or seuen dayes hee was carried by the Fathers to the Holy House, not as a man to be executed, but to rest there vntill they heard from the King what should be done with them. &c. This is part of another Letter.

Hauing occasion here to mention Sir Iohn Hawkins, *I thought good, in memorie of his name, to expresse a Pardon from the* Spanish *King* Philip *the second, to him, and to the Master* George Fitzwilliams, *and the rest of their companie, both for the forme thereof, (being here printed from the Originall, superscribed and subscribed with the Kings owne hand) and to shew the strict prohibition of Trade in the* Indies.

EL REY.

POr quanto por parte de Iuan Aquins y Iorge Fitzwilliams Ingleses por si yen nõbre de todos los demas Ingleses que han ydo y estado ensu compania, enlo que de yuso sedira, nos hasido hecha relacion que vuestro mandado lo que por nos esta prohibido y ordenado paraque ningun estrangero yque no sea natural destos nuestros Reynos, nauegue, trate, ni contrate enla carrera de las Indias, ni enlos puertos y lugares dellas, Los susodichos han entrado y nauegado, tratado y contratado enla dicha carrera y puertos y lugares della, y porque su intencion no ha sido de ruinarnos ni offender ni damnificar, a nuestros Vasallos, y por que como sabiamos su desseo yno buntad auia sido de nos seruir end tiempo que estuuimos enel Reyno de Inglaterra, nos han pedido y supplicado que vsando de clemencia y de benignidad conellos hiziesemos merced de perdonalles la culpa y penas en que auian incurrido, y nos por iustas causas y confiraciones que aello nos mouieron y por les hazer merced lo auemos tenido por bien. Y por la presente les perdonamos y remitimos todos y qualesquier penas en que por razon de auer entrado y nauegado enla dicha carrera de las Indias y tractado y cõtractado enlos puertos y lugares dellas hasta agora ayan incurrido, y queremos que en la dicha razon no puedan ser acusados ni molestados, ni por esta razon ni causa puedan contra ellos proceder los del nuestro conceso de las Indias, ni los iuezes de la casa dela contratation, ni otros algunos. Porque nuestra merced y voluntad es de les remitir como les remitimos todas las dichas penas, y de les librar, como les libramos y damos por libres y quitos dellas, buen assi como siellas no huuieran caydo ni incurrido, no embargantes qualesquiera leyes, ordenanças, pronisiones y cedulas que en razon delo suso dicho ayamos hecho y dado, con quales quiere clausulas que enellas aya, o, hauer pueda, las quales todas parten quanto alo suso dicho las abrogamos y derogamos, auiendolas aque por expressadas & insertas de Verbo ad verbum, *quedando en su fuerça y viger quanto alodemas. El qual dicho perdon, gracia y remission quiremos que se entienda y estienda no solo alos dhos Iuan Aquins y Iorge Fitzwilliams, pero a todos los demas sngleses queensu compania sauydo conque esto sea y se entienda ser enrespecto delo passado, pero que por esto no seasisto permitirles ni darseles licencia paraque de aqui adelante puedan sin nuestra expressa y particular licencia, nauegar tratar y contratar enla dicha carrera, y que si lo hesieren, demas de incurrir en las penas contenidas en nuestras leyes ordenanças, cartas y pronisiones, este pardon y gracia sea y aya deser ninguno y de ningun valor y effecto, y mandamos alos del nostro conseio delas Indias y alos nostros Iuezes y Officiales de la casa dela contratacion y a otras quales quier Iuezes y Iusticias que assilo guarden y cumplan, fecha enel monastero de Sanct Lorenço el real a diez dias del mes de Agusto, anno del Senuor de mill y quinien tos y setenta y vn annos.*

YEL REY.

Por mandado de su Mag.
S. Antonio Gracian.

V. Md. perdonea Iuano Aquins Ingles y asus compañeros le pena enque incurrieron por auer nauegado, y contratado enlas Indeas contra las ordenes de V. Md.

Chap. VII.

A briefe Relation of an * Engliſhman *which had beene thirteene yeeres Captiue to the* Spaniards *in* Peru, *&c.*

* I found this paper amongſt others of Maſter *Hakl.* without the name of the Author.

THe eleuenth of October, 1602. we departed from the Citie of *Lyma*, and that day wee ſet ſayle from the *Calloa*, in the *Contadora*, Captaine *Andrea Brocho*. The fifteenth of October wee came into *Payta*, and there watered, and tooke in freſh victuals: and ſet ſayle from thence the foure and twentieth of the ſame, for *Mexico*, 1602.

Lima.

Payta.

The fourteenth of December we came to an anchor in *Acapulca*, we were becalmed in 17. degrees and an halfe, foure and twentie dayes, and were ſet with the current into 23. degrees to the Northward, we came all the coaſt alongſt from *Colyma* and *Nauydad* to *Acapulca*. The twentieth of December we came from *Acapulca*, with ſixe Mules: and on *Chriſtmas* Day in the morning we came to *Zumpanga*, a Towne of *Indians*, where wee remayned all that day being betweene this Towne and *Acapulca* thirtie leagues, no Towne betwixt. The laſt of December wee came to *Querna vaca* a Towne in the *Marqueſado* of *Hernan Cortes*, thirteene leagues from *Mexico*.

Acapulca.

Zumpanga.

The firſt of Ianuarie we came into the great Citie of *Mexico*, where we remayned vntill the ſeuenteenth, at which time we came from *Mexico*, in the euening, and came two leagues that night. The next day we came to *Irazing*, which is ſeuen leagues from *Mexico*, where wee remayned two dayes. The fiue and twentieth of Ianuarie wee came to *Pueblo de los Angeles*, paſſing in our way the *Vulcan* being from *Mexico* twentie leagues, and thorow *Chullula*. The thirtieth of Ianuarie I went to *Atrizco*, where we were ſixe dayes, being fiue leagues from *Mexico*.

Mexico.

Atrizco.

The ſixteenth of Februarie we came from the *Pueblo de los Angelos*, with fourteene Carts, fiue or ſixe temes of Oxen in a Cart, for to come to the Citie of *Vera cruz*.

Angeles.

Vera Cruz.

The ſeuenth of March, 1603. wee came into the *Vera cruz*, the new Towne, where wee remayned vntill the eight of Aprill, ſtaying for a ſhip of aduiſe.

Tueſday the eight of Aprill, we ſet ſayle from Saint *Iuo de Vllua*, in a Barque of aduiſe called, the Saint *Lazaro*, the Captaines name was *Diego Garces*, being of the burden of thirtie tunnes, the Pilot named *Diego Vyedall*, we were eight and twentie perſons. 1603. The nine and twentieth of Aprill we had ſight of the *Martyrs*, and were in two fathomes water, off them we ſaw no more nor no other, while we fell with *Alla Rocha* in *Barbarie*, which was the 14. of Iune.

Saint *I. de Vllua.*

The ſixteenth of Iune wee had ſight of *Chiprone*, and *Cales*, that night we came into *S. Lucar*. The ſeuenteenth of Iune in the morning, the Kings Officers came aboord of vs for the Kings Letters, and the Letters of the *Mexico* Fleet: where I heard newes of our good Queene *Elizabeths* death, and our King *Iames* his comming to the Crowne in peace. Heere I was diſcharged, and had my libertie giuen me, ſo I went to *Syuill* the nineteenth day, where I remayned vntill the one and twentieth of September: at which time I came to *Wellua* in the *Condado*.

The fift of Nouember I came from *Wellua* in the *George* of *London*. Maſter *Iuano Whery*, the ſhip was Maſter *Hangers*. I arriued at the *Reculluers* the ſeuenth of December, 1603. being ſince my departure from *England* thirteene yeeres and nine moneths of captiuitie for the which the Lord be praiſed, and make me thankfull all the dayes of my life. *Amen.*

Chap. VIII.

The Relation of Alexandro Vrsino *concerning the coaſt of* Terra Firma, *and the ſecrets of* Peru, *and* Chili, *where he had liued foure and thirtie yeeres.*

THe firſt Towne inhabited of the *Spaniards* is Saint *Iohn* in the Ile of *Porto ricco*, it is a very poore Towne. They haue no Bread, but in ſtead thereof they vſe a certaine Roote called *Cazane*. There is in the Towne about ſixtie *Spaniards*, and a Fort. In Saint *Domingo* there is a very ſtrong Fort with aboue eightie great Peeces of Ordnance. It is one of the faireſt Cities in all the *Indies*: there are aboue ſeuen hundred *Spaniards* in it. It is a Biſhoprike. There is next the Towne of *Monte Chriſto*, wherein there are about eightie *Spaniards*. There is a ſmall Fort. Then *Ocoa*, which is a very good Port, where the Fleete both comming and going, doe put in for freſh water and wood, and other neceſſaries. Then *Porto de Plata*, a ſmall Towne, with a little Fort, about ſeuentie or eightie *Spaniards*. *Porto Reale*, a diſhabited Towne, but a very good Port. There is nothing elſe in the Ile of *Spagnola*, of any importance. There are aboue 22000. *Negros*, men and women, ſlaues.

Saint *Domingo.*

From

From Saint *Domingo* to *Iamaica*, an hundred leagues in this Ile there is but one Towne, which standeth three leagues within the Land. There are in it about fiftie *Spaniards*. In all these places they make Sugar in great abundance, but especially at Saint *Domingo* there are aboue eightie *Ingenios*, or Sugar-houses. They haue neither Siluer, nor Gold. They eate of the foresaid Roote for Bread in euery place. The Ile of *Spaniola* is inhabited onely by the *Spaniards*, there is not one Naturall of the Country. *Iamaica.* Not one naturall in *Hispaniola.*

From *Iamaica* to *Cartagena* one hundred leagues. This *Cartagena* is a faire Citie, a very strong Fort in the Hauen mouth and Artilerie in three parts of the Towne. A Bishoprike. They haue neither Siluer nor Gold: there are about 150. *Spaniards*. Next to this is *Tulu* inhabited of the *Spaniards* about some or fiftie: it is eighteene leagues from *Cartagena* alongst the coast. *Cartagena.*

Then *Santa Martha*, a Citie with a small Fort, about 100. *Spaniards*: there they gather great quantity of Gold. Very fine: they are a fierce people. *Santa Martha* is fiftie leagues from *Cartagena* longst the same coast. Vpon the same coast is *Nombre de dios* about seuentie leagues from *Cartagena*, they haue no Fort but vpon the hauen side: there lyeth foure peeces of Artillary: there are in it about sixtie *Spaniards*. It is vnder the gouernment of *Panama*. Then *Veragua*, about seuentie or eightie *Spaniards*: they gather great store of Gold aboue a million and a halfe yearely. Vpon the same coast about one hundred leagues from *Veragua*, lieth a towne called *Costa rica*, inhabited onely of the naturalles: they gather great store of Gold. Saint *Martha.* *Nombre de dios.* *Veragua.* *Costa rica.*

Ouer against *Nombre de Dios* on the other Sea of Sur lyeth the Citie of *Panama*, eighteene leagues distant from thence: there is an Audience, and a President, and an Archbishop: there are about foure hundred *Spaniards*: it is a very rich towne, full of treasure: all the Gold and Siluer that commeth out of these parts into *Spaine*, commeth by that towne: they haue no Fort but foure peeces of Ordinance onely vpon the Hauen; but to returne to the coast of the ocean Sea. From *Cartagena* Eastwards there is a Riuer called *Rio de Labache*, vpon this Riuer a prettie towne, with two hundred *Spaniards*, where is gathered great abundance of Pearle, about one million euery yeare: there is a little Fort. *Panama.*

A little beyond that you come to *Boxeme*, which is in the gouernment of *Valenzuola*, and *Barbarusa*, three leagues within land. Then *Coro* fiue leagues within land. Then *Margarita* with a strong Fort, in all these places is gathered most fine Gold. *Nombre de Dios*, *Cartagena*, *Santa Martha*, *Tulu*, *Rio de Labache*, *Veragua*, *Barbarusa*, these haue bin spoiled two or three times by the *Frenchmen*. *Venesuela.*

Margarita is the vtmost Towne of the *Spaniards* vpon that coast, from whence passing into the Countrie, about foure dayes iourney we came to *Granada*, a towne in the gouernment of *Valenzuola*, from thence to *Trugillo*, which is the vtmost towne of that Prouince. So to *Villetta*, where beginneth the *Nueua Reyno di Granada*, *Vele Pampelona*, *Ocagna*, *Tunza*, a proper Citie with foure hundred *Spaniards*. *Santa Fe del Nueuo Regno di Granada*, the principall Citie of the Kingdome, fiue hundred *Spaniards*: an Archbishop, a President, and an Audientia; *Tocayma*, *Ayunge*, *Cartago*, *Arma*, *Caramanta*, *Santa Fe di Antiochia*, *Anzerma*, *Cali*, *Buga*, *Popaya*, a gouernment. *Aymage*, *Mocoa*, *Scanza*, *Timana*, *La Plata*, *Neua*, *Pasto*. The end of the new Kingdome of *Granada*. In all these Cities is gathered great abundance of Gold. *Granada.*

Quito the first Citie of the Kingdome of *Peru*. There is a President, an Audience, and a Bishop. *Riobamba*, the Gouernment of the *Squisos*, *Auila*, *Baeza*, *Acedenia*, *Tomibamba*, *Guaiaquill* a Port towne in *Mar del Sur*, *la Punta di Santa Helena*, *Porto*, *vieio* in *Spanish*, *Manta* in *Indian*, *Paita*, Port Townes. *Cosibamba*. The gouernment of *Iohn di Salina*, *Sarigra*, Saint *Iacomo de las Valles*, *Santa Maria de las neues*, *Valladolid*, *Combinama*, *Zaem*, in these six townes is gathered the greatest quantitie of Gold and the finest of all the Country of *Peru*. *Chachapoia*, *Moiobamba*, *Guanico* vpon the Sea, *Malabrigo*, the port of *Trugillo*. *Trugillo* is two leagues within the port of *Reque*, *Santa*, *Casma*, *Guagnara*, *Chancas*, *Lama*, *Caguette*, *Ica*, *Camana*, (*Aerquipa*, *Quilca* and *Chuli*, ports of *Arequipa*) *Arica*, all these are vpon the Sea coast of *Peru*, *Guamanga* and *Guancauallica*, where they gather all the Quick-siluer aboue fiue millions euery yeare: the Citie of *Cusco*, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome of *Peru*, *Choguiago*, *Choquisaca*, *Potossi*, and *Porco*, where all the Siluer is gathered in the Kingdome of *Peru*. And this is the end of the Kingdome of *Peru*. In the Prouince of *Tuquema*, subiect to *Peru*, *Tuquema* the principall Citie of the Prouince. Saint *Iacomo de las Torres*, *Artian*, *Calchaqui*. In the Prouince of *Chirriguana*, subiect to *Peru*. *Santa cruze de la Sera*. In the Prouince of *Chili* alongst the coast; *Tarapaqua*, *Ilo*, *Copiape*, *Coquimba*, *la Serena*, *S. Iacomo*, *La conception*, *Cuyo*, *la Imperiala*, *Paraiso*, *Valdiuia*, *Ozorno*. From *Margarita* or *Barburata* to *Santa Fe del nueuo regno di granada* is 300. leagues by land, the ordinary way. From *Santa Fe* to *Quito* 250. leagues. From *Quito* to *Lima* 300. leagues. From *Lima* to *Choguisaca*, or *Potossi*, or *Porco* 300. leagues. From *Potossi* to *Copiapo* chiefe Citie of *Chili* 500. leagues. And these are ordinary trauailed waies. *Quito.* *Tucuma.* *Chili.*

There are in *Potossi* and *Porco* 300. mines of the *Spaniards*, and 5000. of the *Indians*. The Siluer that is for the King (which is supposed to be two millions) and all the rest that is sent into *Spaine* is brought vpon Sheepes backes vnto *Arica* or Port of *Peru* from thence by Sea into *Lima*. A Sheepe will carry 100. li. three leagues in one day. *Potosi* and *Porco.*

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The Gold that is gathered in *Chili*, the Kings part which is about a million, and of others a million and a halfe is brought by Sea vnto *Lima*. All the Gold and Siluer that comes to *Lima* is about twelue millions, from thence it comes to *Panama*, from *Panama* by land to *Nombre de Dios*, from thence by Sea to *Cartagena*. The Gold that comes out of the new Kingdome of *Granada* and the Prouince of *Iohn di Salina* is brought by a Riuer to *Cartagena*. So that at *Cartagena* there is laden out of those parts for *Spaine* euery yeare of the Kings about fiue millions, and as much of other Merchants.

Fiue millions laden at *Cartagena* yearely the Kings, and as much of other Merchants

In all the Country of *Chili* there are not aboue 1300. *Spaniards*. In *Arica* 100. *Spaniards*. *Arequipa* is 17. leagues distant from *Chuli* or *Quilca* the ports: it hath about 200. *Spaniards*. In *Lima* 1000. *Spaniards*. In *Scutu* 100. *Spaniards*. In *Trugillo* 200. it is a very wealthy towne (the Port of it *Malabrigo* two leagues from *Trugillo*. The Citie of *Cusco* is bigger then *Rome*: there is a Bishop and about 1000. *Spaniards*. They haue the Inquisition in *Lima*. In *Paita* which is the harborough for all the Fleete for fresh prouision: there are 100. men. *Porto Viejo*, is also another harborough where the Fleete taketh in fresh victuals. There are not three *Spaniards* in the towne, but about fiue leagues off there is a small towne called *Manta*, where there are but 50. *Spaniards*. In *Panama* 400. In February the Siluer comes from *Potosi* and *Peru* to *Lima*: about the same time the Ships returne from *Chili* to *Lima* with Gold.

Arequipa.

Cusco.

In Aprill they set forth from *Lima* foure Ships, and in fifteene dayes they arriue at *Panama*. From the point Saint *Helen* to *Copaga* it neuer raineth: this dry tract extendeth from the Sea coast into the Country in some places 40. miles, in some places 50. and in sundry parts of the Country it is so hot that no man can endure it, and within fiue miles of that place so cold againe, that it is inough to kill any man. This strange tract extends 1200. leagues. In the Citie of *Lima* and *Trugillo* there grow Oranges, Pomgranets, Citrons and Melons, bigger farre then those of these parts.

La Loma de Camana is a very fertile soile, yeelding abundance of grasse, which beginneth at *Camana* and passeth by *Quilca* towards *Chuli* eighteene leagues from *Camana*. The same *Loma*, is in some part within a mile of the Sea and in some other places a league off from the Sea. The same *Loma* is in breadth in some places halfe a league, and in other places a league, which is the greatest breadth that it beareth.

Betweene this *Loma de Camana* and the Sea, is nothing growing but barren sands and stones. And within the said *Loma*, is also barren for the space of eight or ten leagues. And in all the said circuit both of the *Loma*, and from it to the Sea, and also in towards the land the said distance of eight or ten leagues it neuer raineth. But farder into the Land where the hils and mountaines are, there it raineth and sometimes snoweth.

A dì 24. Luglio 1581.

Alessandro Orsino Romano antico dice che son de tempi de cinquanta uno agnos. Io son stado Trenta quatro agnos nel regno del Peru, e ho caminado todo el regno.

CHAP. IX.

Notes of the West Indies, *gathered out of* PEDRO ORDONNES de Ceuallos *a* Spanish *Priest, his larger obseruations.*

Santa Fe de Bogota, is the Mother Citie of the New Kingdome of *Granada*, an Archbishops See, and of the Chamber. *Muso* is subiect to it, where is store of the best Emeralds taken out of a rocke, which a long time cannot waste. The fifth thereof is of inestimable value to the King. An *Indian* found there a stone which was sent to King *Phillip*, and his daughter *Clara Eugenia*, the price whereof was aboue all price, nor could the Goldsmiths value it. In Saint *Iuan de los llanos* are men with white faces. In all the Kingdome the townes are very frequent. There are aboue 14000. *Negros* which worke in the Mines there.

Emeralds.

14000. *Negros*.

In *Quito* two things are deere, Wine, which is worth eight Rials a quart, if brought from *Lima*, and twelue from *Spaine*: and Asses, of which one hath beene worth 1500. Pesos, and that for the store of Mares in those parts. It is a prouerbe, *What is deerest in Quito? An Asse.* In *Lima* no houses are couered with roofes, bee they neuer so large, because they neuer haue raine. No Citie in *India* is richer then it.

Wine and Asses deare. *Quito*. *Lima*.

Out of *Potosi* are yeerely gathered great treasures. Ouer the top of this Mountaine alway hangs a cloud, euen in the cleerest dayes, as it were marking and pointing out the riches thereof. It riseth in forme of a *Pyramis*, three leagues high, enuironed with cold ayre. At the foot is the Citie *Potosi*, inhabited by twentie thousand *Spanish* men, and ten thousand women, as many *Negroes* and foure thousand *Indians*. Within six leagues about is no pasture of grasse, so that to it, Wood, and Corne are brought from other places. The entrance and Myne-workes are so dangerous,

Potasi and the Mines.

Preciosa pericula.

dangerous, what they which goe in, vse to take the Sacrament of the Altar, as if they went to their death, because few returne. The Earle of *Villar* made a proclamation, that all the *Indians* should haue leaue and libertie to labour in this Myne, and to haue foure Rialls a day for each mans worke, which they were before forced to doe for nothing; since which the King hath receiued greater profit. The King receiueth thence yeerely eight or ten millions of Siluer. The metalls lie two hundred Stades * (or mans heights) beneath the earth. Raine is very needfull for the Myne-workes, which vsually falls about *Christmasse*. Then the President of *Charcas* comes thither (as alsoe to haue care of the Quick-siluer) that in *Februarie* and *March* they may be readie for *Lima*. *Chile* hath two Bishoprickes, of *Chile* and Saint *Iago*. It brings forth the fruits of *Castile*, greater then *Spaine* it selfe. There are many Gold Mynes, if the *Auracan Indians* could be compelled to the workes, which doe our men great harmes. I went into *Chile* from *Peru*, and thence returned to *Quito*.

* The Latine word is *Stadia*, which in ordinary sense were 25. miles.

Auracanes not subiect.

Mexico is as great as *Siuill*. There dwell in it three thousand *Spaniards*, many more women; two hundred thousand *Indians*, twentie thousand *Negros*. The Natiues are capable of Arts and Discipline. They very much honour Priests, Monkes, and Regulars, and when the Bell rings to Sermon, the *Indian* Boyes run vp and downe the streets crossing their fore-heads. When they goe out of the Church, they cry, *Blessed be our Lord Iesus Christ, and blessed bee his Mother Saint Marie*; the Priest answeres, *For euer*, and they, *Amen*. They are liberall Almes-giuers; to mee saying Masse, I remember they gaue an hundred Duckets. D. *Martin Cortez* Marquesse of the *Valle*, was author of this reuerence to Priests by his owne example, which would stand still bare headed, till a Priest were past, and sometimes would goe forth to meet him and kisse his hand. In *New Spaine* is such store of cattell, that one man often kills one thousand Beeues, and as many Goates, and sends their hides into *Spaine*. The *Magurie* tree or *Cabuya* yeelds Wine, Vineger, Hony, Beds, Threads, Needles (out of the prickles of the leaues) Tables and hafts of Kniues, besides many medicinable vses. From *Mexico* to *Acapulpo* the Hauen on the South Sea, are ninetie leagues, and well inhabited.

Mexico.

Respect to Priests.

Deare Masse.

Hides.

Maguey tree.

The Vice-roy is President at the Court at *Lima*, and Gouernor and Captaine Generall of that Territory, and of *Charcas* and *Quito*. He hath fortie thousand Duckets salary, and the charges of Warre are paid by the King. The Territory of *Lima* containeth in circuit three hundred leagues. *Callao* is the Port, two leagues from *Lima*, the chiefe in all the South Sea, where the Vice-roy vseth to abide much for furnishing the Fleets which carry the treasure.

The Viceroy of *Peru*.

Callao.

The Mynes of *Oruro* are giuen ouer for want of Quick-siluer, or as some say, lest the Inhabitants of *Potosi* should remoue thither. *Guancuelica* hath rich Siluer Mynes, which yeerely yeeld eight thousand Quintals. But some Mountaines falling haue stopped the myninges. Saint *Francis* of *Quito* is vnder the line very temperate, three hundred leagues from *Lima*. There is a Chancery, Bishop, Deane, and Vniuersitie. The Territory of this Court extends two hundred and sixtie leagues. Neere the Citie are many burning Hills.

Saint *Philip* of *Austria*.

There is a twofold gouernment in the *Indies*, one of *Spaniards*, which is the same with that of *Spaine*; the other of *Indians*. The *Spaniards* in these parts neither plow the ground, nor worke in the Mynes, especiall there where they are accounted gentlemen. Scarcely shal you find any *Spanish* youth, which will betake himselfe to the seruice of any man, except the Vice-roy. They trade with Merchandise, are set ouer the Kings Rents, Garrisons, and Myners.

Indian gouernment.

Spaniards life.

The *Indians* are base minded. They solemnize the Feasts of the Sacrament, Easter, and Midsomerday, with Dances, Musicke, Processions, and in the Temples religiously. On Mandy Thursday they are all chastised. In guilds they are obseruant. On a certaine day they are compelled to render account of all their goods and possessions. They procure Masses at Funeralls. They are generally wittie, liers, and strong drinkers. They will drinke two or three dayes together closly, and sometimes a whole weeke. Their Feasts are like the *Negros* with songs and dances. With these Rites they say they pray for the dead. They neuer make an end, till they haue spent all, and then they returne to their labours. They are very expert in the Arts which they learne, although it be writing or reading, which yet is not granted them to learne. They pay yeerely to their Gouernours a certaine tribute of Siluer and other things, after they are eighteene yeeres old, till fiftie. The Commendator receiueth these things, conditionally to maintaine a Priest and a Corrigidor, and to pay the tenths to the Church. This and other places are there giuen for two liues, the sonne or eldest daughter succeeding. The Corrigidors amongst the *Indians* are prohibited merchandise. A Visitor is appointed in euery Court to goe to the places of that Precinct to enquire of affaires, and to decide controuersies.

Indians disposition & state.

Iustice Itinerant.

The number of *Mestizos* is great, which wander vp and downe poore and beggarly, nor giue their minds to learne any handicrafts. It were good they were forced to labour.

Mestizos.

A Councell celebrated at *Lima*, 1583. in the third Session, Chap. 22. approued of the Pope and our King, decreed that whersoeuer one thousand *Indians* are found together, a Teacher and Priest should be set ouer them. The *Indians* Priests vse at the Kings charges to carrie with them many religious men: and the Iesuites by the supreme Councell of *India*, with aduise of the BB. are commanded to send many thither for the Bishops assistance.

Indian Prouinciall Councell.

The

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Ecclesiafficall Reuenues.

The Rents and Tenths of Bishoprickes are deuided into foure parts, one of which goeth to the Bishop, a second to the Deane and Chapiter, so as the Deanes proportion is 150. the dignities 130. the Canons 100. The third and fourth part are diuided into nine shares called Ninths, of which two returne to the King, and are bestowed on the buildinge of Cathedrall Churches; another ninth and halfe on the Fabrickes, another ninth and halfe on the Hospitall buildings; the fourth remayning are paid to the Vicars, Singers, Organists and other Church Officers. What remayneth is spent on the Fabrickes. All are laid out by the Bishops order. In my iudgement it

Seminaries.

were very good if euery Bishoprick had Seminaries and Colledges wherein the children of their *Caciques* and chiefe men might be educated, to be maintayned by the *Caciques*.

The Bishopricke of *Cusco* is 200. leagues long and 70. broad: that of *Lima* is greater by the one halfe, as is that also of *Quito*. Whereupon the Bishops of the New World writ to the King that it were better to make them more Bishoprickes, each of which shall yet retaine 20000. Pezos. Euery seuenth yeere ordinarily is a Prouinciall Synod in *Peru*, to which the Bishoppes come, some by Sea, some by Land 400. or 600. leagues, the wayes not admitting Coaches. Some haue sought for Vniuersities in some places to bee erected (as those of *Quito*) at least for Diuinitie, and the liberall Arts and *Indian* Tongue: the Professors to haue foure or 5000. Duckets a piece yeerely. There is no question but of the *Indians* many learned men may adorne the Schooles and Pulpits.

Kings Reuenues 12. Millions from ten Springs.

The Kings Reuenue out of the West *Indies* is twelue Millions yeerely growing out of the fifth of Gold and Siluer, great Meltings, Customes of Ports, *Indian* Tributes, sale of Offices, the *Cruzada*, Tribute of Rents, Quicksiluer, Fines of Courts, and the ninth part of Ecclesiasticall Rents. Popes Buls and Collations of Benefices Ecclesiasticall and Secular are subiect to the King, and ordered by his supreame Councell of the *Indies*

CHAP. X.

Relation of the new Discouerie in the South Sea made by PEDRO FERNANDEZ GEROS Portugez 1609. *with his Petitions to the King, one Englished, another in* Spanish.

THis man being a famous Pilot was sent with two ships from *Peru* to discouer the Ilands of *Salomon*. After hee had taken his course in the height of the Straits of *Magellanus*, little more or lesse, he did discouer a mayne Land, and sayled eight hundred leagues vpon the Coast, vntill he came to the height of fifteene degrees to the Southward of the Equinoctiall Line where hee found a very fruitfull and pleasant Countrey and well peopled, abounding with Pearles, Gold and Siluer, great store of Limons; Orenges and other Fruites excellent good, and in great quantitie: great store of Goats, Hogges, Geese, Partridges, Conies and Fowle, Pepper and Spices. The Countrey is very temperate and healthfull, great store of fish of many different sorts; full of wood and goodly high Trees for shipping; very good pasture, ground for Corne and Cattell.

The men of the Countrey are some tawnie, and some white of good disposition, more ciuill and politike then the *Indians* of *Peru* and *Noua Hispania*.

There is in the Coast a Bay of some twentie leagues into which there fals two great Riuers out of the Countrey, which is the place where they purpose to settle their first Plantations.

There are many Ilands in the same Coast both great and little, plentifull they are all and well inhabited.

This Captaine *Giroz* shall be presently sent vnto *Peru*, with order and Commission to take vp twelue hundred men and shipping with other necessaries for the Voyage to inhabit, and as many more shall be sent the yeere following from *Noua Hispania*, and for the whole businesse he is to receiue fiue hundred thousand Duckets.

Walsingham Gresley.

The Copie of a Petition presented to the King of Spaine, *by Captaine* PETER FERDINAND de Quir, *touching the Discouerie of the fourth part of the World, called* Terra Australis incognita: *and of the great riches and fertilite of the same: Printed with license in* Siuill, An. 1610.

SIR,

I Captaine *Fernandez de Quiros*, shew vnto you, that this is the eighth * Petition, which by mee hath beene presented to your Maiesties view, to perswade the conduction of some Colo-

* Perhaps it is one of those eight or some later, which followeth in *Spanish*, containing more particulars then this hath: Or else it may be of *Luys di Vaez*, &c.

nies,

nies, vnto the Land which your Maiestie hath commanded to bee discouered in the parts of *Australia incognita*. And yet to this houre no resolution is taken, neither haue I receiued any answere or hope, whereby I might rest assured to obtaine my dispatch, although I haue attended fourteene moneths in your Court, and haue imployed fourteene yeeres in this Discouery without any profit or other respect but the benefit thereof; with which, notwithstanding infinite contradictions, I haue gone 20000. leagues by Land and by Sea, and haue diminished and sunke my estate, I haue trauelled with many afflictions in my person, and suffered such strange and extraordinary crosses that they seeme almost incredible to my selfe; and all, that so Religious an vndertake should not vnworthily be abandoned. In regard whereof, I do most humbly beseech your Maiestie in the bowels of the diuine charitie, that you would be pleased to take order, that I be not depriued of the fruits of this Designe, which with such instance I doe desire, and which with so much iustice are due vnto my continuall paines and trauell: nor that I bee debarred from the effects of so considerable and well grounded a request, whose principall scope is the glory of God, and of your Maiestie, and from whence infinite benefits are likely to issue forth, which will liue as long as the fabrick of the World shall subsist, and after the dissolution thereof will remaine to all Eternitie.

1. Touching the extent of these Regions newly discouered, grounding my iudgement on that which I haue seene with mine owne eyes, and vpon that which Captaine *Lewes Paez de Torres* Admirall of my Fleet hath represented vnto your Maiestie, the length thereof is as great as all *Europe* and *Asia* the lesse, vnto the Sea of *Bachu*, *Persia*, and all the Iles, aswell of the Ocean, as of the *Mediterranean* Sea, taking *England* and *Island* into this account. This vnknowne Countrey is the fourth part of the Terrestriall Globe, and extendeth it selfe to such length, that in probabilitie it is twice greater in Kingdomes and Seignories, then all that which at this day doth acknowledge subiection and obedience vnto your Maiestie: and that without neighbourhood either of *Turkes* or *Moores*, or of any other Nation which attempteth warre vpon confining Countreyes. The Land which we haue discouered, is all seated within the *Torrid Zone*, and a great tract thereof reacheth vnto the Equinoctiall Circle; the breath may be of 90. degrees, and in some places a little lesse. And if the successe proue answerable vnto the hopes, they will be found *Antipodes* vnto the better part of *Africke*, vnto all *Europe*, and to the greater portion of *Asia*. But you must obserue, that as the Contreyes which we haue discouered in 15. degrees of latitude, are better then *Spaine*, so the other which are opposed to their elevation, must by proportion and analogie proue some terrestriall Paradise.

The printed discourse (so I call it rather than translation) in *English* cals it the fifth part: but the *Spanish* hath the fourth, perhaps accounting the East *Indies* for a second, *America* the third, and this the fourth, reckoning all the first knowne parts for the first.

2. All those quarters swarme with an incredible multitude of Inhabitants, whereof some are white, others blacke and in colour like *Mulatos*, or halfe *Moores*, and others of a mingled complexion. Some weare their haire long, blacke, and scattered, others haue their haire cripsed and thicke, and others very yellow and bright. Which diuersitie is an apparant argument that there is an apparant argument, that there is commerce and communication amongst them. And this consideration together with the bountie which Nature hath bestowed on the soile, their inexperience of Artillery and Guns, and their vnskilfulnesse in labouring in Mynes, with other semblable circumstances, doth induce mee to inferre, that all the Countrey is well peopled. They know little what belongeth to artificiall Trades; for they haue neither fortifications nor walles, and liue without the awe of Kings or Lawes. They are a simple people cantoned into partialities, and exercise much disagreement amongst themselues. The Armes which they vse are Bowes and Arrowes, which are not poisoned or steeped in the iuice of venemous herbes, as the custome is of many other Countreyes; They doe also carrie Clubs, Truncheons, Pikes, Dartes to hurle with the arme, all which are framed only of wood. They doe couer themselues from the waste or girdling place down to the halfe of their thighs, they are very studious of cleanlinesse, tractable, cheerefull, and wonderously addicted to bee gratefull vnto those that doe them a courtesie, as I haue experienced many times. The which doth build in me a belief, that with the assistance of God, if they may be gently and amiably intreated, they will bee found very docible and easie of mannage, and that we shall without much worke accommodate our selues vnto them. And it is most necessary to obserue this way of sweetnesse, especially in the beginning, that the Inhabitants may be drawne along to this so holy and sauing an end, whereof we ought to take a particular care and zeale, aswell in small things, as in matters of more importance. Their houses are built of wood, couered with Palme-tree leaues; they haue Pitchers and Vessels made of earth, they are not without the mysterie of weauing, and other curiosities of that kind. They worke on Marble, they haue Flutes, Drummes, and wooden Spoones, they set apart certaine places for Oratories and Prayers, and for buriall places. Their Gardens are artificially seuered into beds, bordered and paled; Mother of Pearle and the shels which containe Pearle, they haue in much vse and estimation, of which they make Wedges, Rasors, Sawes, Culters, and such like Instruments: They also doe make thereof Pearles and great Beads to weare about their neckes. They that doe dwell in the Ilands, haue Boats very artificially made, and exceedingly commodious for sayling, which is a certaine argument that they confine vpon other Nations that are of a more polished and elegant behauiour. And this also they haue of our husbandry, that they cut Cocks and geld Boares.

Description of the people.

See of their Boats in *Maires* Voyage.

3. Their

3. Their bread is vſually made of three ſorts of Roots, which grow there in great abundance. Neither doe they imploy much labour in making this bread, for they do onely roſt the Roots vntill they are ſoft and tender. They are very pleaſant to the taſte, wholſome and nouriſhing, they are of a good length, there being of them of an Ell long, and the halfe of that in bigneſſe. There is great ſtore of excellent fruits in theſe Countreyes. There are ſixe kinds of Plane Trees, Almond Trees of foure ſorts, and other Trees called *Obi*, reſembling almoſt in fruit and greatneſſe the *Melacatones*; ſtore of Nuts, Orenges and Limonds. They haue moreouer Sugar-canes, large in ſize and in great plentie, they haue knowledge of our ordinarie Apples; they haue Palme-trees without numbers, out of which there may eaſily bee drawne a iuyce, which will make a liquor alluding much to Wine, as alſo Whey, Vineger, and Honey, the kernels thereof are exceeding ſweet. And they haue fruits which the *Indians* call *Cocos*, which being greene doe make a kinde of twine, and the pith is almoſt like in taſte vnto the Creame of Milke: When they are ripe they ſerue for meate and drinke both by Land and Sea: And when they wither and fall from the Tree, there ſweateth out an Oyle from them, which is very good to burne in Lampes, and is medicinable for wounds, and not vnpleaſant to be eaten. Of their rindes or barks there are made Bottles, and other like Veſſels, and the inner skin doth ſerue for calking of ſhips. Men doe make Cables and other Cordage of them, which are of ſufficient ſtrength to draw a Canon, and are fit for other domeſticke vſes. But that which is more ſpeciall, they do there vſe the leaues of Palme-trees, which they amaſſe together, to make ſayles of them for Veſſels of ſmall bulke and burthen. They make likewiſe fine thinne Mats of them, and they do ſerue to couer the houſe without, and for hangings within. And of them they doe likewiſe make Pikes, and other ſorts of weapons, as alſo Oares to row with, and Vtenſils for the houſe. You are to note, that theſe Palme-trees are their Vines, from whence they gather their Wine all the yeere long, which they make without much coſt or labour. Amongſt their herbage and Garden fruites; Wee haue ſeene Melons, Peares great and little, and ſundry ſorts of pot-herbes. And they haue alſo Beanes. For fleſh, they are ſtored with a great number of Hogs which are as tame as ours: they haue Hennes, Capons, Partriges, Duckes Turtles, Pigeons, Stock-doues, and Goats, as one of my Captaines did ſee. And the *Indians* themſelues haue giuen vs notice of Cowes and Oxen. There are alſo ſundry ſorts of fiſh, Harghi, Perſereyes, Lize, Soles, Trowts, Shads, Macabiſes, Caſanes, Pampani, Pilchard, Thorn-backes or Skate-fiſh, Cuculi, Congers, Porpoſes, Rochets, Muſcles, Lobſters, and many other, the names whereof I cannot now remember. But it is probable that there are diuers other kindes, ſince thoſe which I haue recounted were taken hard by our ſhips. And vpon ripe and ſerious conſideration of that which I haue repreſented vnto you, a man may eaſily collect, that ſuch plentifull and different varieties of all things, may yeeld great and ſingular delights. There is ſtuffe for Marchpanes and ſweet Confections of all ſorts, without borrowing any Spice for the compoſition of them elſewhere. And for my Mates the Mariners, beſides thoſe particulars which I haue before ſet downe, there will bee no want of Gammons, Sawſages, and other ſalt meates which Hogges doe yeeld; neither of Vineger, Spiceries, and other Sawces that ſerue for delicacie, and to awake the appetite. And you muſt obſerue, that many of theſe things, are the ſame with thoſe which we haue in our parts, and poſſibly they are there in greater abundance; by all which it is eaſily to be coniectured, that this Countrey is fit for the production of all that which groweth in *Europe*.

Vſes of the *Coco*.

4. The Riches which I haue ſeene in thoſe parts, are Siluer and Pearle; another Captaine in his Relation, doth report that he hath ſeene Gold, which are the three moſt precious Darlings that he and are cheriſhed in the boſome of Nature: wee haue alſo both ſeene much Nutmegs, Mace, Ginger, and Pepper. There is alſo notice of Cinamon; and it is likely that Cloues may be found in thoſe parts, ſince ſo many other ſorts of Spiceries and Aromaticall drugges doe proſper there; and that the rather, becauſe theſe Countryes lye very neere the parallell of the Iles of *Ternenatte*, *Bachian*, and the *Molucces*. There are likewiſe materials for all ſorts of Silke, and wee haue ſeene Aniſe-ſeed, and excellent good Ebonie, as alſo other kindes of wood proper for the building of as many ſhips as one will deſire, and ſtuffe to make ſayles for the ſame. Three ſorts of materials there are wherewithall to make Cordage, and one of them is very like vnto our Hemp. Moreouer out of the Oyle of *Cocos*, whereof I haue already made mention, there is a kind of bituminous ſtuffe extracted, called *Galagala*, which may be well vſed for Pitch. They make alſo a kind of Roſen with which the *Indians* pitch their Boats, which they call *Piraguas*. And ſince there are Goats and Kowes in thoſe parts, without queſtion we ſhall haue Goat-skins, Leather, Tallow, and fleſh in full abundance. The Bees which we haue ſeene there doe make proofe, that there will be no ſcarcitie of Honey and Waxe. And there is good appearance to diſcouer many other things which are not yet knowne, to ſay nothing touching the forme and ſcite of the Countrey. Vnto all which if that bee adioyned, which the induſtry of man may contribute to thoſe parts, ſince there is ſuch abundance of commodities which the Countrey it ſelfe doth yeeld, and ſuch hope to tranſport thither thoſe things which grow with vs (the beſt and choiſeſt which *Peru* and *New Spaine* bring forth, I haue reſolued to transferre thither) it is to bee hoped, that this will ſo enrich that Countrey, that it will be able to nouriſh and furniſh not only the Inhabi-

tants

tants of the same, and those of *America*, but giue an accession vnto *Spaine* it selfe both of Riches and extent of command: and this may bee accomplished after the manner which I haue proiected, and will vnfold vnto those which shall lend an assisting hand for the guiding and consummation of this worke. Now by that Land which we haue alreadie discouered outwardly and along the shoares, without entrance into the inward parts, we doe conceiue a certaine Argument, that as much Riches, Commodities, and greatnesse may bee hoped from thence, as wee haue already in these Countreyes. And you may bee pleased to vnderstand, that my principall ayme was to take a view only of these ample Regions which we haue discouered: for by reason of many sicknesses which haue weakened me, and some other chances whereof I will at this time make no mention, I was not able to suruay all which I desired, neither could I in a full moneth haue seene all that, which I was of my selfe inclinable to view. You are not to make your iudgement of the *Indians* that inhabit these Countreyes, according to the honour of the people here, or conceiue them to bee affected with the same desires, pleasures, necessities, or estimation of things that we are: But you are to make account that they are a people whose care is studiously placed vpon this, that they may liue easily in this World, and passe their dayes with the least paine and perturbation they can. And this is indeed their practise, for they do not bestow themselues on those things, which with such vexation and torment we here labour to obtaine.

5. There are found in this Countrey as many commodities, both for the support and delectation of the life of man, as may bee expected from a soyle that is Manurable, pleasant and verie temperate. It is a fat and fertile Land, wherein many places clay is found, which will proue of excellent vse to build houses, and to make Tiles and Brickes, and will serue for whatsoeuer is vsually made of earth. There is Marble and other good stones, wherewith if there bee occasion there may bee built structures of greater State and Magnificence. The Countrey aboundeth in wood, fit for all workes and vses, whereunto the same is commonly put. There are spacious and goodly plaines, and fields that are diuided and interlaced with Brookes, Trenches, and Riuers. There are great and high Rockes, sundry Torrents, Riuers great and little, on which water-mils for Corne may with much commodiousnesse be built and placed, as also Engins to make Sugar, Tucking-mils, Forges, and all other Instruments which in their vse doe require water. We haue found Salt-pits there, and which is a note of the fertilitie of the soile, there are in many places Canes whereof some are fiue or sixe handfuls thick, with fruit answerable to that proportion. The top of that Fruit is verie small and hard, and the skinne thereof is exceeding sweet. There are also flints for fire, equall in goodnesse with those of *Madrid*. The Bay of Saint *Iames* and Saint *Philip*, hath twentie leagues of banke, and is without mudde; into which there is a sure and safe entrance both by day and night. It is sheltered and couered with many houses, which in the day time we haue seene afarre off to send forth smoke, and in the night store of fire. The Hauen called *The true Crosse*, is of that spacious capacitie, that it is able to containe a thousand ships. The bottome as I haue said is without mud, and hath a blackish coloured sand wherewithall it is couered. There are no gulfes or deepe pits, but an assured and easie anchorage in what part soeuer you will, from forty to halfe a fathome; and it is betweene the mouthes of two Riuers, the one whereof is as great as that of *Guadalquiuir*, and hath mud of a fathome deepe, ouer which our shallops and boats did passe. For the other Riuer, when our Skiffe went to water there, they found the entrance safe & easie. And a man may from the very mouth of the riuer take in as much fresh water as he will. The place where ships may bee vnloaded hath three leagues of grauell, mingled with little flints blackish and very heauy, which will serue for ballast for ships. The bank is straight and vnited, on which much green grasse doth grow and prosper, and that makes me to conceiue that the Sea doth not beate or rage thereupon; I obserue that the Trees are straight, and the branches not dismembred, which is a token that there are no tempests there. Touching the Port, besides the commodities which I haue alreadie discoursed of, there is one of maruellous pleasure and contentation. And that is, that at the dawning of the day you shall heare from a Wood which is neere at hand, a sweet and various harmonie of a thousand Birds of all sorts, among which we could distinguish the Nightingales, Black-birds, Quailes, Gold-finches, Swallowes almost without number Parrochitos, and one Parret wee marked there, and creatures of sundry other kinds, euen downe to Grashoppers, and Field-crickets. Euery Morning and Euening we receiued a most odoriferous sweet smell, sent vnto our nostrels from the infinite diuersitie of Flowres and Herbes which grow there, amongst which wee obserued the blossomes of Orange and Basill. All which (with a number of other varieties) doth make vs thinke that the Aire is cleere and healthy, and that the nature of the place is of a good temperature. The Hauen and the Bay are therefore of the greater estimation, because they haue the Neighbourhood of so many goodly Ilands that are there, and especially of those seuen, which are said to haue two hundred leagues of extent: and surely one of them (which is some twelue leagues distant from the Hauen) is fiftie leagues in circuit. In briefe Sir, I doe affirme vnto your Maiestie, that you may giue command to haue a goodly and great Citie built in this Port and Bay which are 15. degrees and fortie minutes of the Southerne Eleuation, and those that shall inhabit there, shall haue plentie of riches, and all other conueniencies which they can desire. Time will shew and discouer

P. de la vera Cruz.

Riuers.

Great Ilands.

Bay in 15 deg. 40. minutes.

all

all theſe commodities, and in this place there may be made the diſcharge and vnloading of all the wares and merchandizes of the Countries of *Chilly*, *Peru*, *Panama*, *Nicaragua*, *Guatemala*, *New-Spaine*, *Terre-natte*, and the *Philippines*, all which Countries are vnder the command of your Maieſtie. And if you ſhall acquire vnto your ſelfe the Dominion of theſe Seigniories which I doe now preſent, I doe make ſo great an eſteeme of them, that beſides their being the Key of all the reſt, they will (in my opinion) proue another *China* or *Iapan*, and equallize the other rich Ilands which are on this ſide of *Aſia*, in trafique of curious and precious merchandizes, to ſpeake nothing of the augmentation and extent of your power, and the eſtabliſhment which you may make vnto your ſelfe of your Dominions, by the acceſſion of ſo great a Countrie. That which I haue giuen vnto your view in my diſcourſe, is of much ſlenderneſſe, in regard of that which I doe probably conceiue of this land, the which I am ready to make appeare in the preſence of Mathematicians. Neither will I vexe this paper to demonſtrate vnto you, that theſe Countries will be able to nouriſh two hundred thouſand *Spaniards*. In ſumme, this is Sir, the world whereof *Spaine* is the Center, and that which I haue related, is the nayle by which you may iudge of the whole body, which I pray you to take into your obſeruation.

6. You may iudge by that which I haue already repreſented, what the goodneſſe and temperature of the ayre is: whereunto this may be added for a further teſtimonie, that although all our Companie were ſtrangers, yet neuer a one of them was ſicke, albeit they were in continuall trauell and labour, and did ſometimes ſweate, and ſometimes take wet. They dranke water faſting, and fed many times on that which the earth did there bring forth. Neither had they any regard to keepe themſelues from the * Serenes, nor from the Moone or Sunne, which indeede in thoſe parts is not ouer-vehement. Onely about midnight, they couered themſelues with Wooll, and did lye and repoſe themſelues thereupon. And for the Inhabitants, they are commonly healthie, and many of them very aged, although they haue nothing but the bare earth for their pallet; which is an argument of the wholeſomneſſe and pureneſſe of the ſoyle. For if it were a wet and weeping ground, or had any viciouſneſſe in the mould, they would raiſe their lodgings higher from the earth, as they doe that liue in the *Philippines*, and other Countries which I haue viewed. And this is further confirmed by their Fleſh and Fiſh, which although it be vnſalted, yet will it keepe ſweete and without corruption two dayes and more. And the Fruits which are brought from thence are exceeding good, as we had proofe by two that I tooke care to bring along with mee, although they had not their full maturitie and growth when I gathered them from the Tree. We haue not ſeene any barren and ſandie ground, nor any Thiſtles or trees that are thornie, or whoſe rootes doe ſhew themſelues, no Mariſhes or Fennes, no Snow vpon the Mountaines, no Snakes or Serpents, no Croçodiles in the Riuers, no Wormes that vſe with vs to hurt and conſume our Graine, and to worke vs ſo much diſpleaſure in our houſes, no Fleas, Caterpillers, or Gnats. This is a Prerogatiue that hath the aduantage of all the priuiledges that nature hath beſtowed on other places, and is worthy to be compared, or rather preferred before any delicacie of the Countries of *India*, ſome of which are abandoned and vnhabited, meerely by reaſon of theſe incommodities, and of ſundry others that are diſtaſtfull vnto the Inhabitants, as my ſelfe haue oftentimes beene witneſſe.

* The Sereno is the Dew which fals euery night in great (almoſt) ſhowers, infections to thoſe which are abroad in the aire, as is before obſerued in *Drakes* Voiages, &c.

7. Theſe (Sir) are the greatneſſe and goodneſſe of the Countries which I haue diſcouered, of which I haue already taken the poſſeſſion in the name of your Maieſtie, and vnder your Royall Banner, as appeareth by the Acts which I keepe ſafely in my power, whereunto I proceeded after this enſuing manner. Firſt (Sir) we erected a Croſſe, and built a Church in honour of our Ladie of *Loretto*. Then we cauſed twentie Maſſes to be celebrated there, and our troopes made haſte thither to gaine ſome Indulgences, granted on Whitſunday. We alſo made a ſolemne Proceſſion, and obſerued the Feaſt of the bleſſed Sacrament, the which was carried in Proceſſion, your Banner being euer diſplayed, and marching before it, through a great circuit of Countries, which were honoured with the preſence of the ſame. In three ſeuerall places we ſet vp your Title, in euery one of which we prepared and erected two Columnes, with the Armes of your Maieſtie tricked and garniſhed thereupon: ſo that I may with good right affirme, that ſince this will challenge to be one of the Parts of the world, the Impreſſe of *Plus vltra* is accompliſhed, and becauſe it ſtretcheth vnto the continent, whether it be forward or behinde it skils not, the bounds of your Dominions are with much ſpaciouſneſſe enlarged. Now all this which I haue performed, receiueth its roote from this the faithfull zeale which I beare vnto your Maieſtie, that to all the Titles which you already doe poſſeſſe, you may adioyne this which I repreſent, and that the name *de la Auſtrialia del ſpiritu ſanta*, may bee blazoned and ſpread ouer the face of the whole world to the glory of God, who hath reuealed this Countrie, and hath giuen mee the grace to guide my courſe thither, and to returne to the preſence of your Maieſtie, before whom I doe preſent and proſtrate my ſelfe with the ſame affection and zeale vnto this worke which I had before, and which hath growne vp with mee as it were from my cradle, and for the nobleneſſe and worth thereof, I doe ſtill tender and cheriſh the ſame with the greateſt loue that can be.

L. of *Loretto*.

Plus vltra.

8. I doe confidently beleeue, that your Maieſtie doth vſe ſo much prudence in your Councels, and

and are so magnanimous and full of Christian pietie, that you will (with your best care) embrace all the conducements which may further the habitation of these new-discouered Countries. And the principall reason to put a tye and obligation vpon vs not to leaue them abandoned, is in regard that this is the sole ordinary way to establish the knowledge of God, and faith amongst them, and to bring to passe that his name may be adored and called vpon, where the Diuell vsurpeth so much reuerence and inuocation. And this ought to be embraced with the more readinesse, because it is the channell to conuey and disperse all abundance of commodities amongst your subiects. And hereby you shall be eased of many disturbances and vexations, which will assuredly be put vpon you, in case the Enemies of the Church of *Rome* should enter and nestle there, and should vent their erronious doctrines amongst them, whereby they would conuert all the blessings which I haue hitherto recounted vnto you, into assured incommodities and mischiefes, and would arrogate vnto themselues the names of the Lords of the *Indias*, to the vtter ruine and desolation of those Countries. I make no question but your Maiestie well weigheth, of what importance this danger, of which I speake, may proue, and what euill consequence some other hazards may carrie with them, which are either at this time imminent, or may succeede hereafter. And if this should happen, it would cost you innumerable thousands of gold and men, before you shall be able to giue a remedy vnto the same. Acquire therefore Sir, whiles that occasion is offered you (that one day you may purchase heauen vnto your selfe) acquire (I say) with a little money which you misplace vpon *Peru*, a neuer-dying reputation, and this *New-world* with all the benefits which it reacheth out vnto you. And since there is none that craueth a reward for these good tidings, that is brought you concerning so great & singular a blessing, which God hath bin pleased to locke vp vntill your happie time, I am he Sir, that doe demand it, and my humble request vnto you is onely this, that yon would be of that graciousnesse vnto mee, as to dispatch and giue me mine answer: for the Gallions are readie to hoise saile, and I haue much way to goe, and many things must be fitted and disposed for the voyage. There is no houre passeth, which carrieth not with it an assured losse both in regard of spirituall and temporall blessings, the damage whereof can neuer be made vp or repaired.

If vpon a bare suspition *Christopherus Columbus* did pursue his designe with so much obstinacie, you are not to account it strange in me, if the things which I haue beheld with mine eyes, and touched with mine hands, doe put some kinde of constraint vpon mee to be importunate.

Let it therefore please your Maiestie, amongst so many expedients which you haue at hand, to seuer and put apart some one for the accomplishment of this worke, that after all these languishments, I may at length meete with the successe of my desires. I doe assure you that you will finde my propositions most iust, and that I shall be of sufficiencie to giue you satisfaction in all things. This, Sir, is a great worke, amongst which the Diuell doth bandie himselfe with all the puissance hee may: And it is not consonant to reason, to abandon these Countries to his tyrannie and power, whereof, know your Maiestie is Defender.

Here followeth another Petition or Declaration in Spanish, *which I haue not translated, that the Originall may be of more authoritie; and haue added for further explanation and notice of particulars. I had thought also to haue giuen the other in* Spanish, *and had accordingly prepared it, but for the* English *Readers sake, haue corrected the once printed Copie by it, and not troubled you with both.*

EL Capitan Pedro Fernandez de Quiros: Xa he dicho a V. M. que de la parte del Sur, está oculta la quarta parte del Globo, y que el descubrimiento que en ella hize, lo es de vente y tres islas, cuyos nombres son. La encarnacion. San Iuan Bautista. Santelmo. Las quatro Coronadas. San Miguel Archangel. La conuersion de san Paulo. La Dezena. La Sagitaria. La Fugitiua. La del Peregrino. Nuestra Seynora del Socorro. Monterrey. Tucopia. San Marcos. El Vergel. Las Lagrimas de san Pedro. Los portales de Belen. El Pilar de Zaragoça. San Raymundo. Ylas de la Virgen Maria. Y sinembargo de aquel las tres partes de tierra llamada la Austrialia del Espiritu santo: en laqual tierra se halle la Bahya de san Felipe, y Santiago, y puerto de la Veracruz, adonde estuuimos surtos con los tres nauios *treinta y seis dias. Entiendese ser todas tres vna gran tierra, y sus altas y dobladas Serranias, y aquel rio Iordan, por su grandeza parece que offeguran la de la tierra, como de todo mas largo consta por vna* informacion quehize en Mexico, *con* diez testigos delos que fueron comigo, *a la qual me remito. Mande V. M. que sea vista, y que se haga vna iunta de Matematicos, y Pilotos, y personas platicas, pues al presente las ay muy insignes en esta Corte, y la causa lo merece, y a V. M. le importa* muchissimo. *Aduierto, que esta* informacion *la hiziera, con todas quantas personas viniero de la iornada, si fuera bien admitida la ofrenda que para esto hize, o fuera ayudado, ô yo pudiera, que no me obligue a imposibles, y me veo obligado a ellos.*

3. Nauies. Rio Iordan.

Digo pues Senor, que en vna isla que se llama Taumaco, *que al parecer dista de Mexico mil y dozientas y cincuenta leguas, estuuimos surtos diez dias, y que el Senor de aquella islaas, cuyo nombre es* Tamay, *hombre de razon, buen cuerpo, talle, y color algo morenò, los ojos hermosos, la nariz afilada, las*

Taumaco Isla.

barnas, y los cabellos crecidos, y crespos, y a su modo graue, nos ayudo con su gente, y embarcaciones, a hazer a guada, y lenna, de que en aquella sazon estauamos muy necessitados. Este tal vino a verme a la Nao, y dentro en ella le examine, en la manera siguiente. Lo primero le mostre su isla, y la mar, y nuestras naos, y gente, y apunte a todas partes del Orizonte, y hize otras ciertas seynas, y con ellas le pregunte, si auia visto navios, y hombres como los nuestros, y a esto dixo que no. Preguntele si sabia de otras tierras lexas, ò cerca, pobladas ò despobladas, y luego que me entendio nombrò a mas de setenta Islas, y a una grande tierra que se llama Manicolo: yo sennor las fui escriuiendo a todas teniendo presente la guia de nauegar, para saber hazia el rumbo que cada una demorana, que viene a ser de aquella su isla a la parte del Sueste, Sur Sudeste, ò Este, y Nordeste; y para que yo entendiesse quales eran las pequennas, hazia pequennos circulos, y mostraua el mar con el dedo, y con el dana a entender cercana la tierra, y por las que eran mayores, hazia mayores circulos, y las mismas demostraciones: y por aquella gran tierra abrio ambos los braços, sinbolverlos a iuntar, mostrandoque proseguia. Y para dar a entender quales eran las lexanas, ò estauan de alli mas cerca, mostrana el Sol de Leuante a Poniente, recostana la cabeça sobre una mano, cerrana los ojos, y contana por los dedos las noches que en el camino se dormia, y por semeiancas dezia, quales gentes eran blancas, Negros, Indios, y mulatos, y quales estauan mezelados, y quales ran sus amigos, y enemigos, y que en algunas islas se comia carne humana; y para esto bizoque mordia su braço, mostrando claro querer mal à estagente, y deste, y de otros modos al parecer, se entendio quanto dixo, y se lo repeti tantas ve zes, que mostro cansarse dello. Y dando con la mano hazia el Sur Sudeste, y otras partes, dio bien a entender quantas mas tierras auia. Mostro desseo de bolver a su casa, dole cosas que llenasse, y se despidio de mi, dandome paz en el carrillo, y con otras muestras de amor.

Mas de sesenta Islas, y vna grande tierra que se llama Manicolo.

El siguiente dia fui a su pueblo, y para mas bien enterarme delo que Tumay declarò, llene comigo muchos Indios a la playa, y teniendo en la mano el papel, y presente la aguja de marear: a todas fui preguntando muchas vezes por las tierras a que Tumay puso nombre, y en todo conformaron todos, y dieron noticia de otras pobladas, todas de gentes de los referidos colores, y iuntamente de aquella grande tierra, en la qual con propias seynas dixeron que auia Bacas, ò Bufalos: y para dar a enterder que auia perros ladranan, y por gallos y gallinas, cantanan, y por puercos grunnian. Y assi desta manera dexan lo que querian, y respondian a quanto se les preguntana: y por que les mostraron perlas en el boton de vn rosario, dieron a entender las auia. Todas estas preguntas y diligencias, bizieron otros de mi compannia este dia, y otras vezes a estos, y a otros Indios, y siempre dixeron lo mismo, y por esto se entendio ser gente que trata verdad.

Quando sali desta isla de Taumaco, hize coger quatro muy gallardos Indios, los tres se hecharon a nado, y el que quedo, y despues se llamo Pedro, declarò en el puerto de Acapulco, y por el camino, y en la ciudad de Mexico adonde murio, auiendole visto el Marques de Montes claros lo siguiente, sin nunca variar, aunque se le pregunto en diuersos tiempos, y por muchas personas, y de muchos modos, y se le negauan, y contradezian sus dichos.

Lo primero dixo Pedro, ser natural de una isla que se llama Chicayana, mayor que la de Taumaco adonde de hallamos, y que de la una a la otra ay quatro dias de camino, de sus embarcaciones, y que Chicayana es tierra rasa y muy abundante de los frutos y a referidos, y que la gente della es de su buena color de Indio, cabello suelto y largo, y que se labran como el lo estana, poco en el rostro, muñecas, y pechos, y que tambien ay hombres blancos que tienen los cabellos rubios, y muy largos, y que ay mulatos, cuyo cabello no es frisado, ni de todo suelto, y que el era texador, y soldado flechero, y que en su lengua se llamana Luca, su muger Layna, y su hlio Ley.

Chicayana Isla.

Dixo mas, que en aquella su isla ay muchas Ostras, como de las que vi sus conchas, y traxe algunas, que aqui tengo de tres tamannos. El primero, es el comun de la Margarita; el segundo mayor al doble; y el tercero de palmo, mas y menos de diametro, y que a todas estas Ostras llaman Totefe, y que en ellas se hallan perlas, a las quales llaman Futiquilquil: y por esto le mostre las conchas, y el las tomò en las manos, y en ellas fue mostranda las partes a do se crian. Y preguntado quantas eran, y de que tamanno, dixo, que en vnas se hallan mas, y en otras menos; y para dar a entender el grandor dezia que las ay como arena, y como sal, y como pedrezitas, y como cuentas de rosarios, y como botones como tenia en vn coleto, y otras mayores, y que se pescan en menos de medio estado de fondo, de piedras y arena, y que son muy grandes los trechos de mar, que alli tienen poco fondo, y que el mismo sin gabullirse les sacana con la mano, y las ponia en su Canoa, y que solo las quieren para comer su carne, a la qual llaman Camofe, y que las conchas les sirnen para hazer anzuelos, cucharas, y otras cosas, y que las perlas no les sirnen de nada.

Dixo mas, que ay en esta misma isla de chicayana otra suerte de ostras, a la qual llaman Taquila: y para dar a entender su tamanno, sennalo el grandor de una buena rodela: y por hazerseme increyble la mucha camidad que dixo de todas perlas, y la grandeza destas Taquilas, le pregunte si nacian dentro en los cocos, o en los arboles, o en las pennas, o en la tierra, o por fuera de las conchas: dixo que no se hallan sino en le suelo del mar, y dentro en ellas las perlas, y que las ostras las vnas estan recostadas a todos lados, y otras enbiestas y abiertas hazia arriba, y que si en algunas destas ostras entran la mano que se cierra, y luego go dixo no ay mano, y que a esta cansa las sacan con palos, y con lazadas de cuerdas, y que tienen grande y muy buena carne que ellos comen, y no hazen caso de las perlas, y que las vezes que las queria el mismo las pescana, y las llenana a su casa. Y como el Otro Viage yo mismo vi a las Indios de la isla de Santacruz, traer del cuello colgadas muchas patenas mayores y menores, todas

He made two Voyages.

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todas de conchas de nacar, entendi ser loqûe Pedro de zia, lo mismo de las patenas, y a esta causa no hazia mucha cuenta deste dicho: mas viendo que vnas vezes se enoiaua, y otras con muy grande ahinco trabaiaua por darse a entender, por esto le mostre vn guijarro negro y redondo, del tamanno de vna cirvela temprana, y le pregunte si en su tierra auia per las assi como aquella, dixo que no, porque aquel guijarro era negro, y las perlas blancas como papel, y que quando las mirana al Sol, que la vislumbre dellas lo dana en los ojos, y assi hazia con ellos como si las tuuiera presentes. Y preguntado si las auia tan grandes como el referido guijarro, dixo que otras auia chiquitas como el guijarro. Y luego puntò la cabeça del dedo pulgar con la del indice en forma de circulo, y alli con vn dedo de la otra mano, fue sennalando mayores y menores perlas, y que en cada hostia no ay mas de vna sola: y con todo temiendo ser lo que dezia las patenas de mi sospecha, le pregunto si eran chatas, o redondas, o de otras formas. No me entendio por este lenguage. Luego hizo como que queria poner el guijarro en el suelo a son de correr: y assi como lo vio, dixo con gran demostracion, que quando las echauan en el suelo yuan rodando por manera que a mi entender dio claramente a ser perlas redondas, y de los tamannos referidos, y que su hijo trahia al cuello vna dellas, y que el mismo la horadò con piedra blanca, y delgada, y que el fondo de adonde las sacana, es de dos estados mas y menos, y que en sus conchas dan de comer a los puercos. Preguntele si las grandes conchas tienen el mismo lustre que tienen las ordinarias que le mostre. dixo que si, todas estas y otras preguntas le hize muy trocadas, y como en su tierra se llaman los arcabuzes, y otras de nuestras cosas, dixo que no las ay, por manera que siempre respondio sin sospechas, y solo dio nombre con mucha resolucion a las cosas que ellos tienen. yo afirmo por verdad que no entendi escriuir la grandeza, ni el mucho numero que dixo auer de toda suerte de perlas, por parecerme noticia nunca oyda: mas considerando que naturaleza es podorosa para criar como ya se han visto grandes perlas, y de las comunes tan gran suma en el rio de la Hacha, Margarita, y Cubagua: y yo por sie tanto en inquirir esta su declaracion, pareciome deuer dezir lo que este Indio me dixo tantas vezes, y a otras muchas personas, que no con menos cuydado le examinaron, y en suma yo hago las diligencias, y escriuo como hombre que tengo de morir, y no se quando.

Dixo mas, que de la isla de Taumaco a tres dias de camino, y de Chicayana ad os; ay otra isla mayor que las dos dichas, que se llama Guaytopo, poblada de gente tan blanca, como los es en comun la nuestra, y que hasta los hombres tienen rubios los cabellos mas y menos, y tambien negros, y que se labran las barrigas, y a su mbel todo en rueda, y que todas tres islas son gente amiga, y de vna lengua, y que usan darse la paz en los carrillos, y que tienen por sennal de enemigos quando huyen los rostros, y que en esta isla ay muchos ostrales de los tres generos menores, en grandes trechos de mar, de fondo assi como el de Chicayana, y que tienen muchas perlas. Y preguntado si auia estado en ella, dixo que no. Luego le bolui a preguntar como sabia lo dicho, y lo contò desta manera, que de aquella isla salio vn nauio gran de los suyos, con mas de cincuenta personas, a buscar conchas de Carey, de que usan hazer carcillos, y otros ingenios que cuelgan de las oreias, a otra isla poblada que llaman Mecurayla; que estando a vista della, les dio vn viento contrario que los obligo a buscar su isla, de la qual estando cerca, boluio el viento a ser contrario, y que andando en estas buscas se les acabò el bastimento, a cuya falta murieron quarenta personas de hambre y sed, y que el estaua en la Isla de Taumaco, quando este nauio aportò alli con solos siete hombres muy blancos, excepto dixo que era moreno, y con tres mugeres blancas, y hermosas como Espannolas, que tenian los cabellos rubios, y muy largos, y que todas tres venian cubiertas de cabeça hasta los pies con vnos como mantos azules, o Negros, y muy delgados, a que llaman foafoa, y que de todas estas diez personas, solo quedò viuo el Indio Olan, al qual los nuestros quando alli le viero en Taumaco, tan blanco y tan bermejo, le llama ron el Flamenco, como queda referido, y que este Indio Olan y otros le contaron quanto ha dicho, de aquella isla de Guaytopo, y que el mismo vio venir a su isla de Chicayana, otro nauio de aquellos de dos vasos cargado de gente blanca y hermosa, y con muchas y muy lindas muchachas, y dio a entender contando por los dedos de diez en diez, ser por todos ciento y diez personas.

Guaytopo Isla.

Mecurayla Isla.

Dixo mas, que de otra isla que se llama Tucopio, que es a donde los dos Indios se echaron a nado, como queda referido, a cinco dias de su nauegar, ay aquella gran tierra Manicolo, poblada de mucha gente lora y mulata en grandes pueblos, y para dar a entender su tamanno, sennalò el de Acapulco, y otros mayores, y por esto le pregunte si auia pueblos tan grandes como Mexico, dixo que no, mas que muchas gentes, y que son sus amigos, y no comen carne humana, ni se entienden las lenguas, y que es tierra de muy altas serranias, y grandes rios, y que algunos dellos no se pueden vadear, sino passarse en canoas: y que para ir de la isla Tucopia a aquella tierra, quando sale el Sol les queda a la mano izquierda, que viene a ser del Sur para el Sudeste. Digo pues, que si esto es assi como lo dixo, que viene bien con la cordillera de sierras que se vieron ir corriendo a la buelta del Poniente, como esta dicho en su lugar, quando fuimos desgarrando. Mucho encarecio Pedro la grandeza po placion y fertilidad, y otras cosas desta tierra, y que el y otros Indios fueron a ella en vna de sus embarcaciones, a buscar vn trozo de vn grande arbol, de los muchos que ay en ella, para hazer vna piragua, y que vio alli vn puerto, y dio a entender ser mayor, y de boca mas cerrada que lo es el de la Bahia de san Felipe y Santiago, y que al mirò su fondo ser de arena, y su playa Del astre como el otro ya dicho, y que tiene dentro quatro rios y mucha gente, y que por la costa de aquella tierra anduuieron hazia el Poniente mas camino que ay de Acapulco a Mexico sin verle fin, y se bolvieron a su isla. Aduierto que como yo auia visto aquella isla de Tucopia, dixe a Pedro que sabia auer en ella muchas ostras y perlas, y que dixo que no ay sino mucho fondo, y que es assi verdad porque lo hizo sondar.

Tucopio Isla. Manicolo tierra grande.

Dixo mas, que de Taumaco atres dias de camino, y con viento fresco a dos, ay otra isla que se llama Fonofono, partida en muchas islas pequennas y rasas, y por esto a cautela lo dixe, que auia en ellas grandes rios: pues grandes rios en islas pequennas, y rasas, no los puede auer, dixo que no sino poços, y que son todas muy fertiles, y muy pobladas de gentes loras, Indios y mulatos, muy altos en demasia, y tanto, que con ser algo mas alto que yo, senalo en una pared todo quanto pudo alcançar con los dedos, estendidos braço y mano, y dixo ser aquella su altura, y que son sus amigos mas no de su lengua, y que en estas islas ay grandes trechos de mar, de poco y de mucho fondo, commanchas de muchas hostras, y que el mismo las saco para comerlas, y que te nian perlas de los tamannos que tiene dicho, excepto las Taquilas, y que ay allí un muy buen puerto: y tambien dixo que cerca destas islas ay otra que se dize Pilen, y otra Nupan, y que tienen lo mismo de comidas, gentes, y perlas y de aydas y no de vista, dio nombre a otras muchas islas, y de todas dixo lo dicho. Aduierteseque en todas las Indias en solo la Margarita, y en el rio de la hacha, se ha sacado y va sacando la multitud de las perlas que se sabe, dexo las pocas y no tan buenas de Panama, y digo que si es assi como esta dicho, que muchos numeros se pueden esperar de adonde dio la noticia, assi por ser muchas estas partes, como por la grandeza de los mares que dixo tienen poco fondo, y mas se aduierte que solo dixo de las ostras que alcançan a ver los ojos, y solo con las manos cogen sin zabullirse, quedando siempre reservadas las dos, quatro, ocho, y mas braças como oy se pescan en la Margarita.

Fono fono Isla.

Pilen, Isla.

Pupan Isla.

En Mexico llene a Pedro por dos vezes a casa de un horadador de perlas, y a mi ruego le mostro de todos los generos comunes: assi como los vio se alegro mucho, y dixo con gran demostracion y encarecimiento, que en su tierra ay muchas perlas y mas blanchas que aquellas. Mostrole mas unos barrueços, o assientos grandes y abromados, hizo mal geste, y dixoque aquello no era bueno, y que en su tierra auia mejor. Mas diligencia hizo el Alcalde mayor del puerto de Acapulco, don Pedro Flores, pues le mostro una cadena de muchas sartas de perlas, y le preguntò si en su tierra auia de aquellas cadenas, dixo que no. Luego saco de allí ciertas perlas, y se las mostrò en la mano, y le preguntò si auia assi como aquello, dixo que si, mas que no estauan horadadas, y se puede presumir que a falta de brocas, y de taladros, no se aprouechan de las perlas y de las conchas si por ser mayores, y del mismo lustre, y faciles de horadar.

Dixo mas, que en Taumaco ay un Indio gran piloto, y que sabe los nombres de muchas tierras, en las quales ha estado muchas vezes, y que de una Grantierra que se llama Pouro muy poblada, cuya gente lora, e Indios, algunos son amigos suyos, y otros muy belicosos y guerreros entresi, traxo a su isla de Taumaco un pegagayo de pecho y cuello colorado, y ciertas flechas con puntas a forma de cuchillo, y que el mismo las vio, y las tuvò, y dio a entender que les querian para con ellas matar mas facilmente, por esto le mostre un cuchillo, y dixo ser negro al respecto de las puntas. Mostrele un vaso de plata, y dixo ser las puntas tan blancas como ella, muchas vezes le contradixe este dicho, y siempre mas se afirmò.

Pouro gran tierra.

Aduierto, que en la Babiya de san Felipe y Santiago, se hallaron en una casa muchas piedras negras y pesadas, y que a caso me traxeron dos pedrezitas, cada una dellas como una nuez, y que en la ciudad de Mexico un don Francisco Pacheco duenno de minas, y un Diego Gomez de Molina las vieron en mi mi posada, y el uno dellos me mostraron lleno de ojos de plata, por esto lo llenamos luego a casa de un ensayador que la puso en un crisol, y alla por sus razones le dio tanto fuego que el crisol se desfondo, y assi no se vio nada de toda via, yo me auia quedado con la otra parte que el ensayador roquemò y en esta se vio una puntilla que estendida al martillo se tocò luego en tres piedras, y dixeron seis plateros ser toques de plata: y para mas certificarse tocaron plomo y estanno, y otra plata conocida junto a ella, mas huuo allí quien dixo que aquel ensaye se auia de hazer por azogue, y otros que con salitron y ciertas cosas, y el ensayador afirmò ser bueno el metal, y aqui se tocò la puntilla, y dixeron dos plateros que es plata.

Estas piedras auia mostrado a Pedro, y assi como las vio, dixo que en los cerros de Taumaco a y muchas dellas, y que se llama Treque, y que tambien las ay en aquillo gran tierra Manicolo, y que todos los Indios las quieren, los unos para labrarse, y otros para inuiexarse con ellas, ylo mismo dixo Paulo de su tierra, que es la Bahia de san Felipe y Santiago de adonde se traxeron, y dizen mineros que adonde ay inuixes ay metales, y que por los inuixes se descubrieron las minas de plata y oro de S. Luis de la nueua Espanna, y las de azogue de Guancauelica del Piru. Y aduierto, que dezir Pedro que vio flechas con puntas de plata, parece que por razon de la poca que se hallò en aquel poco metal que tan a caso se traxò, y por la disposicion de la tierra, y el sitio ser paralelo del Piru, obligan a creer que puede ser assi como lo dixo.

Aduiertase mas que Pedro despues que supo darse a entender en nuestra lengua, conformò con todo lo que dixeron los Indios de Taumaco, y esto assi en la tierra grande, como en las muchas islas y muchas gentes, y algunas corpulentas labradas y por labrar, varios colores, largos cabellos rubios, negros, frisados, crespos, de que estan pobladas: y inuariablemente en la mucha abundancia de comidas de unos mismos generos que todos tienen. Y tambien se aduierta, que todo lo referido lo auemos visto desta vez, y que tanti, erra donde estuuimos surtos, parece ser la misma que va prosiguiendo, y de la grandeza que ellos dizen a suma digo, fundado en razones fuertes, que aquellas gentes estan allí por vezindad y continuacion en otras tierras mas al Sur, Leste, y Oeste, y que si no ay milagro que en aquella oculta quarta de globo, esten muy grandes y muy estendidas prouincias, llenas todas de muchas y muy varias gentes, y que en todos generos aura ventaja, quanto mas fueren subiendo de quinze grados arriba, y por venderse tan tiro, se den esperar mejor a en todo lo apuntado.

15. Grados.

Aduiertase que la primera vez que el Adelantado Aluaro de Mendaña, fue y descubrio las islas que llamo, de Salomon, halloen ellas, y se traxeron cantidad de perlas tostadas al fuego, porque los Indios solo

The first Voyage.

The second Voyage. Isli de Santa Cruz.

solo comen la carne assando las ostras, y que el segundo viage *que hizo el mismo Adelantado, descubrio de nueuo la isla de Santacruz, donde murio, y que en ella yo mismo vi muchas conchas, y aquellas muchas pasenas de nacar referidas, y que de vna cierta isla alli cerca, se traxo vn muchacho que se llamò* Miguelillo, *y que este despues que supo nuestra lengua, dio noticia de auer en su tierra muchas perlas, son grandes muestras de ser assi. Tambien se aduierta, que desta ida anemos visto en tres islas las conchas de nacar, de los tres tamannos, y en la vna dellas Ostiones secos, adonde se hallaron algunas perlas menudas: por manera, que iuntando lo que dixo Pedro, a lo que se ha visto, son quinze las islas de que ay noticia que tienen perlas, y por la vista de sus conchas, se pueden, y deuen esperar, y tambien por ser Aquella poca altura, tan propria para criarse, y quanto Aquellas grandes Taquillas, lo dexo al tiempo; y solo aduierto, que pues Pedro dixo, que ay grandes perlas, que tambien dixo auer grandes conchas, capazes dellas. Y en suma digo, que Dios nuestro Sennor, no da de vna vez todo quanto puedo, y que primero haze la prueua del cosseso, y sufrido amor que le tienen las personas, a quien encamina vna tan gran cosa como a V. M. en esta.*

Dixo mas Pedro que al diablo llaman Teruna, y que habla con los Indios de vn palo, sin ser visto, y que a el mismo, y a todos ellos de noche, y muchas vezes, les palpana los rostros, y los pechos con cosa muy fria, y que queriendo saber lo que era no hallauan nada: y esto dezia mostrando cierto recato y temor dando bien a entender se cosa mala y para ellos bien aborrecible; y tambien dixo a otros que no a mi, que antes que a su tierra fueramos ya el diablo les auia dicho que los auiamos de ir a matar. Mostraua muchos desseos de bolner a su tierra, para dezir al Senor de Tannaco, todo el bien que le auiamos hecho, y que los otros Indios sus compannneros, ellos mismos se hecharon de las naos a nado, que nosotros no les hizimos ningun mal. Y tambien mas, para dezir a todos sus naturales quan buena cosa es ser Christiano, y que a el despues que lo era, el diablo no le hablo, ni le o yo, ni de noche le palpo, y para traer su hijo, y venirse a vinir con nosotros. Y tambien dixo, que en su isla de Chicayuna, ay perros grandes como los nuestros, y que los llaman Tiuri, y que ay muchas anas como las de Europa, mas que no las sabien comer: y vna fruta quiso dezir manganas porque las vio, y mucho gengibre, y que en su tiempo haze buen frio, con ser en tan poca altura. Y mas dixo, que a los que matan hombres los aborcan, y que nuestros canallos son buenos para andar en ellos, mas no para ser seruido de los hombres. Era Pedro al parecer de edad de venticinco annos, y en aquella sazon que declaro sabia poco de la lengua Castellana, y a esta causa costo mucho trabaso esta su declaracion, porque se le ha negado y repetido muchas vezes, y parece que si viniera dixera mas razon que ha dado: mas yo creo que es mas para creer lo que esta dicho, que no lo fuera si llegara a ser se ladino, con que yo y todos quanto le tratauo le teniamos por hombre de verdad, y de verguença. Vn dia entro en la yglesia de San Francisco de Mexico, y por ver en ella muchos Crucifixos dixo, que como auia alli tantos Dioses, si le dezian que no auia mas que vn solo Dios Fuele respondido ser todos retratos del verdadeao Christo. Y con esto, y con lo demas que se le dixo parecio satisfacerse y los frayles que le oyeron se alegraron por ser pregunta de hombre que sabia discurrir; y finalmente Domingo de Ramos murio: yo fio de la misericordia de Dios, que pues por vn en estranno modo le traxo al bautismo, y a morir confessado, y olea, le y en tan sennalado dia, y con muestas de buen Christiano, que ha fido para darle su santa gloria. Y este fue su dichoso fin, del qual deno estar muy consolado, y parece que su diuina Magestad va ordenando, que casi no ay a medios humanos para, acabar Aquella su tan grande obra, ò almenos que falten Aquellos en que mas estriuo, ò puedo estriuar.

El otro Indio se llamana Paulo, era muchacho de hasta ocho annos, de color loro, cabello frisado, tenia muy hermosos oios, muy buen talle y mejor condicion, y tanto que todos quantos le trataron le querian mucho, por se tan docil, y agradable: sabia como Pedro las quatro oraciones, y se persignana con mucha alegria, y bautizado y buen Christiano le lleno Dios el dia dela Ascension: dana razon del Demonio, y que se llamana Hadanna, y de como habla con los Indios sin ser visto, y tambien la dana de perros mayores, y menores, y de vn animal como gato, y de vn granderio buzio la parte de su pueblo que en Aquella su tierra ay mucha gente guerrera, enemiga vna de otra, y que no se come carne humana: y esto se deue creer por la mucha que tienen de puercos, y gallinas, y tantas otras comidas, pues el comerse carne humana entre otras gentes, parece proceder de la esterelidad de las tierras, ò de la vestialidad dessus moradores: y porque era ninno y estana enforma, no se pudo saber del quanto se quiso. Vn pe quenno vocabulario *tengo, que es lo que pude iuntar de las lenguas de Pedro y Paulo, lo que dezir, que es muy pronunciable.*

Por todo lo dicho se vee claramente, que solo ha auidodos grandes partes de tierras apartadas desta Europa, y de la Africa, y Asia: la primera es la America, que descubrio, Christoual Colon, y la segunda y postrera del mundo, es la que vi, y pretendo poblar, y acabar de descubrir para V. M. Esta grandeza deue de ser abraçada, assi por tener tanto de Dios, como por ser dar principio a vna tan grande obra, y de tantos, y tan grandes bienes, que ninguna otra de su genero puede ser mas, ni tanto al presente, ni adelante, como lo podre mostrar si soy oydo, y preguntado.

Siendo pues este caso tan admirable quanto sneua, y viendo, tan empennada mi conciencia, y serme fuerças, tan grandes y tan pessadas, cargas, que por abreuiar, prometo a V. M. de pudiere llegar con ellas, y tuniere de licencia, y aora, para mas obligar a V. M. a lo que tan obligado le tiene el titulo de Rey Catolico, y defensor de la Fê, recuerdo, quan Real, y sennalada merced de Dios es esta, negada a todos los Reyes del mundo, y solo a V. M. concedida, cuyo sonido, ò retin, es fuerça causar grandes inuidias, y a su pessar de todas ellas V. M. ha de conseguir el mas principal intento que es solo hazer la guerra al infierno, que tanto estrago haze en vn numero tan copioso de almas, redimidas por la persona de Christo,

con la esperanca que queda de quantas se han de saluar andando tiempos, siendo la saluacion de vna sola de tanto precio, que si necessario fuera el mismo Christo viniera, a dar la vida por ella. Y con esto queda Sennor bien entendido de quanto valor es este hecho, y quantos premios dara Dios, por auerlo (con tanto amor y feruor) intentado; y quantos mas grados de gloria tendra. V. M. si da fin a esta obra de tanta piedad y misericordia, y tan digna de recebir en la memoria de las gentes: aduirtiendo que no sera con tanto gasto de dineros, ni de hombres, ni con Aquellos estragos, ruynas, y escandalos, que suele auer para auerigar el derecho de muy pequennos estados, sino poner debaxo de la proteccion Real con medios todos muy suaues, y iustificados, quanto los puedo mostrar vna tan gran parte de toda la tierra poblada, para en ella sembrar bienes, y costellos frutos que yo espero en Dios han de ser muchos, muy dulces, muy ricos, y muy duraderos: y solo quiero por paga de tanto quanto tanto vale, que V. M. crea la importancia del caso, y quanto conuiene loque pido, y que en todo trato verdad, y que es animo de vender todo lo passado, presente, y venidero por vn precio, y este es Sennor de valde.

A note of *Australia del Espiritu Santo.* Written by Master HAKLVYT.

SImon Fernandez, *a Pilot of* Lisbone, *told me* Richard Hakluyt, *before other* Portugals *in* London, *the eighteenth of March* 1604. *That he hauing beene in the Citie of* Lima *in* Peru, *did perfectly vnderstand, that foure ships and barkes departed from the said Citie of* Lima, *about the yeere* 1600. *in the moneth of February toward the* Philippinas. *Their Generall was a* Mestizo, *that is to say, the Sonne of a* Spaniard, *and an* Indian *woman. And that seeking to make way toward the* Philippinas, *they were driuen with strong Northerne winds to the South of the Equinoctiall Line, and fell with diuers rich Countreyes and Ilands, as it seemeth, not farre from the Iles of* Salomon. *One chiefe place they called* Monte de Plata, *for the great abundance of siluer that is like to be there. For they found two crownes worth of siluer, as he reported, in two handfuls of dust. And the people gaue them for Iron as much, and more in quantitie of siluer. They report that this place is two moneths saying from* Lima, *and as much backe againe.*

Concerning this Voyage also: the Licentiate Luis de Tribaldo, *a Gentleman of qualitie in the* Conde de villa Mediana, *the Spanish Ambassadeurs house, told me* Richard Hakluyt, *that two yeeres past he saw at* Madrid, *a Captaine of quality suing for license to conquer this place, & that he obtained the same. And that diuers religious men and Fathers were to goe to conuert them to Christianitie. They arriued at their returne from this Voyage at* Peru, *in the moneth of August.*

CHAP. XI.

The Historie of LOPEZ VAZ *a* Portugall *(taken by Captaine* WITHRINGTON *at the Riuer of* Plate, *Anno* 1586. *with this Discourse about him) touching* American *places, discoueries and occurents; abridged.*

Part of this Discourse was published by M. *Hak.* out of a written copie contayning the whole. I haue added & inserted those things which I thought fit, leauing out such as before haue bin by others deliuered.

NOua *Hispania* was called so by the *Spaniards*, when they made Discouery of it, for that it was like the Country of *Spaine*, though the people of the Country termed the Land after their owne Countrey Language (some one part after one, some after another) the most part of the people called it *Encata*. This Countrey hath sundry great Prouinces in it, so fruitfull of all kinde of necessaries in it for man, that there is neither *Africa*, *Asia*, nor *Europe*, that is better; for that of sustenance for mans bodie there lacketh no store, as Wheat and all other Graines, all beasts necessary for man to eate or to vse, with great store of Silkes, Mynes of Gold, Siluer, Stones, and Pearle. The Countrey is very well inhabited, so that it is thought there is no part of the World better. The King of *Spaine* becausse hee hath many other Countries vnder him, hee doth little esteeme of this Countrey, but doth take out of it all things that are for his profit, hauing vsed those people with great crueltie, and taking of them much Tribute; this Land hath many Ports in the North Sea, and much more in the South Sea, the principall Ports in the North side is Saint *Iuan de Lua*. At this place doth he discharge the Armadas that come from *Spaine*, and from this place they carrie their Merchandize to the great Citie of *Mexico:* which Citie is sixtie leagues within the Land, and knowne by the Parishes in the same, to haue a hundred and fiftie thousand faire houses of *Indians*, and six thousand faire houses the *Spaniards* haue in it.

The Ports. Saint *Iuan de Lua.* *Mexico.*

The feare and reuerence that they vse towards the *Spaniards* is such; that one *Spaniard* may goe among a thousand of them, and strike the chiefest of them and vse his pleasure, without any word giuen by the *Indians* to the contrarie, such is the feare that these silly people haue of the

Spa-

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Spaniards. But now, thankes be to Almightie God, the *Indians* of that Country and Kingdome are become *Christians*: yet notwithstanding now and then the old men, hauing not forgotten their former Law, doe vse their Idolatry, which being knowne are very cruelly corrected by the Frier for the same offence. The people of this Kingdome are of a sharpe wit, and good vnderstanding, for whatsoeuer it be, Sciences or other Arts, these people are very apt to learne it with small instructing, the *Indians* of this Countrie doe make great store of Woollen Cloth and Silkes, so that they now beginne to carrie of these Silkes for *Spaine*. And haue all other things necessarie that any other Kingdome of the *Christians* haue, onely Wine and Oyle, which the King of *Spaine* denieth to haue made there, but such as commeth from *Spaine*, because of his customes, notwithstanding the King doth allow them to plant Vineyards for to eate of the Grapes. This Land is greatly commended not for that aboue mentioned, nor yet for the Gold and Siluer Mynes that it hath, but for the great number of Ports for shipping it hath in the South Sea, where they make many great ships, with the which ships they haue traffique with them of *Peru*, and *Paraw-na*, and then they haue a Trade to the *Philippinas*, and to the Ilands of *Molucca* and *China*, so that the commodities which the *Portugall* carrieth for *Portugall* out of the East *Indies*, are likewise brought to the Citie of *Mexico*, by reason of their shipping, although not in so great quantitie, as they carry for *Lisbone*, not for that they of *Mexico* either want shipping or abilitie, but because the *Spaniards* would conquer it with the Sword as he hath done other Lands, and not by the way of Traffique, as the *Portugall* doth, the principall Port from whence this Merchandize doth come, is called *Aguatorke*, in the Coast of *China* on the North side.

Silkes and clothes.

Wine and oyle denied.

Vineyards.

Ports and shipping.

Aguatorke.

After the Conquest of this Kingdome of *Mexico*, the order how the *Spaniard* did diuide this Land, was this. The principall Cities they refined to the King of *Spaine*, and to the Generall of this Conquest, who was renowmed *Ferdinando Curtis*, they assigned vnto him a great Valley, or as we call it a low Land betweene two Mountaines, which was called *Cornouake*, by which, Valley he had the name of *Marquesse of the Valley*, where there were great Townes, in which some affirme to be about 400000. fire houses; whereby the rent was to him better worth then three hundred thousand Duckets by the yeere. These Rents were confirmed to him and his for euer.

Cornauake Valley.

400000. fire houses in this Valley.

The other part of the Land that remayned, was parted among the rest of the Captaines and Souldiers which were at this Conquest, some had a hundred thousand Duckets by yeare, and other fortie thousand Duckets, and some fiftie thousand Duckets, and hee that had least had ten thousand Duckets by the yeare, so that now there are very few which haue this Rent, for that they are most of them dead, so that great part of the said Rents are fallen into the Kings hand, wherefore there are many insurrections against the King, which cost many a mans life.

And now to proceed farther along the Coast, which is a Land full of great Mountains, and very hot with much raine, for which cause it is a very vnholsome Country, where breedeth all noisome wormes and beasts, therefore there are very few *Indians* dwelling there, and no *Spaniards*, so that the Countrey is almost desolate. The first Land that is inhabited by the *Spaniards* along the Coast, is called *Veragua*, this is the most richest Land of Gold then all the rest of the *Indies*: therefore it is inhabited with *Spaniards*. In this place the people are alwayes sicke, and it raineth continually, and the Land yeeldeth no fruit, so that all their sustenance commeth from other places, all which necessities the *Spaniards* suffer with great patience for the couetousnesse of the Gold, the which Gold they get out of the Riuers with the helpe of a number of *Negroes*. I doe verily beleeue that if this Land were now the ancient *Romanes*, or else the *Egyptians*, they would surely make a channell from the end of this Riuer *de Carmas* (which issueth from the Lake of *Nicaragua*) to the South Sea, for that there is no more but foure leagues betweene the Sea and the Riuer, so that there they might Trade to the *Molucca's*, and to the Coast of *China*, so would it be sooner and easier done then the long and troublesome Voyages of the *Portugals*, and sooner made, then to goe through the Straits of *Magellan*; which is almost vnpossible to passe thorow.

Veragua rich of Gold.

A Channell to be made.

From this Land of *Veragua* vnto the Iland of *Margereta*, the Coast along is called the *firme Land*, not for that the other places are not of the firme Land, but because it was the first firme Land that the *Spaniards* did conquer after they had past the Ilands. This Land is very hot, and hath much raine, and for this cause is very vnhealthfull, and the most vilest place of all the rest, is called *Nombre de Dios*: which is the first place inhabited after you haue passed *Veragua*. There may be in *Nombre de Dios*: about foure hundred houses, and hath a very good Port for shipping. The cause why the *Spaniards* inhabited here in this place, was for that it should bee the way by Land to the South Sea, and for the Trade of *Peru*, that is from hence vnto the Citie of *Panama* eighteene leagues. And *Panama* standeth on the Coast of the South Sea. To this Towne of *Nombre de Dios* doth come all *Spanish* shipping, and there discharge them, then put they the goods into small Barkes that goe vp a Riuer to a house which is called, *The house of Crosses*, where the small Barkes doe discharge the goods againe. And then they put it on Mules so to carrie it to *Panama*, which is seuen leagues from *This house of Crosses*, all which they doe with much labour and great charge, because the Land hath great store of raine, and full of Mountaines, and very vnhealthfull, therefore they often want victuals, for the victuals they haue come from

Terra firma.

Nombre de Dios hath 400. Houses.

Panama.

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from *Peru*, and *Noua Hiſpania*. This Towne of *Nombre de dios*, ſince they haue had the traffike out of *Spaine*, are growne maruellous rich, and very well inhabited, but in ſhort time the people left the Towne, ſauing onely the Merchants, becauſe of the vnhealthfulneſſe * thereof.

* Here followed the hiſtories of Sir *Francis Drake*, and *Iohn Oxenham*, which you haue before more compleat.

The King of *Spaine* hearing of the affaires of *Drake* and *Oxenham*, ſent out of *Spaine* three hundred Souldiers which ſhould make warre againſt thoſe *Negros* that had aided the *Engliſhmen*, which were ſlaues vnto the *Spaniards*, but runne away from their Maſters, and ioyned with the *Engliſhmen*, thinking that way to be reuenged of the *Spaniards* crueltie. But when theſe three hundred Souldiers were arriued in the Countrie, at their firſt comming they tooke many of the *Negros*, and did on them great iuſtice; according to their faults committed, but afterwards the Souldiers were a long time before they could get one *Negro*. Which newes being ſent vnto the King by his Captaines, as alſo how the Countrie was full of Mountaines and Riuers, and very vnhealthfull, inſomuch that his Souldiers died, he did write to his Captaines to make agreement with thoſe *Negros*, to the end the Countrie might bee in quiet. And the *Negros* inhabited two places where the *Spaniards* willed them, ſo was the Kings pardon proclaimed to all thoſe *Negros*, from the time that they fled from their Maſters into the Mountaines vnto that preſent day, on condition that all thoſe *Negros* that did runne from their Maſters that day forward, they ſhould be bound to bring them dead or aliue; but if they brought them not, that then they ſhould pay for them, and to make all quiet in the Mountaines: and on theſe conditions all things were concluded and agreed vpon. So the *Negros* dwell in great Townes, where they haue *Spaniards* for their Teachers, and a *Spaniard* for their Iudge; and with this they hold themſelues very well contented, and are obedient vnto their Rulers.

Warre made with the *Negros*.

Negro Townes.

The King of *Spaine* hearing that *Engliſhmen*, as well as *Frenchmen*, haue vſed that Coaſt, hee cauſed two Gallies to be made, and well appointed, to keepe the Coaſt; the firſt yeere that they were made, they tooke ſixe or ſeuen *French* ſhippes, and after this was knowne, there vſed few *Engliſhmen*, or *French* men of warre, to come on the Coaſt, vntill this yeere 1586. that the aforeſaid *Francis Drake* came with a ſtrong Fleet, of about foure and twentie ſhips, and did ſuch harme as it is well knowne to all Chriſtendome: but God ſparing the King of *Spaines* life, he will ſufficiently prouide to keepe his Subiects from the inuaſions of other Nations.

Seuen *French* ſhips taken by two Gallies.

Fr. Drake with 24. ſhips.

Now, to goe forward with our begunne worke, the firſt People that is in this Coaſt, being paſt *Nombre de Dios*, is called *Cartagena*, it is a healthfuller Countrie, and a greater Towne then the other, and a better Countrie, with plentie of Victuals, and a very good Port for ſhipping, paſſing any of the reſt, and is called *Cartagena*, for that it reſembleth very much the Citie of *Cartagena* in *Spaine*: there are in it about foure hundred fire houſes in the Citie; it is very rich, by reaſon of the ſhips ſtaying there when they goe or come from *Spaine*. And if the ſhips chance to winter before they goe home, then they lie at *Cartagena*: alſo it is greatly enriched by the Merchandiſe that here they doe diſcharge, for to carrie to the new Kingdome of *Granada*; and much Gold commeth from the ſaid Kingdome vnto *Cartagena*. This new Kingdome of *Granada*, is two hundred leagues within the Land. From *Cartagena* to this Kingdome they cannot trauell by Land, becauſe of the Mountaines, and ſtanding waters, which lie in their way, ſo that they carrie their goods vp a Riuer, called The great Riuer of *Magdalene*: they can goe with their Barques vp this Riuer but twentie leagues, yet the Riuer is both large and very deepe, but there runneth a great current, ſo that the Barques diſcharge the goods at a place in the Riuer, called *Branco de Malambo*, into ſmall Canoas which rowe cloſe by the ſhoare ſide.

Cartagena.

New *Granada*.

Magdalena a great Riuer.

The Riuer of *Branco de Malambo*.

There is a paſſage by the New Kingdome, and *Popayan*, from *Cartagena* to *Peru*, by Land, which is about fiue hundred leagues, ſo that taking the two hundred leagues, which they goe vp the Riuer, the other three hundred leagues is a Countrie well inhabited, and quiet trauelling, ſo that oftentimes the Poſts paſſe to and fro, but becauſe the way is long, the Merchants doe not trauell that way but when they are forced thereunto, if any forraine Nations ſhould take and keepe the South Sea, the King might haue his treaſure brought to this place from *Peru*, and ſo into *Spaine*. For in times paſt there was a rebellion in *Peru* by the *Spaniards*, againſt the King, and thorow theſe Prouinces he ſent his power to ſuppreſſe them.

Santa Marta is a very poore Towne, becauſe it hath beene often robbed of the *Frenchmen*, and hath no trade, but by a few *Indians* that dwell about them. Here beginneth the great Mountaines couered all with ſnow, which compaſſeth all the Countrie of *India* and *Peru*, vntill you come to the further end of the Straites of *Magelan*, theſe Mountaines are ſeene with the ſnowe vpon them aboue thirtie leagues into the Sea, in the bottome of this Wilderneſſe, or Mountains, there is a Valley called *Tagrona*, which is the richeſt place that is knowne: but becauſe the Land that is ioyning to it is full of Mountaines, and the Inhabitants are very many, and withall of a good courage, and they vſe to poiſon their Arrowes, ſo that in ſtriking of a man, hee cannot eſcape death. Therefore it lieth vnconquered, and many *Spaniſh* Captaines there haue beene ſlaine.

Great Mountaines couered with ſnowe.

Tagrona Valley.

On this Coaſt of *The Firme Land*, there are aboue ſeuentie Ilands of *Sante Domingo*, and *Cuba*, and *Porto Rico*, although it be not very great, yet it is inhabited by the *Spaniard*; the reſt of all the Ilands haue beene inhabited by *Indians*, where was good ſtore of Gold, and Pearles, and Eme-

70. Ilands. *Santa Domingo*. *Cuba*, and *Porta Rico*.

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Emeralds: but the *Spaniards* haue destroyed all those *Indians* from off the Earth, and in many of those Ilands is nothing of any value, therefore I haue small cause to intreat of them: but *Santa Domingo* is an Hand of great bigneſſe, and hath beene very full of people and rich Mines of Gold and Pearles, but now all is wasted away; for it was as full of people as any place of that bigneſſe in the world, yet now are there none left, for they were men of so hard a heart, that they killed themselues, rather then they would serue the *Spaniards*. It happened on a time, that a *Spaniard* called certaine *Indians* to goe to worke in the Mines, which kinde of labour did most grieue them, and would rather doe violence on themselues, then to goe; which the *Spaniard* perceiuing, he said vnto them, seeing you will rather hang your selues then to goe and worke, I will likewise hang my selfe, and goe with you, because I will make you worke in the other world: but the *Indians* hearing this, said, wee will willingly worke with you, because you shall not goe with vs; so vnwilling they were of the *Spaniards* companie: so that of all the Inhabitants of this Iland, there was none escaped death, but onely these few, which was by the meanes of this *Spaniard*; or else they would haue hanged themselues also. A strange way to keepe men aliue.

There is neere this Iland another Iland greater then *Santa Domingo*, called *Cuba*; it is like vnto *Santa Domingo*, although there is not such store of Sugar, the chiefest place in this Iland is called *Labauana*, and is a very good Harbour: these people are very rich, by reason of the shipping that doth touch there, which are bound for *Noua Hispania* and *Peru*, therefore there is a Castle in this Harbour kept with *Spanish* Souldiers; for there is no other Castle in all the Land, nor Souldiers but onely here, and in *Florida*. There is also another Iland inhabited with *Spaniards*, neere vnto this, which is called *Porto Rico*: it is but little, and euery way as plentifull as the other two are. *Cuba.* *La bauana.* *Porto rico.*

I will follow my Discourse of the Port Townes along the Coast of the maine Land, and passing once the Iland of *Margareta*, there are no Townes inhabited by the *Spaniards*, till you come to *Fernanboke*, which is on the Coast of *Brasill*: yet betweene the Iland and *Fernanboke*, there is the great Riuer of *Maranoyn*. This Riuer is one of the greatest in the world, it was first found when as the *Spaniards* did seeke out the other Coast, but none can goe into this Riuer because of the great current that commeth downe; and withall there are many shelues of sand lying about the mouth of it, whereby it was long before that the Riches which is in the Riuer was knowne, vntill the time that the Land of *Peru* was conquered; at which time a Captaine called *Gonsalo Pizarro*, entring into the Countrie of *Peru*, came into a Land which they named *La Canela*, because there came from thence great store of Cinnamon, but not altogether so good as that which commeth from the *Indies*. Proceeding further into the Countrie, he came to a great Riuer, where he saw many of the Countrie people come vp in Canoas, bringing Gold to buy and sell with the *Spaniards*. The Captaine seeing this, was desirous to see the end of this Riuer, but could not trauell by Land because of the Mountaines, wherefore he made a small Pinnace, to goe see from whence these *Indians* brought their Gold; and he sent in this Pinnace, a Captaine vnder him, called *Orillana*, with thirtie men, the which went downe the Riuer, but could not returne to their Captaine *Pizarro*, because of the great current which was very strong against them, and forced them to passe the Riuer, and enter into the Sea, and so came to the Iland of *Margareta*: but as they passed the Riuer, they found it well inhabited with *Indians*, and to haue good store of Gold. These men with their Pinnace were passing downe this Riuer a yeere and a halfe; for the Riuer lieth very crooked, which maketh a long way by water, and the *Spaniards* neuer durst land, because they saw the Countrie so full of people; but tooke many Canoas, where they had good store of Victuals, and some Gold. Now this Captaine *Orillana* comming vnto *Margareta* with this good newes and riches, hee determined with himselfe, not to returne againe vnto his Captaine *Pizarro*, which sent him, but tooke his way from hence to the King of *Spaine*, and presented him with the Gold that he brought out of the Riuer. Whereupon the King sent him with a Fleet of ships, and sixe hundred men, to inhabite the said Riuer: but because of the great current, and shoalds that are in this Riuer, he left the most part of his men, and ships, and with those that remained, hee went vnto certaine Ilands hard by the Riuer, and built him Pinnaces: but the Countrie being very vnhealthfull, hee himselfe died, and many of his men, and the rest that remained, went euery one the way that pleased him best. The Port Townes. *Fernanboke.* The Riuer of *Maranoyn.* *La Canela.* The great Riuer of *Maranon.* *Orillana.* *Margareta* ili Iland.

The fame of this Riuer was straightway spred thorow *Spaine* and *Portugall*, so that a Gentleman of *Portugall*, called *Leus de Melo*, which asked licence of *Don Iuan* the third, then King of *Portugall*, that he might goe and conquer this said Riuer: for from the mouth of this Riuer to the mouth of this Riuer of *Plate*, is that part of *America*, which the Kings of *Portugall* doe hold according to the partition that the Kings of *Spaine* and *Portugall* both made betweene themselues; so that the King of *Portugall* hauing this Riuer in his part, hee gaue it to the said *Leus de Melo*, to conquer: who taking ten ships, and eight hundred men, among which there were many Gentlemen, and comming to the mouth of this Riuer, hee lost all the shippes sauing two sayle, and in one of them that were saued was *Leus de Melo*, also the most part of the men that were in the ships were saued and got to shoare, and so went along vnto the Iland *Margareta*, from whence they were dispersed throughout all the *Indies*. Thus these two seuerall Fleets *Brasill* conquered.

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of ſhips being caſt away, by ſuch euill fortune, neuer any Captaine after, would giue the attempt to conquer this ſaid Riuer. Yet from the new Kingdome of *Granado*, before ſpoken of, two or three Captaines haue gone by Land to diſcouer it.

Pedro de Orzua, or Oſſuna.

None of all theſe came to any plaine diſcouerie till few yeeres paſt, a Captaine of the Countrie of *Nauarre*, called *Pedro de Orzua*, who came into the Countrie of *Peru*, neere the place where before Captaine *Pizarro* had firſt diſcouered, and had with him about ſeuen hundred men, all *Spaniards*, which was maruell that he could haue ſo many, and amongſt them there were many Gentlemen, and old Souldiers of *Peru*, which cauſed many mutinies and inſurrections. With all theſe men he came to the head of this Riuer, (all the matters that come from the Mountaines of *Peru*, and the Riuers which runne within the Land from ſixteene degrees, and the Line, runne all into this Riuer, which cauſeth it to be ſo great.) Now at the head of this Riuer, the Captaine *Pedro de Orzua* made fifteene Pinnaces, with many Canoas, in which he carried aboue two thouſand *Indians* to helpe him, with many Horſes and other prouiſion, for to inhabite there, for it was not poſſible for him to carrie all his prouiſion by Land, for that the Mountaines bee very great, and betweene them many ſmall Riuers, which iſſue out of this great Riuer aboue twentie leagues into the Land. So this Captaine hauing all his things in good order, went downe this Riuer with all his men, and came to a plaine Countrie from the Mountaines, where the *Indians* did dwell, and there held a Counſell, determining in that place to build a Towne, and to fortifie it very ſtrong, becauſe he would leaue all his ſtuffe, there and ſuch men as were not Souldiers. So they began to make the ſaid Towne, and worke on it all the Winter, where becauſe it raineth much, and is with all very hot, whereby ſickneſſe did beginne to riſe among them, and alſo want of Victuals; wherefore his men began to murmure. Theſe men came all out of the Land of *Peru*, which is the fruitfulleſt Land in all the World, and moſt richeſt; therefore theſe men were the more giuen to haue their fill of Bread and Meat, then to lay their bodies to labour, which was the cauſe: that although the Countrie in which they were, was very fruitfull, and alſo they ſaw with their eyes, the Gold that was there, as alſo how vp in the Countrie it ſeemed much better then the place in which they were, notwithſtanding they murmured, and would needs returne for *Peru*, from whence they came.

Towne founded.

Lopez de Agira his mutinie.

There was among theſe men a Souldier of *Biſca*, called *Lopez de Agira*, a very little man of body, and was lame of one of his legs, but very valiant, and of good experience in the warres (this man was one of the principall mutiners in *Peru*, and therefore giuen vſually thereunto) this fellow asked the Souldiers, what they went to ſeeke in thoſe Wildernesſes where as they were brought, for ſaid he, if you ſeeke riches, there is enough in *Peru*, and there is, ſaid hee, Bread, Wine, Fleſh, and faire Women, ſo that it were better to goe thither and conquer that, and take it out of the hands of the *Spaniards*, for that would eaſily be done: for that all the Souldiers, & poore men of *Peru* would turne vnto them, and that were a better way then to goe and conquer the ſauage people in thoſe Mountaines, ſo that they once hauing the gouernment of *Peru*, that then the King of *Spaine* ſhould agree with them, if not ſaid he, we ſhall not lacke them that will ſend vs ſuccour for to haue the riches that is in the Land of *Peru*. By theſe perſwaſions hee brought many Souldiers to be of his minde; and agreed with a young Gentleman of *Seuill*, called *Don Fernando de Goſman*, the which was in loue with a yong woman, that the Captain *Pedro de Orzua* or *Oſſuna* had, and therefore he did the ſooner agree with *Lope de Agire* to fulfill his intent. On a night, the Captaine being aſleepe in his bed, theſe Souldiers entred into his Bed-chamber, & ſtabbed him with their Daggers, as alſo they ſlue all the Captains friends, and they made a great crie, ſaying, *Liue the King, liue the King*, wherwith all the Campe was in an vprore. Then *Lope de Agire* made vnto the Souldiers a long Oration, & got them all to conſent with him, ſome by force, ſome becauſe they durſt not ſay to the contrarie, and others with their good will, in the end they all agreed vnto his determined purpoſe. So they made the gentleman their head, and *Lope de Agire* was made Captaine, this done, and becauſe the people ſhould the better hold their opinion, hee did as great a villanie as euer any *Spaniard* did, for hee made an Altar, on which hee and all the Souldiers did denie their ſeruice vnto the King of *Spaine*, and ſo as people without a King, they choſe the ſaid *Don Fernando* to be their King, and did vnto him homage.

The Captaine murthered.

Fernando de Guſman choſen King.

Theſe matters being finiſhed, they agreed among themſelues which ſhould be the beſt way for them to goe to *Peru*, for they could not goe vp the Riuer from whence they came, for the great currant, and alſo if they ſhould goe thorough the land, they ſhould be very weake for want of Horſemen, therefore they determined to goe downe the Riuer. Then ſaid this *Lope de Agire*, that they would carry nothing with them, but the Pinnaces and Souldiers which ſhould fight, and that it were beſt to leaue behinde them, all the *Indians* that they brought from *Peru*, with the women, and ſicke men, vnto which their Generall *Don Fernando* would not agree, for that he knew that when they were gone, the people of the Countrie would kill them all. *Lope de Agire* hearing this, and longing to be chiefe Gouernour himſelfe ouer all, and taking vnto him thirtie of his owne Countrie men, of his own diſpoſition, he ſodainly killed *Don Fernando*, whom not twentie daies before hee had ſworne to obey. But now by his ſubtile working, and being withall eloquent in his talke, he cauſed the people to make himſelfe Gouernour, and made the people

He is ſlaine.

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people beleeue that all these cruelties were done to saue themselues, but the tyrannie of this man did not end here (he was of the Countrie of *Biſca*, a land ioyning vnto *France*, therefore I rather beleeue that he was a *Frenchman* then a *Spaniard*, for that in the heart of a *Spaniard* there is not so much crueltie as this man had.) Now he being ready to goe his way, he determined not to carrie with him any Gentleman or other of high degree, and therefore hee slew all those which hee did know to be of high degree or Gentlemen, and then departed onely with the common Souldiers, and left behinde him all the *Spanish* women and sicke men, with all other creatures.

Hard conceit of *French* crueltie by *Span.* and *Portugals.*

If I should rehearse all the cruell murders of this wicked man one by one, I should be ouer much tedious vnto you; onely I say in as few words as I may, that this man proceeded downe the Riuer, and had with him onely foure hundred men, but before he passed this Riuer, and came to *Margareta*, he had no more left but two hundred and thirtie men, for the rest hee had done to death, and left ashore among the people of the Countrie: he vsed this tirannie because hee alwaies stood in feare of his life, for that if he had seene but two Souldiers talke together, hee thought that he had alwaies consulted on his death, and therefore hee vsed the order aboue said, now he neuer went any way but that they had in his companie thirtie *Biscains* of his owne will and minde, for to execute his cruell desire: As these Souldiers with their Captaine came downe the Riuer, they saw many Canoas with Gold in them going to and fro, and people on both sides the Riuer, where in their passage many times they landed and got good store of Gold, and victuals.

Nothing so cruell as feare proceeding from an ill conscience.

Now did they see also that which *Orellana* had reported, which was that there were *Amazones*, women that fight in the warre with Bowes and Arrowes, but these women fight to helpe their husbands, and not by themselues as *Orellana* reported from the company of men; there were of these women in diuers parts of the Riuer, and saw the *Spaniards* fight with their husbands, and came and helped them, and shewed themselues more valiant then their husbands, and therefore is named the Riuer of the *Amazones*: the *Spaniards* intent onely was to passe downe the Riuer, and therefore neuer sought to know the Countrie within the land; yet tooke they good store of Gold, and put it into one of the Pinnaces where he went himselfe, which Pinnace at the mouth of the Riuer was cast away, but he himselfe escaped, because as yet he had not made an end of his bloudie minde. But comming to the Iland of *Margareta*, the Gouernour thereof thought he had beene one of the Kings Captaines, receiued him with Pinnaces, and brought to him good store of victuals, but he put him to death presently and landed on the Ilands, and tooke it and two Shippes that were in the Ilands; and tooke perforce one hundred and fiftie men to goe with him, and others that went willingly, with good store of victuals and many Horses; and then returned to the maine land, saying that with his small force hee would subdue the whole *Indies*; thinking that all the old Souldiers and poore people in seeing of him would all turne to his side, and take his part, and so hee went deceiued in his owne conceit, for he had not gone two dayes Iourney vp in the Land, when the Captaine of new *Granado* came against him with a power of men, but *Lope de Agire* hoping that the other Souldiers would haue come all vnto him, whereby his strength might bee the more; but hee was deceiued, for his owne men left him and tooke the Kings Captaines part. Now seeing himselfe destitute of his Souldiers, and voide of all helpe, he then shewed himselfe more cruell then did the tyrant *Nero*, for this man killed his owne daughter, being but sixteene yeeres of age, which he brought with him from *Peru*, for that she should not be made the bed of Villains, nor be called the daughter of a Traitor: these words he vsed vnto her, after he had giuen her her deaths wound: but before hee could finish this cruell deed, the Souldiers came vpon him, and cut him in pieces; yet his daughter did die of her wound in that place, and thus you haue heard the euill end of this cruell man, for hee was the cause likewise that the King would neuer suffer to haue this Riuer discouered, so that the riches resteth to this day vnknowne that is in this Riuer.

R. Amazones why so called. Note the truth of that which hath mocked men touching *Amazons* in *Asia*, *Africa* and *America*. None other haue yet by credible reports beene found but warlike wiues, and not solitary vnimamians. His treason at *Margarita.*

Lope de Agire slayeth his daughter, and is slaine.

Great riches hidden within the Riuer of *Maragnon.*

Now hauing ended with this Riuer of *Marannon*, all the Coast between this Riuer and the Riuer of *Plate*, is called the Coast of *Brasill*, taking the name of the wood in the Countrie, which is called Brasill wood (for there is great store of it.) *Brasill* was first found by *Pedro Arnales Cabrall* in the second time that the King of *Portugall* sent his ships for the East *Indies*, and so tooke possession of this Land, for the King of *Portugall*. The King *Don Emanuel*, hauing newes hereof, sent ships for to discouer the whole Countrie, and found it to be the Land of *America*, which ioyneth to the West *Indies*; wherefore there was some controuersie betweene him and the King of *Spaine*, but in the end being both kinsmen, and great friends, they agreed that the King of *Portugall* should hold all the Countrie that he had discouered, the which was as I haue said, *from the Riuer of Marannon to the Riuer of Plate*, although the *Spaniards* say that it is no further then the Iland of *Santa Catalina*, and hereupon there haue beene many controuersies, betweene the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* and many men slaine.

The coast of *Brasill.*

There came in *the yeere* 1587. into this Riuer of *Plate* two *English* Ships and a Pinnace of the honorable *the Earle of Cumberland*, being bound for the straights of *Magelanus*, and anchored ten leagues

Two *English* ships. See their storie *sup. l. 6.*

leagues within this Riuer, at a little Iland hard by the Iland called *Seall Iland*, &c. There is a port called *la Para Iua*, which few yeares paſt, *the Frenchmen* hearing of the troubles that were in *Portugall*, came to this place, and made there a Fort, and ſo the *French* Ships came euery yeare thither to lade Braſill wood. But they of *Fernambocke* with the helpe of the *Spaniards* went and burnt fiue ſhips within the Port, and tooke the Fort, but ſome of the *Frenchmen* ranne into the Mountaines, and others ſlaine, ſo that the *Spaniards* doe there inhabit to this day. Now to returne vnto *Fernambocke*, inhabited by a *Portugall* Captaine called *Eduarte Coelio*, this is the greateſt Towne in all that Coaſt, and hath aboue three thouſand houſes in it, with ſeuentie Ingenios of Sugar, and great ſtore of Braſill wood, and good ſtore of Cotton, yet are they in great want of victuals, for that all that they haue commeth out of *Portugall*, and from other places there on the Coaſt. It is a barred Harbour, and for ſmall Barkes, this place belongeth yet to the Sonne of *Eduarte Coelio*. Paſſing hence is the Cape of Saint *Auguſtine*, and next to that is the Riuer of Saint *Franciſco*, which is alſo a great Riuer. Betweene this and the *Bayha*, it is all a Wilderneſſe, inhabited with cruell Sauage people; for whom ſoeuer they take they kill to eate. The Towne of *Baya* belongeth to the King, and therefore the Gouernour that gouerneth all the Coaſt along, is in this Towne of *Baya*, and alſo the Biſhop; it is a Towne of a thouſand houſes, and hath fortie Ingenios of Sugar, and much Cotton, but no Braſill wood. The Sea runneth vp fourteene or fifteene leagues, where they get ſome yeeres good ſtore of Ambergreece; here there is plentie of victuals, and although it be hot, it is a healthfull Countrey, and holeſome aires. The next Coaſt is called, *Las Ilhas*, it is a ſmall Towne not aboue one hundred and fiftie houſes, there are but three Ingenios of Sugar, the moſt part of theſe people are labouring men, and carry victuals to *Fernambock* in three ſmall Barkes: this people belong vnto a Gentleman called *Lucas Geraldo*.

Parawa now inhabited by *Spaniards*.
Fernambock hath 3000. houſes.
Baya a town belonging to the King: for hee gaue moſt part of this Country to Gentlemen, becauſe they found no Mynes, &c.
As Ilhas hath 150. houſes.

From hence, the next to this Towne is called *Porto Sequero*: this hath foure ſmal Townes, and are in all about three hundred houſes, it belongeth to a Gentleman called *Vaſco Fernandes Coytenio*: from hence they goe to the Riuer of *Ienero*, which hath about three hundred houſes. In this place alſo the *Frenchmen* inhabited firſt, whoſe Captaine was called *Monſieur de Villegagnon*, hee made here a Fort, and planted good Ordnance thereon, and lades euery yeere great ſtore of Braſill from thence, and had great friendſhip with the Sauage people, which ſerued him very well. But the King of *Portugall* ſent a power of men againſt the *Frenchmen*, and firſt tooke the *French* ſhips by Sea, and then landed, and beſieged the Fort, and in time tooke them with the Captaine, and becauſe the *French* Captaine was a Gentleman, and neuer hurt the *Portugals*, therefore they gaue thirtie thouſand Duckets for his Ordnance, with all things that they had in the Fort, and ſo ſent him for *France*, and the *Portugals* inhabited the Riuer. There is not at this preſent but two Ingenios, and great ſtore of Braſil-wood, with plentie of victuals.

Porto Sequero hath foure ſmall townes.
Rio de Ienero hath 300. houſes.
Villagagnons Fort taken. Of him and it you haue before in *Leuin*.

From this Riuer of *Ienero*, they go along the Coaſt of Saint *Vincent*, which hath foure Townes, the greateſt is called *Santos*, and hath foure hundred houſes, there are here three Ingenios, but a very poore Country. About few yeeres paſt there came two *Engliſh* ſhips into this Harbor, which were going for the Straits of *Magellanes*, who being in this Port, there came thither three of the King of *Spaines* ſhips, and fought with the *Engliſhmen*, but the *Engliſhmen* ſunke one of them, and therefore the King commanded a Fort to be made, becauſe that no *Engliſh* ſhippes that were bound to the Straits ſhould not victuall there, the which Fort ſtandeth on the mouth of the Harbour, this Countrey belongeth to a Gentleman called *Martin Alonſo de Souſa*, this is the laſt Inhabitance in all the Coaſt of *Braſill*; this ſaid Coaſt is very full of Mountaines, and raineth much, therefore they cannot goe from Towne to Towne by Land. All the dwellings in this Countrey are by the Sea ſide, yet the *Portugals* haue many times trauelled vp in the Countrie a hundred and fiftie leagues, but finding no profit, inhabited in no place.

The Coaſt of Saint *Vincent* hath foure townes.
Two *Engliſh* ſhips by *Fenton* and *Ward*.

The Coaſt from Saint *Vincent* is all full of Mountaines, till you come to the Iland of Saint *Catalina*, from this Iland till you come to the Straites of *Magellanes*, is very plaine and without Woods.

The Coaſt of Saint *Vincent*.

The Riuer of *Plate* was diſcouered by *Solis*, and after by *Sebaſtian Cabot*, which went one hundred and fiftie leagues vp in it and built a Fort; after by *Don Pedro de Mendoza*, who hauing loſt eight ſhips, died in the way homewards: the poore men which hee left behind him for very hunger, died the moſt part of them, for that there about were very few *Indians*, and therefore ſmall ſtore of victuals, but onely liued by hunting of Deere and fiſhing. Of all the men that this *Don Pedro* left behind him, there was liuing no more but two hundred men, which in the ſhips Boats went vp the Riuer, leauing in this place called *bonas ayres*, three Mares and Horſes. But it is a wonder to ſee, that of thirtie Mares and ſeuen Horſes which the *Spaniards* left in this place, that in fortie yeeres theſe beaſts haue ſo increaſed, that the Countrey is twentie leagues vp full of Horſes, whereby one may ſee the paſture, and fruitfulneſſe of the Countrey. The *Spaniards* that went vp this Riuer, were three hundred leagues vp, and found the Countrey full of *Indians*, where were great ſtore of victuals, and the *Spaniards* dwelt among them as their friends, and the *Indians* did giue their Daughters to wife vnto the *Spaniards*, and ſo they dwelt in one Towne together, which the *Spaniards* called *La Aſcenſion*, which ſtandeth on the North ſide of the Riuer. Theſe foreſaid *Spaniards*, were twentie yeeres in this place, before any of them

See *ſup. in Schmidel.*

Breed of 30. Mares and ſeuen Horſes.

La Aſcenſion.

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in *Spaine* heard of these poore mens dwelling in this Riuer. But the *Spaniards* now waxing old, and fearing that if they were dead, that then there Sonnes which they had in this Countrey, which were very many, should liue without the knowledge of any other *Christians*; determined among themselues to make a ship, and so to send newes into *Spaine*, with Letters vnto the King, of all things that had passed within the Riuer among them. Vpon this newes the King sent them three ships, with a Bishop, Friers and Priests, and more men and women to inhabit with all kind of cattell. When this succour was come, they inhabited in two places more on the North side of the Riuer, and trauelled three hundred leagues beyond the *Ascension*, but found neither Gold nor Siluer, but returned backe againe to *Ascension*: the people are so multiplyed in this Citie, that it is now one of the greatest Cities in all the *Indies*, and hath aboue two thousand houses, it is a fruitfull Countrey of all kind of victuall, and there is Sugar and Cotton, from this Citie of *Ascension*, one hundred and fiftie leagues toward the Riuers mouth, there is another Towne, which they call *Santa Fee*. Also fiue yeeres past, they haue inhabited againe the Towne of *Bonos Ayres* on the South side, because they would haue some Trade with them on the Coast of *Brasill*, but there fortune was such, that the first time that they went to *Brasill*, and would haue returned to the Riuer of *Plate* againe, they were taken by two shippes of *England*, that were going to the Straits of *Magellanes*. The Coast along from this Riuer to the Straits of *Magellanes*, is a Land which hath not beene discouered, neither by Sea nor Land, sauing only certaine Ports which they haue seene going to the Straits.

Santa Fee.
Bonos Ayres.

The next that sought to passe the Straits after *Magelanes* were two shippes of *Genoa* which came to the mouth of the Straits, and with a great storme were put back againe, and one of them whose Master was called *Pancaldo*, put into the Riuer of *Plate*, and was cast away about *Bonos Ayres*, and to this day there is part of the ship to be seene, and some of the men are yet liuing in the Riuer among the *Spaniards*, and the other ship went home to *Genoa* againe. Also there was a Bishop of *Placencia* in *Spaine*, coueting Riches, made a fleet of foure ships to passe the Straits, and so to goe vnto the *Moluccas*, and getting license of the Emperour, he sent his ships to the Straits, and had very faire wind til they came thither, and entring the Straits twentie leagues, the storme of Westerly windes tooke them, and drone three of them ashoare, and the other went into the Sea, and the storme being past, hee returned into the Strait to seeke his companions, and found many men going on the shoare side, but the ships were beaten all in pieces, and they on the Land called vnto the ship. But the Captaine seeing that his ship was but little, and had small store of victuals, he would not goe to them ashoare, but went on his Voyage, and passed the Straits, and because he was alone, he would not goe to the *Moluccas*, but went to the Coast of *Peru* vnto the Citie of *Lima*, where the ship is yet vnto this day, the men that were in the Straits, where the three ships were cast away, were to the number of two hundred and fiftie men, whose Captaine was called *Queros*, being Kinsman to the Bishop of *Placentia*, it is fortie yeeres since these men were left there, but neuer heard of vnto this day. A yeere after this, certaine Merchants of the *Groine* in *Galizia*, set forth other three ships, which ship also came to the Straits mouth, where one of them was cast away withall the men, and the other returned for *Spaine*, also I haue had intelligence that there hath beene certaine *Portugall* ships, which haue come to the mouth of the Straits, and left two of their Pinnasses which they sent to know the Land, and so the ships returned, and after these other two *French* ships were sent from the Riuer of *Iuero*, by *Monsieur de villagagnon* ouer for the Straits, but when they came into the height of fortie fiue degrees, they put backe againe by a great storme of contrary winds. After all this the Gouernour of *Chili*, called *Don Garcia de Mendoza* Sonne to the Marquesse of *Tenuta*, would also discouer the Straits from the South Sea, and sent from *Chili* two ships with a Captaine called *Latherelio*; but the danger to seeke the Straits by the South Sea, is more then by the North Sea, because all the stormes on the North Sea, come from the Land, and in the South Sea the wind and stormes came all out of the Sea, and forceth the ship on the shoare, so that these two ships were lost in fiftie degrees. The seeking of the Straits of *Magelanes* is so dangerous, and the Voyage so troublesome, that it is almost vnpossible to be obtained, so that for the space of thirtie yeeres, no man made account of it, till of late yeeres one *Francis Drake* an *Englishman*, &c.

Captaine *Queros*. *Oniedo* cals him *Zamargo*.

Fr. Drake. You haue his and *Candishes*, and other *English* and *Dutch* voyages thorow the Straits before.

Captaine *Drake* carried from the Coast of *Peru*, eight hundred sixtie sixe thousand pieces of siluer, which is eight hundred sixtie sixe Kintals at a hundred pound waight, the Kintall, and euery Kintall is worth twelue hundred Duckets of *Spaine*, which is a Million, thirtie nine thousand and two hundred Duckets, besides this, he carried away a hundred thousand pieces of Gold, which is ten Kintals, and euery Kintall is worth fifteene hundred Duckets of *Spaine*, which amounteth to a hundred and fiftie thousand Duckets, besides that which hee had in the ship that was not customed, which I doe not know of, as well Pearles, Precious stones, and other things of great value, besides the money he had in coine, with all this he went towards *Noua Hispania*: and at an Iland which is before you come there called *The Iland of Cockles*, he discharged all things out of his ship and graued her there, and remayned there fiftie dayes, from hence he went along the Coast of *Hispania*, where he tooke many ships laden with Spices, Silkes, and Veluets: but no Gold nor Siluer, for here is none on this Coast.

The Iland of *Cockels*. Others say the Iland of *Caris*.

Pedro Sarmiento was sent to the Straits with two ships, and at the Straits met with a storme,

Fiftie degrees fiue minutes.

and he not knowing how, nor which way in a night he was put into the Straits, the other ſhip runne more into the Sea, and came into fiftie eight degrees, the ſtorme being paſt, he found many Ilands ioyning to the maine Lands, and ſo returned with faire weather all along the ſhoare, and neuer found any other way to enter the Straits, but only that which *Magellanes* did diſcouer, which is thought to be otherwiſe by the ſayings of others, which affirme the Straits to be full of Ilands, to the Southwards.

Pedro Sarmiento.

Pedro Sarmiento entred the Straits, where his men were in a mutinie, and would haue returned for *Lima*, but he hanged one of them, and ſo went on his Voyage for *Spaine*, and told the King that there were two narrow points in the Straits, where he might build a Fort, and that the Straits was a very good Countrey, and had great ſtore of Riches and other neceſſaries, and very well inhabited with *Indians*. Vpon whoſe words, and for that there were more ſhips making readie in *England* to paſſe the Straits; The King ſent *Diego Floris de Valdes* with three and twentie ſhips, and three thouſand, fiue hundred men, as alſo the Gouernour of *Chili*, with fiue hundred old Souldiers new come out of *Flanders*. Theſe ſhips had the hardeſt hap of any ſhips that went out of *Spaine* ſince the *Indies* were found, for that before they came from the Coaſt of *Spaine*, a ſtorme tooke them and caſt away fiue of the ſhippes, and loſt in them aboue eight hundred men, and the reſt put into Calls, notwithſtanding the King ſent them word that yet they ſhould proceed: and ſo did with ſixteene ſaile of ſhips, for that other two ſhips were ſo ſhaken with the ſtorme that they could not goe, and in the ſixteenth ſaile *Pedro Sarmiento* was ſent to bee Gouernour in the Straits, and had committed vnto him fiue hundred men for to ſtay in the Straits: he had alſo all kind of Artificers to make his Forts and other neceſſaries, with great ſtore of Ordnance and other Munition.

D. F. de Valdes his diſaduentures.

This fleet becauſe it was late, did winter on the Coaſt of *Braſil* in the Riuer of *Ienero*, and from hence they went where the Winter was paſt, and about the height of fortie two degrees they had a ſtorme, ſo that *Diego Flores* beat vp and downe about two and twentie dayes, in which time he had one of his beſt ſhips ſunke in the Sea, and in her three hundred men and twentie women, that went to inhabit the Straits, and alſo moſt part of the munition that ſhould bee left in the Straits. In the end the ſtorme grew ſo great, that the ſhips might not indure it any longer, but were put back againe vnto an Iland called Saint *Catalina*, and there he found a Barke, wherein were certaine Friers going for the Riuer of *Plate*, which Friers told him of two great ſhips of *England*, and a Pinnaſſe that had taken them, but tooke nothing from them, nor did them any harme, but only asked them for the King of *Spaines* ſhippes. Now *Diego Flores* knowing that theſe *Engliſh* ſhippes would goe to the Straits, hee alſo was determined to goe to the Straits, although it was the moneth of *February*, and chooſing ten ſhips of the fifteene that were left, hee ſent three ſhips that were old and ſhaken with the ſtorme, he put in them all the women and ſick men that were in the fleet, and ſent them to the Riuer of *Ienero*: and left two other ſhips which were not for the Sea at the Iland, and he with the other ten ſhips returned againe for the Straits.

The Riuer of *Ienero.*

Port of Saint *Vincent.*

Now the three ſhips in which the ſicke men and women were, came to the Port of Saint *Vincent*, where they found the two *Engliſh* ſhips, ſo they would haue the *Engliſhmen* gone out of the Harbour, and hereupon they fell at fight, and becauſe that theſe three ſhips were weake with the foule weather that they had, as alſo the men were the refuſe of all the fleet, the *Engliſhmen* eaſily put them to the worſt, and ſunke one of them, and might haue ſunke another if they would, but they minded not the deſtruction of any man: for it is the greateſt vertue that can be in any man, that when he may doe hurt, he will not doe it.

Fenton.

Vpon this the *Engliſhmen* went from this Port to *Spirito Sancto*, where they had victuals for their Merchandize, and ſo returned home to *England*, without doing any harme in the Country.

Iohn Drake.

Seale Iland.

Iohn Drake went from them in the Pinnaſſe (the cauſe why I know not) but the Pinnaſſe came into the Riuer of *Plate*, and within fiue leagues of *Seale Iland*, not far from the place where the Earle of *Cumberlands* ſhips tooke in freſh water, this ſaid Pinnaſſe was caſt away vpon a ledge of Rockes, but the men were all ſaued in the Boate. They were eighteene men, and went aſhoare vpon the North ſhoare, and went a dayes iourney into the Land, where they met with the *Sauage* people, theſe people are no man-eaters, but take all the *Chriſtians* that they can, and make them there ſlaues, but the *Engliſhmen* fought with them, and the *Sauages* ſlue fiue *Engliſhmen*, and tooke the other thirteene aliue, which were with the *Sauages* about fifteene monethes.

Richard Faire-weather.

But the Maſter of the Pinnaſſe, which was *Richard Faireweather*, beeing not able to indure this miſery that hee was in, and hauing knowledge that there was a Towne of *Chriſtians* on the other ſide of the Riuer, he in the night called *Iohn Drake*, and another young man which was with them, and tooke a Canoa which was very little, and had but two Oares, and ſo paſſed to the other ſide of the Riuer, which is aboue nine leagues broad, and were three dayes before they could get ouer, and in this time they had no meate, and comming to land, they hit vpon a high way that went towards the *Chriſtians* and ſeeing the footing of Horſes, they follow it, and at laſt came to a Houſe where as there was Corne ſowed, and there they met with *Indians* which were Seruants vnto the *Spaniards*, which gaue them to eate, and clothes to couer them, for they were all naked; and one of the *Indians* went to the Towne, and told them of the *Engliſhmen*, ſo

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the Captaine ſent foure Horſemen, which brought them to the Towne behind them, then the Captayne clothed them, and prouided for them lodging, and *Iohn Drake* ſate at the Captaines Table, and ſo intreated them very well, thinking to ſend them for *Spaine*. But the Vice-roy of *Peru* hearing of this, ſent for them, ſo they ſent him *Iohn Drake*, but the other two they kept, becauſe that they were married in the Countrey. Thus I know no more of their affaires. But vpon this newes, there were prepared fiftie Horſemen to goe ouer the Riuer, to ſeeke the reſt of the *Engliſhmen* and *Spaniards*, that were alſo among theſe *Sauage* people, but I am not certaine where they went forward or not.

But now let vs returne to *Diego Flores*, who paſſed from the Iland of *Santa Catalina*, towards the Straits in the middle of February, and comming in the height of the Riuer of *Plate*, hee ſent the Gouernour of *Chili*, with three ſhips vp the Riuer *Bonas Ayres*, and ſo to go ouer land to *Chili*. Of theſe three ſhips they loſt two, but ſaued the men and the other prouiſion, and the third returned for *Spaine*. Then *Diego Flores* with the other ſeuen ſhips came as high as fiftie two degrees, which is the mouth of the Straits, and becauſe it was the end of March, which is the latter end of Summer, ſo that the Countrey was full of ſnow, and withall a ſudden ſtorme came, that he could not ſee *Sarmiento* and his men aſhoare, but returned the ſecond time to the Coaſt of *Braſill*, to the Riuer of *Ienero*, where he heard newes of the *Engliſh* ſhips, by the two ſhips that eſcaped from the *Engliſhmen*, whereupon hee left his Lieutenant *Diego de Ribera*, and *Sarmiento*, that they might the next yeere returne for the Straits. So *Diego de Flores* with foure ſhips which hee had left, and other foure which the King had ſent to ſuccour him, went all along the Coaſt to ſeeke for the *Engliſhmen*, but could not find them, for they were gone directly for *England*, ſo he went vnto a Port called *Paraina*, where he found fiue *French* ſhips, and burnt three, and tooke two, and alſo the Fort that the *Frenchmen* had, and put in *Spaniards*, and the *Frenchmen* runne into the Mountaynes to the *Sauages*, this done, he returned for *Spaine*. And his Lieutenant *Diego de Ribera*, and *Sarmiento* had the next yeere ſuch good fortune, that they arriued ſafely into the Straits with all their ſhips, and ſo ſet aſhore foure hundred men, and becauſe the ſhips Boat could not land being once laden, the ſhip that had all the victuals and munition, that ſhip they runne aſhoare in a Bay, and as the water did ebbe they tooke all things out of her, this beeing done, *Diego de Ribera* left *Sarmiento* with foure hundred men, thirtie women, and a ſhip with victuals for eight moneths, and with the other three returned, being in the Straits but eight dayes.

Bonas Ayres.

Paraina.

Now *Pedro Sarmiento* made a Towne at the mouth of the Straits on the Northſide, and put therein a hundred and fiftie men, and from hence hee went by Land, and ſent the ſhip further into the Straits, and fiftie leagues within the Straits at the narroweſt place of all, where is a very good Port, here he made another Towne, which he named the Towne of King *Philip*, and alſo would haue made a Fort, and planted Ordnance for the defence of the Straits, but the Snow and the Winter was ſo great, that hee could not proceed in it; but hee tooke aboue fiue and twentie Mariners into the ſhip with him, and ſaid, hee would goe ſee how the other people did, and ſo came to the Straits mouth to the Towne, and after hee had beene there a day or two with them, he ſaid, that a ſtorme put him from the Straits by force, and broke his Cables (but his men ſaid to the contrary, that he himſelfe cut his Cables; God knoweth the truth) and ſo he came to the Riuer of *Ienero*: and not finding any ſuccour there came from the King, hee went to *Fernambocke*, asking aide of the Captaine for victuals, the Captaine incontinent, laded his ſhip with victuals and clothes for the men, ſo that hauing theſe things, hee tooke his way for the Straites, but betweene the Cape of Saint *Auguſtine*, and the *Baya*, the wind came out of the Sea, with ſuch violence, that it forced the ſhip to runne aſhore, where *Sarmiento* had three of his men drowned, and he with the reſt hardly eſcaped; the ſhip was loſt, and all that was in her. And then he came by Land to the *Baya*, and the Gouernour of *Braſill*, bought a Barke that was there in the Harbour, and lading her with victuals and clothes for the men, hee hauing this prouiſion, with diuers other more that were needfull for his men, he tooke his Voyage for the Straits, and comming as high as fortie foure degrees, he met with a ſudden ſtorme, and was forced to throw all ouer-boord that he carried, and was yet in the end compelled to returne for the Riuer of *Ienero*: where hee ſtayed for ſuccour from the King a whole yeere; but there came not ſo much as a Letter for him, for the King was ſore grieued at *Pedro Sarmiento*, becauſe he told him that in the narroweſt place of the Straits it was but a mile ouer, but *Diego de Ribera* and others told the King that it was aboue a league broad, that if a ſhip came with wind and current, all the Ordnance in the World could not hurt them, whereby the King thought that *Pedro Sarmiento* had deceiued him, in making him to loſe ſo many men, and to be at ſo great a charges to no effect. Alſo the Gouernour of *Baya*, ſeeing the King wrote not to him, would giue *Sarmiento* no more ſuccour, wherefore *Sarmiento* went in his ſhip for *Spaine*, which he came laſt in from the Straits, and it is ſaid, that he was taken by *Engliſhmen*, and ſo carried for *England*. It is reported that this *Sarmiento* is the beſt Mariner in all *Spaine*, and hath ſayled farthеſt. After all this, the Captaine of the Riuer *Ienero*, ſent a ſmall ſhip with victuals for the Straits, but was alſo put backe in fortie degrees. This is all the Diſcouery that hath beene of the Straits of *Magelanes*, as well by the *Spaniards*, as other Nations, vnto this yeere 1586. It is foure yeeres ſince theſe poore and miſerable *Spaniards* were left

Pedro Sarmiento builded within the Straits.

Two townes in the Straits, *Nombre de Ieſus* and *Philips* Citie.

Sarmiento was taken by Sir *W. Raleighs* Barke.

This diſcourſe was written 1586.

1583.

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in the Straits, from which time there hath no succour gone vnto them, so God he knoweth whether they be dead or aliue.

The Land that lieth from the Straits to the Coast of *Chili*, no man hath trauelled it by land, because of the great Mountaines of Snow that lye in that Countrey, as also I may well say, that it hath not often beene done by Sea, for that all the ships that haue passed that way, haue at the least gone thirtie leagues of the shore, because of the shoalds, and many little Ilands that lie of the mayne land, and therefore there is nothing knowne what is in that Countrey. The first Inhabitance that you haue after you passe the Straits, is on the Coast of *Chili*, and is called *Castro*, it is the worst place of all the Coast, for that in it there is small store of Gold, and little victuall, and very cold; this place is compassed with many shoalds, so that it is a Port but for small Barkes. The next to this is *Baldiuia*, but before I passe any further, I will declare vnto you the situation of *Chili*.

Castro.

Baldiuia.

Chili.

This Coast lieth North and South, and is in length aboue a hundred leagues; and it is not in breadth aboue fiue and twentie leagues at the most, there runne from the great Mountaines into the Sea great store of Riuers, which maketh many Valleyes, and is the fruitfullest land in the World, for that it hath bread, wine, and other victuals great store. These Riuers bee very rich of Gold, and for to shew you in few words all that this Prouince hath: I say, that this land lacketh nothing, but might be called Paradise, but for that it lacketh only one thing, and that is peace. This land was first discouered in this order, after the *Spaniards* had conquered the Kingdome of *Peru*, as hereafter I will shew vnto you, they found in this Kingdome of *Peru* great store of Gold, and asking the *Indians* from whence it came, they answered from *Chili*, wherefore *Don Diego de Almagro*, which was one of the Captaines that conquered *Peru*, went vpon this newes toward *Chili* with three hundred Horsemen. Now he must go round about the Mountains of Snow, which way the *Indians* that were his guides, did carrie this Captaine, because they should die all of cold. Yet the *Spaniards*, although they lost some of their Horses, came to the first Inhabitance of *Chili*, called *Copiapo*: which is the first plain land in the entring of the Prouince, but from hence he returned backe againe for *Peru*, because he had newes that the *Indians* had risen against the *Spaniards*, & enclosed them, vpon which newes he returned without going any further into the Countrey. Now this Captayne *Don Diego de Almagro*, being slaine in the Warres of *Peru*, after his death, another Captayne called *Don Pedro de Baldiuia*, with foure hundred Horsemen went vnto *Chili*, and with small labour he ouercame halfe the Countrey, which were subiect to the Kings of *Peru*, for they of *Chili*, knowing that *Peru* was ouercome by the *Spaniards*, they straight way yeelded the Land vnto the *Spaniards*, but the other halfe, which was the richest, and the fruitfullest part, so had God made the men the valiants and most furious that shall be found among all the *Sauage* people in the whole Land.

How *Chili* was first discouered

Copiapo.

Pedro de Valdiuia.

El Estado de Arauco.

The Prouince which they inhabit, called *El Estado de Arauco*, is but a small Prouince, aboue twentie leagues in length, and is gouerned by ten principall men of the Countrey, out of which ten they choose the valiantest man for their Generall in the Warres. The Kings of *Peru* in times past could neuer conquer this part of *Chili*, nor yet any other Kings of the *Indians*. The weapons vsed by these people of *Arauco* are long Pikes, Halberds, Bowes and Arrowes: they also make them lacks of Seale-skinnes, and Head-pieces: in times past the heads of their Halberds and Pikes were of Brasse, but now they haue gotten store of Iron. They pitch their battels in manner like the *Christians*: for putting their Pikemen in rankes, they place Bowmen among them, and marshall their troupes with discretion and great valour. Now the *Spaniards* comming vnto this Prouince, sent word vnto them by other *Indians*, saying, that they were the children of God, and came to teach them the Word of God, and that therefore they ought to yeeld themselues vnto them; if not, they would shoot fire among them and burne them. These people not fearing the great words of the *Spaniards*, but desiring to see that which they had heard reported, met them in the field, and fought a most cruell battell: but by reason of the *Spaniards* great Ordnance and Caleeuers, they were in the end put to flight. Now these *Indians* thinking verily that the *Spaniards* were the children of God, because of their great Ordnance which made such a noise, and breathed out such flames of fire, yeelded themselues vnto them. So the *Spaniards* hauing diuided this Prouince, made the *Indians* to serue their turnes; for getting of Gold out of the Mynes, which they enioyed in such abundance, that he which had least had twentie thousand Pezos, but Captaine *Baldiuia* himselfe had three hundred thousand Pezos by the yeere. The fame of these riches in the end was spred as farre as *Spaine*; from whence soone after resorted many *Spaniards* to the land of *Chili*, whom Captaine *Baldiuia* caused to inhabit sixe Townes: to wit, *Villa nueua de la Serena*, called in the *Indian* Tongue *Coquimbo*; the second *Sant Iago*, which the *Indians* call *Mapocha*; the third, *La Conception*, called by the *Indians Penco*; the fourth, *La Imperial*; the fift, *Baldiuia*; and the sixt, *La Villa Rica*. Also he built a Fort in the middle of all the land, wherein he put Ordnance and Souldiers: howbeit all this their good successe continued not long: for the *Indians*, in short time perceiuing that the *Spaniards* were but mortall men as well as they, determined to rebell against them: wherefore the first thing that they did, they carried grasse into the said Fort for the *Spaniards* Horses, and wood also for them to burne, among which grasse the *Indians*

Villa nueua de la Serena, La Conception, Sant Iago, La Imperial, Baldiuia, La Villa Rica, the first sixe Townes that were inhabited in *Chili*.

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diens conueyed Bowes and Arrowes, with great Clubs. This done, fiftie of the *Indians* entred the Fort, betooke themselues to their Bowes, Arrows and Clubs, and stood in the gate of the said Fort: from whence making a signe vnto other of their Nation for helpe, they wanne the Fort, and slue all the *Spaniards*. The newes of this ouerthrow comming to the Towne of *Conception*, where Captaine *Baldivia* was, he presently set forth with two hundred Horsemen, to seeke the *Indians*; taking no more men with him, because hee was in haste. And in a Plaine hee met the *Indians*; who comming of purpose also to seeke him, and compassing him about, slue most part of his companie, the rest escaping by the swiftnesse of their Horses: but *Baldivia* hauing his Horse slaine vnder him was taken aliue. Whom the *Indians* wished to be of good courage, and to feare nothing; for the cause (said they) why wee haue taken you, is to giue you Gold enough. And hauing made a great banquet for him, the last seruice of all was a Cup full of melted Gold, which the *Indians* forced him to drinke, saying, *Now glut thy selfe with Gold:* and so they killed him. This *Baldivia* was a most valiant man, who had beene an old Souldier in the Warres of *Italie*, and at the sacking of *Rome*.

A stratagem of the *Indians* of *Chili*, against the *Spaniards*.

The death of *Baldivia*.

Vpon this discomfiture the *Spaniards* chose for their Captaine, one *Pedro de Villa grande*; who assembling all the *Spaniards* in *Chili*, and taking with him ten pieces of Ordnance, marched against those *Indians*; but with so bad successe, that hee lost not onely the field, and many of his men, but also those ten Peeces of Ordnance which he brought. The *Indians* hauing thus gotten the victorie, went straightway against the Towne of *Concepcion*, from whence the *Spaniards* fled for feare, and left the Towne desolate. And in this manner were the *Spaniards* chased by the *Indians* out of the Countrie of *Arauco*. But newes hereof being brought to the Marquesse of *Cannete*, Vice-roy of *Peru*, he sent his sonne *Don Garcia de Mendoza*, against those *Indians*, with a great power of Horsemen, and Footmen, and store of Artilerie. This Nobleman hauing subdued *Chili* againe, and slaine in diuers battels aboue fortie thousand *Indians*, and brought them the second time vnder the *Spaniards* subiection, newly erected the said Fort, that stood in the midst of the Land, inhabited the Towne of *Concepcion* againe, and built other Townes for the *Spaniards*: and so leauing the Land in peace, he returned for *Peru*. But ere he was cleane departed out of the land, the *Indians* rebelled again, but could not do so much mischiefe as they did before, because the *Spaniards* tooke better heed vnto them. From that time vntil this present, there hath beene no peace at all: for notwithstanding many Captianes and Souldiers haue done their vttermost, yet can they not bring that People wholly in subiection. And although the *Spaniards* haue in this Prouince eleuen Townes and two Bishoprikes, yet haue they little enough to maintayne themselues, by reason of the Warres; for they spend all the Gold that the Land yeeldeth in the maintenance of their Souldiers: which would not bee so, if they had peace; for then they might worke in all their Mines.

Pedro de Villa grande.

Don Garcia de Mendoza.

11. Towns, and 2. Bishoprikes in *Chili*.

Thus hauing spoken somwhat of the situation of *Chili*, and of the troublesome conquest thereof, I will returne to my former discourse where I left; *Baldivia* therefore being of 150. houses, hath twice beene burnt and spoyled by the *Indians*; so that now it is waxen poore, but before the *Indians* sacked it, it was very rich: and it standeth vp a Riuer foure leagues from the Sea. Passing from hence you come to the plaine Countrie of *Arauco*, being situate ouer against the Iland *La Mocha*, on which Iland the *Indians* that inhabite belong to the maine Land.

A description of the Townes of *Chili*. *Baldivia*. The Prouince of *Arauco*, ouer against the Iland *La Mocha*, situate in 38. degrees and a halfe.

Hauing passed this Plaine of *Arauco*, the next Towne of the *Spaniards* that you come vnto, is *La Concepcion* which hath beene the greatest and the richest Towne in all *Chili*; but by reason that the *Indians* haue burned the same foure times, it is now growne very poore, and hath small store of people: it containeth about some two hundred houses. And because it adioyneth vpon the Plaine of *Arauco*, where these valiant *Indians* bee, therefore this Towne is enuironed about with a strong wall, and hath a Fort built hard by it: and here are fiue hundred Souldiers continually in Garrison. Betweene this place and *Valparizo*, the *Indians* call the Coast by the name of *Mapocha*. *Sant Iago* it selfe standing fiue and twentie leagues vp into the Countrie, is the principall Towne of all *Chili*, and the seat of the Gouernour; it consisteth of about eight hundred houses. The Port of *Valparizo* whither the goods come from *Lima* by shipping, hath about twentie houses standing by it. The next Towne neere the Sea side beyond this is *Coquimbo*, which standeth two leagues vp into the Land, and containeth aboue two hundred houses. Next vnto *Coquimbo* standeth a Port-towne, called *Copiapo*, inhabited altogether by *Indians* which serue the *Spaniards*: and here a Gentleman which is Gouernour of the Towne hath an *Ingenio* for Sugar: at this place endeth the whole Prouince of *Chili*. Here also the Mountaines ioyning hard vpon the Sea, are the cause why all the Land betweene *Copiapo* and *Peru*, containing one hundred and sixtie leagues, lieth desolate.

La Concepcion.

Valparizo, which is the Port of *S. Iago* standeth in 33. degr. 40 min. *Coquimbo* standeth in 29. deg. 30. min. *Copiapo.*

The first Towne on the Coast of *Peru*, called *Atacama*, is inhabited by *Indians* which are slaues vnto the *Spaniards*. But before I passe any further I will here also declare vnto you the first Discouerie of *Peru*, with other matters thereto belonging, and then will I returne to the Sea-coast againe: and to the end you may vnderstand me the better, I will beginne with *Panama*. After that the *Spaniards* had inhabited the North side of this mayne Land, passing ouer the Mountains they discouered the South Sea: where because they found *Indian* people with Gold and Pearles,

A description of *Peru*.

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they built a Towne eighteene leagues to the West of *Nombre de Dios*, hard vpon the Sea side, and called it *Panama*. From hence they discouered along the Coast of *Nueua Espanna*: and for that *Nueua Espanna* was at the same time inhabited by *Spaniards*, there beganne a trade from thence to *Panama*: but from *Panama* by Sea to the Coast of *Peru* they could not trade in a long time, because of the Southerly windes blowing on this Coast almost all the yeere long, which are a hinderance to ships sayling that way: and by Land the passage was impossible, in regard of Mountaines and Riuers: Yea it was fifteene yeeres before they passed the Iland of *Puna*, which is but twentie leagues from *Panama*. There were at this time in *Panama* two men, the one called *Francisco Pizarro*, borne in the Citie of *Truxillo* in *Spaine*, a valiant man, but withall poore; the other, called *Diego de Almagro*, was very rich. These men got a companie vnto them, and prouided two Caruels to discouer the Coast of *Peru*: and hauing obtayned licence of the Gouernour of that place, *Francisco Pizarro* set forth with the two foresaid Caruels, and an hundred men; and *Diego de Almagro* stayed in *Panama*, to send him Victuals and other necessaries. Now *Francisco Pizarro* sayling along the Coast, met with contrary windes and raine, which put him to great trouble; and hee began also after a while to lacke victuals, for hee was sayling of that in eight moneths, which they now passe in fifteene dayes, and not knowing the right course, hee ranne into euery Riuer and Bay that hee saw along the Coast; which was the chiefe cause that he stayed so long on his Voyage: also thirtie of his companie died by reason of the vnhealthfulnesse of the coast. At last he came to an Iland called by him *Isla del Gallo*, being situate from the maine Land sixe leagues. From hence he sent one of his ships to *Panama*, for a new supplie of victuals, and of men: which ship being departed, fortie of his men that remayned behinde made a mutinie, and passed vp into the Countrie, meaning to returne by Land to *Panama*, but in the way they all perished, for they were neuer heard of vntill this day. So that *Francisco Pizarro* was left vpon the said Iland onely with thirteene men: who although hee had his ship there, in which he might haue returned, yet would hee rather die then goe backe; and his thirteene men also were of his opinion, notwithstanding that they had no other victuals, but such as they had from the maine Land in the night season. Thus hee continued nine moneths, before any succour was brought him from *Panama*: but in the end his ship returned with fortie men onely, and victuals; whereupon hee prosecuted his Voyage, till hee came to the first plaine Countrie of *Peru*, called *Tumbez*, where hee found a Fort, made by the King of *Peru*, against the *Indians* of the Mountaines. Wherefore *Pizarro*, and his men were very glad, in that they had found a People of so good vnderstanding and discretion, being rich also in Gold, and Siluer, and well apparelled. At this Port of *Tumbez*, hee tooke thirtie thousand Pezos of Gold in trucke of Merchandise, and hauing two few men to proceed any further, he carried two *Indians* with him, to learne the Language, and returned backe for *Panama*. Vpon this Discouerie, *Francisco Pizarro* thought it expedient to trauell into *Spaine*, to craue of the King the Conquest of this Land. Whither being come, the King granted his request. And with the money which he carried ouer with him, he hired a great number of men, with a Fleet of shippes, and brought also along with him foure of his Brethren, very valiant and hardy men. And being come to *Panama*, he straightway went on his Voyage for *Peru*, being accompanied with his Partner *Diego de Almagro*. They sayled first to the Iland called *Isla de Gallo*; where *Francisco Pizarro* and his Brethren went on Land, and left *Diego de Almagro* in the ships. And the whole number which afterward landed on the mayne Land were sixtie Horsemen, and one hundred and twentie Footmen, with two great Field-peeces.

Isla del Gallo.

Tumbez.

The Riuer of *Peru.*

But before we proceed any further, wee thinke it not amisse to describe vnto you the situation of *Peru*, and the naturall disposition of the Inhabitants: This Countrie was called *Peru*, by the *Spaniards*, of a Riuer so named by the *Indians*, where they first came to the sight of Gold. From which Riuer standing vnder the Line, till you come to *Copiapo*, the first Towne on the Coast of *Chili*, stretcheth the Land of *Peru*, for the space of eight hundred leagues: vpon sixe hundred whereof, from *Atacama* to *Tumbez*, did neuer drop of raine fall, since the Floud of *Noah*: and yet is it the fruitfullest Land for all kinde of victuals, and other necessaries for the sustentation of mans life, that is to bee found in all the world besides. The reason why it raineth not in this Land, is because it being a plaine Countrie, and very narrow, and lowe, situate betweene the Equinoctiall and the Tropike of *Capricorne*, there runneth on the West frontier, not aboue twenty leagues from the Sea called *Mar del Sur*, Eastward thereof, a mightie ridge of high Mountaines couered with snowe; the height of which Mountaines so draweth the moisture of the cloudes vnto it selfe, that no raine falleth vpon the Vallies of *Peru*. From these Mountains issue great store of Riuers into the South Sea, with the waters whereof drawn by certaine sluces and chanels, they moisten their Vine-yards and Corne-fields, and by this meanes the Land is so exceeding fruitfull. Betweene these Mountaines and the Mountaines of *Chili*, that stretch vnto the Straites of *Magellan*, lieth a Plaine of sixtie leagues ouer, being so cold, that it yeeldeth no Wheat, but good store of other victuals. This Countrie of *Peru* is full of people well apparelled, and of ciuill behauiour. It hath many mines of God, and more of Siluer, as also great store of Copper, and Tinne-mines, with abundance of Saltpeter, and of Brimstone to make Gun-powder. There are like-

The cause why it raineth not in *Peru.*

Gold, Siluer, Copper, Tin, Saltpeter and Brimstone.

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likewise Cattell of all sorts, among which there is a beast, in shape somewhat resembling a Camell, but no bigger then a Steere of a yeere old; they serue to carrie burdens, their flesh being good to eate, and their wooll apt for many purposes. This beast is accounted the most profitable of all others, for the vse of man: howbeit the *Spaniards* since their first comming haue replenished this Countrie with Horses, Kine, Sheep and Goats, and likewise with plenty of Wheat. So that in few words, this Land hath abundance of riches and victuals, and is the healthfullest place in the world. There were in times past Kings of this Land which were mighty Monarchs, whose Dominions stretched twelue hundred leagues; and their Lawes were very ciuill, saue that they were worshippers of the Sunne. At what time the *Spaniards* first entred this Land, there were two Brethren of the bloud Royall, which strout who should haue the Kingdome, the one called *Mango Inga*, and the other, *Atabalipa*. Now *Mango* had possession of all the Mountaines and the Land within them: and *Atabalipa* was Lord of all the Sea-coast, and of the Vallies situate between the said Mountaines and the Sea. The *Indians* seeing the *Spaniards* at the first arriue vpon their shoare, called them *Viracochæ*, which in their Language signifieth, *The foame of the Sea*: Also *Atabalipa* the *Indian* Prince sent vnto them to know what they did in his Land, and what they sought for: the *Spaniards* made answer, that they were the messengers of a great Lord, and that they came to speake with the Prince himselfe: who sent them word, that they should come with a very good-will, and so *Atabalipa* stayed for them at a Citie called *Caxamalca*, being thirtie leagues distant from the Sea side. Whither being come, they found the *Indian* Prince sitting in a Chariot of Gold, carried vpon mens shoulders, and accompanied with aboue sixtie thousand *Indians* all ready armed for the warres. Then the *Spaniards* told them that they were sent from an Emperour (vnto whom the Pope had giuen all that Land) to conuert them vnto the *Christian* Faith. Whereunto *Atabalipa* answered, that he would gladly be friends with the Emperour, because he was so great a Monarch, but in no case with the Pope, because he gaue to another that which was none of his owne.

The sheepe of *Peru*, called *Llamas*.

Atabalipa and *Mango*, by others called *Gaspar*, ill strue.

Now while they were thus in talke, the *Spaniards* discharging their two Field-peeces, and their Caliuers, set vpon the *Indians*, crying, *Sant Iago*. The *Indians* hearing the noise of the Ordnance, and small shot, and seeing the fire, thought that flames of fire had beene come downe from Heauen vpon them; whereupon they fled, and left their Prince as a bootie for the *Spaniards*. Whom they at the first intreated very gently, willing him not to feare, for that their comming was onely to seeke for Gold and Siluer. During the time of *Atabalipas* imprisonment, his Captaines had slaine his Brother *Mango*, and had subdued all the Mountaines, and plaine Countries. Vpon which newes *Atabalipa* told the *Spaniards*, that if they would release him, hee would giue them all that they should demand. This communication hauing continued a whole day, at length a Souldier named *Soto* said vnto *Atabalipa*; what wilt thou giue vs to set thee free? The Prince answered, I will giue whatsoeuer you will demand. Whereto the Souldier replied, Thou shalt giue vs this house full of Gold and Siluer, thus high, lifting vp his sword, and making a stroke vpon the wall. And *Atabalipa* said, that if they would grant him respite to send into his Kingdome, he would fulfill their demand. Whereat the *Spaniards* much marueling, gaue him three moneths time, but hee had filled the house in two moneths and an halfe; a matter scarce credible, yet most true: for I know aboue twentie men that were there at that time, who all affirme, that it was aboue ten millions of Gold and Siluer. Howbeit, for all this, they let not the Prince goe, but thought that in killing of him they should become Lords of the whole Land, and so the *Spaniards* on a night strangled him. But God the righteous Iudge seeing this villanous act, suffered none of those *Spaniards* to die by the course of nature, but brought them to euill and shamefull ends.

Vpon the newes of these great riches, there came store of people out of *Spaine*, and inhabited many places in this Countrie. The King in recompence of the good seruices of the two foresaid partners, appointed *Diego de Almagro* Gouernour of halfe the Land, and *Francisco Pizarro* of the other halfe, whom also he made a Marquesse. But these two consorts in parting of a Land belonging vnto other men, fell at variance and sharpe warre betweene themselues: and at length *Pizarro* hauing slaine *Almagro*, got all the Land into his owne hands. Howbeit, this prosperitie of *Pizarro* continued not long: for a bastard-sonne of *Diego de Almagro*, to bee reuenged of his fathers death, slue *Pizarro*, for which act he lost his head. In this controuersie betweene these two partners were slaine, also two brothers of *Pizarro*, and the third was carried prisoner into *Spaine*, and there died in Prison: but the fourth, called *Gonsalus Pizarro*, rebelled with the whole Countrie, and became a cruell Tyrant, vanquishing many of the Emperours Captaines in battell, and possessing the Countrie in peace for two yeeres: howbeit, being in the end ouercome, hee lost his head like a *Traitour*. And thus died they all an euill death, that were causes of the death of that innocent King *Atabalipa*. And yet there are mutinies raised oftentimes by the *Spaniards*, but the *Indians* neuer rebelled, after they had once peace granted vnto them. The *Indian* people of this Land, are parted among the *Spaniards*, some being slaues vnto the Gentlemen that conquered their Land, other some to others, and the residue to the King: and these *Indians* pay each man for his tribute seuen Pezos of fine Gold, which is about ten Ducats and an halfe. There

are

Nine Bishopricks, and one archbishoprick in *Peru.*

are in this Countrie aboue fortie Cities and Townes inhabited by the *Spaniards*: also they haue here erected nine Bishopricks and one Archbishopricke.

Now after this Countrie was fully conquered and brought in good order, certaine *Spaniards* being desirous to discouer the land on the other side of the snowie Mountaines, found a very wholesome Countrie, and there inhabited. The said Prouince situate behinde the Mountaines is called *The Prouince of Tucuman*, wherein are fiue townes inhabited by the *Spaniards*, the last of them called *Cordoua*, from which towne vnto *Santa Fee* situate vpon the Riuer of *Plate* it is seuentie leagues. This towne of *Santa Fee* was built in that place, to seeke a way to *Peru* by the Riuer of *Plate*. And from hence downe the said Riuer to *Buenos Ayres* are 120. leagues, and from *Buenos Ayres* vnto *Seal-island* you haue 40. leagues.

The Prouince of *Tucuman.*

Cordoua.

Atacama.

Now hauing put down all that I know concerning the Countrie of *Peru*, and of the way from the Riuer of *Plate* vnto *Tucuman*, I will returne vnto *Atacama* the Southermost town vpon the coast of *Peru*, where I left. From this towne of *Atacama* till you come to *Arica*, all the coast is inhabited by *Indians* subiect vnto the *Spaniards*. But since Captain *Drake* was here, they haue built Towers by the Sea side, whereon, seeing any saile that they doe mistrust, they presently make smoakes, and so from Tower to Tower they warne all the Countrey. Hauing before spoken of *Arica* all that I can, I will now proceede to the next Port called *Camana* being a Towne of *Spaniards*, and containing about two hundred houses. Here they make store of Wine, and haue abundance of Figges and Reisins. The next Towne called *Acari* containeth about three hundred houses, and here is made the best and greatest store of Wine in all *Peru*. From hence passing along the coast you come to *El Calao* the Port of *Lima* consisting of about two hundred houses: and here was a strong Fort built since Captaine *Drake* was vpon the coast. The Citie of *Lima* standing two leagues within the land, and containing two thousand houses, is very rich, and of more trade then all the Cities of *Peru* besides; and this Citie is the seate of the Viceroy, the Archbishop and the Inquisition.

Camana.

Acari.

Al Calao.

Lima.

Next vnto this standeth a small towne of the *Spaniards* by the Sea side called *Santa*: and next vnto *Santa* is another small towne of *Christians* called *Cannete*. From hence they saile vnto a rich Citie called *Truxillo*, being one of the principall townes of *Peru*, and containing about fiue hundred houses. Then followeth *Paita* which hath to the number of two hundred houses. Leauing this towne they passe to *Guaiaquil* which standeth fortie leagues vp into a great Bay or Riuer, at the entrance of which Riuer standeth *Tumbez*, a towne of the *Indians*. All this coast along from *Atacama* to *Tumbez* it neuer raineth, as I haue before said: so that all the houses in their townes are not tyled, but couered with boords to keepe off the heate of the Sunne, for they feare no raine at all. *Guaiaquil* is the first place where it raineth, and here they gather *Salsaperilla*. Here is also great store of timber, and at this place they build many Ships. Hence they saile along the coast to a small and poore towne called *Puerto Viejo*, which in times past hath beene rich with Emralds: but now since these stones in regard of their plenty are growne nothing worth, this towne likewise is waxen very poore. Below this Village standeth another called *La Buena Ventura*: but whosoeuer goe thither must needes meete with euill fortune, the place it selfe is so waterish and vnholesome. Here abide not aboue twentie men, who serue onely to transport goods into a Citie standing fiftie leagues within the maine, in a Prouince called *La gouernacion de Popaian*. From *Buena ventura* and *Popaian* till you come to *Panama* there is no other towne, by reason of the high Mountaines, the manifold Riuers, and the vnholesomenesse of the Countrie. In this place doe inhabit the *Negros* that run from their Masters, and vpon these Mountaines was *Oxenham* the *English* Captaine and his men taken, as is before mentioned. Beyond these Mountains standeth the Citie of *Panama*, being a rich place, by reason that all the treasure which commeth from *Peru* is brought thither, and it consisteth of about foure hundred houses. The coast running along betweene this Citie and *Nueua Espanna* is called *Costa rica*.

Santa.
Cannete.
Truxillo.
Paita.
Guaiaquil.
Tumbez.

Salsaperilla.

Ships built at *Guaiaquil.*

Puerto Viejo a place where Emralds abound.

La Buena ventura.

La gouernacion de Popaian.

Negros fled frō their Masters.

Panama.

Costa rica.

Next vnto *Costa rica*, which is a Mountainous and desolate place, lieth the coast of *Nicaragua*, being inhabited by the *Spaniards*, and hauing many good ports belonging to it, and is frequented with trade of Merchandize; but hauing no knowledge of the situation thereof, nor of the towns therein contained, I surcease to speake any more of it.

The Prouince of *Nicaragua.*

A certaine Viceroy of *Nueua Espanna* called *Don Luis de Velasco* caused certaine Ships to be built for the discouery of the *Malucos* and of the coast of *China*: which Ships in sailing thitherward from certaine Islands, eightie leagues distant from the maine land, which the *Spaniards*, according to the name of their King, called *The Philippinas*: and hauing conquered one of these Ilands called *Manilla*, inhabited with a barbarous kinde of people, they built a fort and a towne thereupon, from whence they haue trade with the people of *China*. Vnto these Islands they haue foure great Ships that vsually trade, two of them continually going, and two comming: so that such Spices and Silkes as the *Portugals* bring home out of the East *Indies*, the very same doe the *Spaniards* bring from these Ilands and from *China*, for *Mexico* the chiefe Citie of *Nueua Espanna*. The principall Port townes of the coast of *Nueua Espanna* are *Guatulco*, and *Acapulco*.

The discouery of the *Philippinas.*

The Isle of *Manilla.*

All the Viceroyes and Gouernours that the King of *Spaine* sendeth for *Peru* and *Nueua Espanna*

panna haue a custome, for the obtaining of his fauour, to seeke and discouer new Countries. But the greatest and most notable discouery that hath beene from those parts now of late, was that of the Isles of *Salomon*, which were found in manner following. The Licenciate *Castro* being gouernour of *Peru*, sent forth a Fleete of Ships to discouer certaine Islands in the South Sea, vpon the coast of *Peru*, appointing as Generall of the same Fleete a kinsman of his, called *Aluares de Mendanio*, and *Pedro Sarmiento* as Lieutenant, and in the Viceadmirall went *Pedro de Ortega*. This Fleete departing forth of the hauen of *Lima*, and sailing 800. leagues Westward off the coast of *Peru*, found certaine Islands in eleuen degrees to the South of the Equinoctiall, inhabited with a kinde of people of a yellowish complexion, and all naked, whose weapons are Bowes and Arrowes, and Darts. The Beasts that they saw here were Hogs and little Dogs, and they found some Hens. Here also they found a muster of Cloues, Ginger, and Sinamon, although the Sinamon were not of the best; and here appeared vnto them likewise some shew of Gold. The first Iland that the *Spaniards* discouered, they named *Santa Izabella*; and here they built a small Pinnace, with the which, and with their Ships Boate they found out betweene nine and fifteene degrees of Southerly laritude, eleuen great Islands, being one with another of eightie leagues in compasse. The greatest Island that they discouered was according vnto the first finder, called *Guadalcanal*, on the coast whereof they sailed 130. leagues, before they could know whether it were an Island or part of the maine land: and yet they know not perfectly what to make of it, but thinke that it may be part of that continent which stretcheth to the Streights of *Magellan*; for they coasted it to eighteene degrees, and could not finde the end thereof. The Gold that they found was vpon this Island, or maine land of *Guadalcanal*, whereas they landed and tooke a towne, finding small graines of Gold hanged vp in the houses thereof. But because the *Spaniards* vnderstood not the language of the Countrey, and also for that the *Indians* were very stout men, and fought continually against them, they could neuer learne from whence that Gold came, nor yet what store was in the Land.

The discouery of the Isles of *Salomon*.

Cloues, Ginget, and Sinamon.

The Isle of *Guadalcanal*.

These *Indians* vse to goe to Sea in great Canoas, that will carrie one hundred men a piece, wherein they haue many conflicts one against another: howbeit vnto the *Christians* they could doe no great hurt, for that with a small Pinnace and two Falcons a few may ouercome one hundred of them. At this place foureteene men mistrusting nothing, rowed to land, to take in fresh water, whom on the sodaine certaine *Indians* in foure Canoas set vpon, tooke the Ships Boate, and slew all the men therein: wherefore a man cannot goe on shore too strong, nor yet be too warie in a strange land. Hereupon the *Spaniards* went on shore in their Pinnace, and burnt the Towne, and in this towne they found the small graines of Gold before mentioned. They were discouering of these Islands from one to another about foureteene moneths, at the end of which time (because that vpon the coast where they were, the winde continuing still in one place, might be an occasion of longer tarrying) they consulted which way to returne. Southward they durst not goe for feare of great tempests which are that way vsuall: wherefore sayling to the North of the line, they fell with the coast of *Nueua Espanna*; on which coast they met with such terrible stormes, that they were forced to cut their maine masts ouer-boord, and to lye nine moneths beating it vp and downe in the Sea, before they could get into any harbour of the *Christians*. In which time, by reason of euill gouernment, and for lacke of victuall and fresh water, most of the men in their Admirall dyed; for fiue whole dayes together they had neither water nor meate; but in the other Ships they behaued themselues so well, that the greater part of them came safe vnto the land. He that passeth the Straits of *Magellan*: or saileth from the coast of *Chili* directly for the *Maluccos*, must needes runne in sight of some of these Islands before spoken of. At which Islands lying so conueniently in the way to the *Maluccos*, you may furnish your selfe with plenty of victuals, as Hogs, Hennes, excellent Almonds, Potatos, Sugar-canes, with diuers other sorts fit for the sustenance of man in great abundance. Also among these Islands you shall haue some quantity of Gold, which the *Indians* will giue you in trucke for other commodities. For the *Spaniards* in their discouery of these Islands, not seeking nor being desirous of Gold, brought home notwithstanding 40000. pezos with them, besides great store of Cloues and Ginger, and some Smamon also, which is not so good as in other places. The discouerer of these Islands named them the Isles of *Salomon*, to the end that the *Spaniards* supposing them to be those Isles from whence *Salomon* fetched Gold to adorne the Temple at *Ierusalem*, might be the more desirous to goe and inhabit the same. Now the same time when they thought to haue sent colonies vnto these Islands, Captaine *Drake* entered the South Sea; whereupon commandement was giuen, that they should not be inhabited, to the end that such *Englishmen*, and of other Nations as passed the Straits of *Magellan* to goe to the *Maluccos*, might haue no succour there, but such as they got of the *Indian* people.

A Towne burnt.

Abundance of good victuals vpon the Isles of *Salomon*.

A new rich trade for Gold, Cloues, Ginger, and Sinamon.

Why these Isles were called the Isles of *Salomon*.

CHAP. XII.

Briefe extracts tranſlated out of IEROM BENZOS, *three Bookes of the* New World, *touching the* Spaniards *cruell handling of the* Indians, *and the effects thereof.*

Ben. l. 1. c. 1. He ſerued 14. yeares in the *Spaniſh-Indian* expeditions.

ANno 1641. *Ierom Benzo* went from *Millaine* to *Siuill* in *Spaine*, and thence to the *New World*, where he was entertained of the *Spaniards*, and practiſed with them the huntings of the *Indians*; which they did by lurking in couerts, till ſome of the Natiues came within their reach; by bribing the *Cacikes* with trifles to procure captiues, and other meanes. *Peter Chalice* came while we were there to *Amaracan* with aboue 4000. ſlaues, and had brought many more, but with la- *c. 2.* bour, wearineſſe, hunger, and griefe, for loſſe of their Countrie and friends, many had periſhed *c. 3.* in the way. Many alſo not able to follow in the *Spaniards* ſwift march, were by them killed to preuent their taking armes. A miſerable ſpectacle to ſee thoſe troopes of ſlaues naked, with their bodies rent, maimed, ſtarued: the mothers dragging or carrying on their ſhoulders their *Indians ſpoiled.* children howling, the neckes of all, armes and hands chained; not any growne Maide amongſt them which the ſpoilers had not rauiſhed, with ſo profuſe luſt that thence grew contagion and pernicious diſeaſes. The *Spaniſh* horſemen in thoſe warres vſed quilted Iackes with Launces and Swords; the footemen, Sword, Shield, and Croſſe-bow, with lighter Iackes. The moiſture and great dewes made Peeces vnſeruiceable in thoſe parts.

c. 25. The Iſlanders in *Hiſpaniola* ſeeing no hope of better, or place for worſe, killed their children, and then hanged themſelues. The women by the iuice of a certaine hearbe cauſed abortions, that they might not procreate ſlaues to the *Spaniards*; others hanged themſelues, as their husbands had done: ſome threw themſelues from the tops of ſteepe hils, others into the Sea and Riuers; ſome ſtarued themſelues, and others with ſharpe ſtones ripped and rent out their entrals: ſo that of two millions there found at firſt, now ſcarſely one hundred and fiftie perſons remaine. Is this to conuert Sauages to the *Chriſtian* faith? The ſame altogether hath happened in *Cuba*, *Iamaica*, *Porto Ricco*, and other places. Yea whatſoeuer ſlaues haue beene after carried into the Iſlands, to preuent their deſolation, though in incredible multitudes, haue almoſt all periſhed with miſerie. Once, in whatſoeuer places the *Spaniards* haue diſplaied their colours, by their examples of crueltie, they haue left to the Natiues eternall monuments of implacable hatred.

l. 2. c. 1. After the natiue Iſlanders were killed with too much labour, the *Spaniards* procured ſlaues *Negro ſlaues ſucceede.* from *Guinnee* in great multitudes, and vſed their ſeruices in the Mines; which being exhauſt, they employed them in Sugar-mils, and in breeding of Cattell. Some of the *Spaniards* are ſo cruell, that if a ſlaue hath not brought his diarie or day-ſcot, or otherwiſe hath angred his imperi- *Law of Bayon diuelliſh deuiſe.* ous Maſter, he ſtrips him naked to cloath him with ſtripes (according to the *Law of Baian*, as they call it, deuiſed I thinke by ſome cruell Diuell) his hands and feete bound, and the proſtrate ſlaue tied to ſome croſſe timber, with a rod or roape he is beaten till the bloud iſſue from all parts: after which the Maſter droppeth ſcalding Pitch or Oyle ouer all that wretched corpes, and then waſhed with Pepper of the Countrie and Salt mingled with water, he lies on a boord in a ſheete or blanket till his Maſter thinkes him fit for labour. Others make a hole in the ground and there ſet him, his head onely excepted, all night long, which theſe Phiſitians doe to cleanſe and cure the vlcers of corrupt bloud. If any dye in theſe torments, his Maſter hath no other puniſhment but to pay the King another for him. Theſe cruelties cauſed the *Negroes* to flie and wander about, till gathering head together they grew dreadfull to the *Spaniſh* Ilanders, whom they (when they got any into their hands) repaied with like cruelties. Whiles I was in that Iland, their ar- *Armie of 7000 fugitiues.* mie was ſaid to containe 7000. men, inſomuch that the *Spaniards* feared to be driuen out by theſe *Moores* and *Negros*. And when as *An.* 1545. the Preſident *Ceratus* vrged *Ceſars* Edict for the *Indians* libertie, the Iland was almoſt brought to a deſert, not aboue 1100. *Spaniards* remaining therein: which (the ſtrangers increaſing) were in danger to looſe at once their life with the Iland. And the wonted meanes of getting wealth failing therein, few *Spaniards* are willing to ſtay there.

c. 9. *Nombre de Dios*, in regard of the heate and moiſture immoderate, is vnholeſome, as alſo for the *See Drakes and Oxenhams ſtories.* Weſterne Mariſh or Fenne, whence are frequent funerals of the inhabitants. Not farre from it to the Eaſt, ſome fugitiue *Negros* keepe in the woods, which haue ſlaine many *Spaniards*, and haue entred into league with the *Indians*, ſhooting likewiſe poiſoned Arrowes, and killing all the *c. 11.* *Spaniards* which they can get. *Gotierez* a *Spaniſh* Captaine going vp the Riuer of *Suera*, feaſted the *Cacikes* of *Suera* and *Chuppa*, and ſaid that he came thither to reduce them from their Idola- *Gotierez his conuerting of Indians.* try and the Diuels tyrannie, and to ſhew them the truth: namely, that *Ieſus Chriſt the Sonne of God came from heauen to redeeme mankinde: and that he had brought a Prieſt with him, for no other purpoſe but to inſtruct them in Chriſtianitie. Wherefore* (ſaid he) *prepare your ſelues to the obedience of*

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the Diuine Law, and to acknowledge the ſouereignitie of Charles *the fifth, Ceſar, King of Spaine, and Monarch of the whole world.* The *Indians* anſwered nothing, and returned home. The next day the Gouernour ſent for two other *Caciques* by a *Spaniard*, which truſting on his promiſe, came, and were bound in his Chamber with hard vſage. They had before giuen him 700. Duckets; now he picked a quarrell with them, and extorted from one 2000. Duckets, wrought in the formes of Tigres, Fiſhes, Birds, and other creatures: which the Gouernour ſeeing ſmaller then his expectation, cauſed a great fire to be kindled, and a cheſt to be brought forth, threatning to burne him, if in foure dayes he did not fill it with Gold ſix times; which hee promiſing to doe, found meanes to eſcape. Other *Caciker* of the Countrie hearing hereof, burned their houſes, cut downe their fruite trees and corne, and leauing a wilderneſſe to the *Spaniards*, fled to the Mountaines. The other *Cacike* yet in durance, hauing beene often threatned with death except hee brought the Gold demanded, the Gouernour commanded to be caſt to the Dogs: hee anſwered, that *hee could not but marueil at the Gouernours vanitie, which had ſo often threatned that which he had rather ſhould be performed, then to liue ſo miſerable a life; contrary to his expectation, which had voluntarily come to him vpon his promiſe.* Hee added, that *he marueiled much what kinde of creatures Chriſtians were, which executed ſuch miſchiefes whereſoeuer they came, and that the earth could longer beare and nouriſh ſuch cruell beaſts ſo patiently.* *Indian* magnanimitie.

But at laſt the Gouernour carried him priſoner in a miſerable expedition, where at a turning the Gouernour demanding of a captiue *Indian*, whether way would bring him to ſome *Indian* habitation, he anſwered, he could not tell; whereupon he commanded his *Negro* ſlaues to kill him, which was done. Then he demanded of the *Cacike*, and hauing like anſwer, gaue like ſentence. He preſently threw downe his burden, and prepared his head to the fatall ſtroke, with ſuch patience, that the Gouernour remitted it, and gaue him his life. Three ſtarued *Spaniards* were there left, and after killed by the *Indians*. The Gouernour commanded the Dogs to be killed for food, keeping the prouiſions left to himſelfe. I gaue my part to another, becauſe of the wormes therein; and went to the Gouernour, hoping to receiue ſomewhat of him, who ſent me to the roots of trees to feed thereon. Then ſaid another *Spaniard*; *Sir Gouernour, if wee may not ſhare together in good and bad fortune, warre you alone.* Hereupon hee diuided three pounds of Cheeſe into foure and thirtie parts amongſt vs. Two dayes after, the *Indians* ſuddenly ſet on vs, and ſlue the Gouernour as hee was doing his eaſement. I with anothers Helmet eſcaped that ſhowre of ſtones, wherewith it was then exceedingly battered; and the reſt being ſlaine, with two others fled thorow a troupe of *Indians* making way to the Hills top, where wee found the Prieſt, with two others which had eſcaped by flight in the beginning of the fight, and after that, foure and twentie others ioyned themſelues to vs. The *Indians* purſued vs, armed with our owne weapons, and dauncing about vs, cried in the *Spaniſh* tongue, *Here is Gold Chriſtian, here is Gold.* Two which had lurked in the Woods till the *Indians* were gone, told vs, that the *Indians* had carried away the head, hands and feet of the Gouernour, and of two *Negros*, the reſt being ſpoyled were throwne into the Riuer. If we had had but foure Horſes (theſe they feare more then all armes) they had neuer aduentured on vs. On foot the *Spaniards* are commonly ouercome by them. In the firſt *Mexican* expedition, they tooke the Horſe and Man to bee but one creature. Hungry March. *Indians* feare of Horſes.

That which hath carried the *Spaniards* into thoſe Prouinces, is onely couetouſneſſe, whatſoeuer profeſſion they pretend of *Chriſtian Faith*. Neither will any of them ſtay in any place where Gold is not found. *Antonius Sedegnus* died with thought after three yeeres trauell in *Paria* with ſeuen hundred men, not finding this golden Sun-ſhine, fiftie onely of his men returning. *Soto* ſpent in *Florida*, what he had gotten in *Peru*. He threatned fifteene *Caciker*, to burne them, except they brought him to the place whence they had their Gold. Theſe promiſed any thing to preuent preſent execution, and after twelue dayes wandring were ſent away with their hands cut off. When he told a *Cacike* which viſited him with a Preſent, that he was a *Chriſtian*, the ſonne of God, Creator of Heauen and Earth; and came thither to teach them the Diuine Law: *If thy God*, ſaid the *Cacike*, *bids thee robbe, kill, burne, and commit all miſchiefe, wee can neither beleeue Him, nor his Law.* *Soto* finding no Mine, died at laſt of the bloudy Fluxe. The like may be ſaid of *Naruaez*, twelue of whoſe companie fell mad with famine, and fell to biting and tearing each other. Of ſixe hundred which hee carried forth, ſcarcely ten returned, which at *Mexico* reported that with breathing they had cured the ſicke, and had raiſed three dead men to life. But I craue pardon of their holineſſe, and ſhall eaſier beleeue that they killed foure liuing men, then that they raiſed halfe a dead one. *Cortez* ſet forth by *Velaſquez* gaue him no accounts at all. *Peter Aluarado* left by *Cortez* at *Mexico*, fell vpon the *Indians* amidſt their dances, and ſlue them. And when *Cortez* had returned from the defeat of *Naruaez*, and beſieged *Mexico*, the *Mexicans* gathered all their Gold and Siluer, and threw it into the Lake, and by no torments could bee compelled to confeſſe where it was; although *Cortez* tortured the Kings Scribe to death, and put the King alſo to vaine tortures for that purpoſe. Some ſay that *Cortez* ſtrangled him. *Cap.* 13. Examples of couetouſneſſe. *Sedegnus* and his 700. men. *Sotos* acts in *Florida*. *Pam. Narua.* *Cortez* and *Aluarado*.

When I firſt trauelled in *Nicaragua*, I was entertained by a principall *Cacike* of thoſe parts, called *C.* 16.

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called *Gonzallus*, a man of seuentie yeeres of age, and well skilled in the *Spanish* Tongue. Hee one morning, I sitting neere him, fixed his eyes on my face, said, Christian, *what are* Christians? *they require Maiz, Honie, Silke, a Garment, an* Indian *Woman to lie with; they demand Gold, and Silver.* Christians *will not worke; they are Gamsters, Dicers, lewd and blasphemous. When they goe to Church to heare Masse, they back-bite the absent, and they strike and wound each other.* Hee concluded, that *Christians* were not good. I said, they were the bad, and not the good, which did such things: hee replied, *Where are those good? for I neuer yet saw any but bad.* I asked, why they suffered *Christians* to enter their borders. Hee answered, *Honest friend, thus it is: When the fame of the cruelty of* Christians, *which wheresoeuer they came, filled all with fire, sword and robbery, dispersed in these Prouinces, had comme vnto vs, and wee had heard that they would inuade vs, wee called a Councell, of all our friends, and generally decreed rather to die then to yeeld our selues subiects to the* Christians. *When they had entred our Borders, wee made head against them, but most of vs after long fight terrified by the Horses, fled. And wee sent two messengers to desire pardon, and peace; with no other purpose but to gaine time to re-enforce our strength. Wee carried them many presents, entertayned them with dances, and within three dayes fell on them againe, but with ill successe; we seeke peace againe, and after that by common consent decree rather to die then to serue the* Christians, *and to kill him whosoeuer shall flee from the battell. Thus wee take Armes. But our Wiues come weeping to vs, and beseech vs rather to serue the* Christians, *then to die shamefully: otherwise, to kill them first, with their children, that they may not after losse of their husbands, come into the power of those bearded and cruell men. These prayers and teares brake our hearts, and wee voluntarily submitted our persons and goods to the greedy* Christians. *Some yet, prouoked by wrongs, rebell; but were punished grieuously by the* Christians, *not sparing the very Infants. Others also which were innocent, were made slaues; and wee were then possessors neither of our wiues, nor children, nor any thing else. Many impatient hereof, killed their children, others hanged, and others famished themselues: till the King of* Castiles *Proclamation, by which wee were made free, made an end of those miseries.*

Indians conceit of *Christians.*

Cap. 18. The *Indians*, especially the sonnes of their *Cacikes* which can write and reade, confesse Gods Commandements good; but wonder that wee, of whom they haue them, doe not keepe them, and vse thus to say. *Ho sir* Christian, *God forbids to take his Name in vaine, and thou continually for euery cause, bee it neuer so light, sweerest and forswearest. God sayth, Thou shalt not beare false witnesse: but you* Christians *doe nothing but slander, and speake euill. God commands to loue your neighbours as your selues, and to forgiue one another: You oppresse the poore, are rigorous to your Debtors, and if there be any poore* Christians, *you giue them nothing, but send them for reliefe to our houses.* Some of them shewing a piece of Gold, will say, *Lo here the* Christians *God, for this they are comme hither, for this they haue subdued vs, and done so many mischiefes, for this they are neuer quiet, but dice, blaspheme, curse, quarell, steale, commit rapes, and doe what soeuer villanie and lust.*

Monkes and Friars. There are Monkes which perpetrate those things openly by day-light, which others would bee ashamed to doe by night. And a *Franciscan* publikly preached, that there was neither Priest, nor Monke, nor Bishop in *India*, worthie the name of a good man. For they all had giuen themselues to couetousnesse, and still went to the wealthie Countries, and auoided the poorer. For these words he was apprehended, and carried to *Guatimala*. I haue also heard Priests discoursing together, that they came out of *Spaine* into *India* for gaine, and nothing else. A *Cacikes* sonne, when hee was a childe of great towardnesse, proued afterwards very lewd; and being asked the reason, said, *Since I was made a* Christian, *I haue learned to sweare by the name of God, and by the Crosse, and by the words of the holy Gospell, and to blaspheme by the life of God; and I denie him, nor doe I beleeue. I haue further learned to play with the Die, and neuer to speake truth. I haue also got mee a Sword to make frayes, and now want nothing to liue like a* Christian, *but a Concubine, which I meane to bring home shortly.* I once reproued an *Indian*, for dicing and blasphemie: *Wee*, saith he, *learned these examples of your selues.* And the *Indians* which are so lewd, are such vsually as haue beene brought vp by some *Spaniards* which studie nothing else. These for the most part, are the Miracles which the *Spaniards* haue done amongst the *Indians*.

Span. Miracles.

Indian Christianitie. Many other *Indians* being demanded whether they bee *Christians*, answere, they are, because the Bishop hath crossed and blessed them, they haue built a Church, set vp there our Ladies Image, and gotten a Bell. I asked one whether he were a *Christian: What*, said he, *would you haue me bee a Bishops seruant ten or twelue yeeres, and keepe his Mule?* Others asked thereof, say, that a Priest washed their heads foure or fiue times, &c. Hee reciteth the Letter of *Didacus Lopez de Zuniga*, and other passages of *Spaniards* vices.

Lib. 3. *c.* 1. Triumuirate. In the third Booke *Benzo* relateth the Acts of the *Spaniards* in *Peru*. *Francis Pizarro*, *Diego Almagro*, and *Fernand Luques* a Priest, enter into a league of Triumuirate for the Southerne Discoueries, and therein to share equally, both the care, charge and gaine. They procure ships, and conuenient prouisions, and with two hundred and twentie Souldiers, *Pizarro* and *Almagro*, in the yeere 1526. one a little after the other, set sayle for *Panama*. *Pizarro* hauing sayled three hundred miles, goeth on land, and is repelled by the *Indians*, himselfe wounded, and many slaine. Hereupon he returneth to *Panama*. *Almagro* went vp a Riuer in another Region, and was kindly entertayned, and brought thence three thousand Duckets of Gold, with which in his re-

First Voyage.

turne

turne he came neere to the place where *Pizarro* had receiued his bad entertainment, and himselfe in fight with them lost one of his eyes, and many of his Souldiers. Being come to *Panama* with those showes of Gold, they redintegrate their designes, and with two hundred Souldiers, and many *Indian* slaues setting sayle, landed in another place, where they also were beaten backe to their ships, and many slaine. Thence they went to the Ile *Gorgon*, a small and desart Iland sixe leagues from the Continent. The Golden hopes would not permit them to giue ouer that which this strength could not enable them to winne, and therefore *Almagro* is sent to *Panama* to reenforce and encrease their numbers. Hee returned with eightie fiue *Spaniards*, and found *Pizarro*, and the rest almost starued. Being refreshed they set sayle, and againe landing were repelled with the losse of some Souldiers, and went to a desart Hand, which they called *Cocks-Iland*, for the shape of the Cape or Promontorie. *Almagro* againe returneth to *Panama* for more Souldiers to bee reuenged on these *Indians*. Most of the *Spaniards* cursing their couetousnesse, would haue returned with him, but were not permitted, no not to write to their friends; which yet some closely did complayning of the Countrie, the leaders and their designes. *Pedro de los Rios* was then newly Gouernour at *Panama*, and hearing hereof presently sent one to *Cocke-Iland*, to *Pizarro* that hee should not detayne any there against his will, whereupon they all saue fourteene departed. These liued on fish till *Almagro* came, who also could bring no supply by reason of the ill rumour.

Second Voyage.

I. Gorgon.

Third expedition.

Cock-Iland.

At last they agreed to sayle by the shoare, and search if any riches there presented themselues. They sayled fiue hundred miles, and came to *Chira*, a Prouince of *Peru*, and there going on shoare tooke some cattell, and *Indians* to learne the *Spanish* Tongue. Then returning to *Tumbez*, when no *Spaniard* had so much courage, *Peter* of *Candie* (a *Greeke* borne in *Candie*) aduentured to goe on shoare, which he did, armed with a two-hand Sword. This spectacle of a bearded man was no little wonder to the Natiues. The Gouernour vied him kindly, leading him into the Fortresse, wherein was a Temple to the Sunne, full of stupendious riches. At the gate hee found certaine beasts like Lions, and two Tigres, but harmlesse. And when the Gouernour would haue giuen him at his departure certaine pieces of Gold, hee seemed to contemne them vtterly, so to dissemble the true cause of his comming. Then comming aboord he related what hee had seene: and they with ioy returned to *Panama*.

Fourth expedition.

Peter of Candy.

Hereupon *Pizarro* is sent to *Spaine*, by *Almagro* and *Luquez*, to obtaine of *Cesar* the conquest of that Prouince, for which purpose they borrowed 1500. Duckets. He notwithstanding makes the sute in his owne name and accordingly obtayning commission, returned with his brethren *Fernandez*, *Gonzales*, *Iohn*, *Pizarri*, and *Martin de Alcantara*. Hence grew a quarrell, his partners esteeming him perfidious, till *Gama* compounded the matter twixt him and *Almagro* (*Luques* being excluded, *and therefore afterwards surnamed, The Foole*) that *Almagro* should employ his wealth, and therefore participate in the honours, swearing each to other, and taking the Sacrament thereupon. Thus *Pizarro* went from *Panama* with 150. Souldiers, and many Horses, leauing *Almagro* shortly to follow. Hee came to *Colonchia*, thence to the Iland *Puna*, where hee was well entertained till rapes and robberies made the Natiues take Armes, which was to their greater losse, the *Spaniards* getting the victorie. Thence *Pizarro* went to the Continent of *Tumbez*, fiftie miles distant. Where the Natiues refused his friendship, and sought to oppose him: but he by night entred the Riuer, and being guided by vnpassable wayes made a great slaughter of them, spoyled the Citie, and robbed the Sunnes Temple.

Cap. 2.

Fifth Voyage.

Puna now Saint *Iago*.

Atabalipa King of *Peru*, was then at *Cassamalca*, who hearing that a strange bearded People had robbed his Subiects, sent to *Pizarro*, threatning him, if he continued thus or there. *Pizarro* answered, that hee was sent by his Emperour to succour those which desired his friendship, nor might he safely returne to him, except hee had first seene his Royall person, and declared to him things good both for his body and soule. Thus hee trauels thorow *Chira*, and by the Lords in the way is sued to for friendship, which hated *Atabaliba*. Meeting with a nauigable Riuer, he layd the foundation of a Colonie there called Saint *Michaels*, and shared the spoyles amongst his followers. *Atabaliba* derided their paucitie, and sends to them, if they loued their liues to be gone. But he proceeded to *Cassamalca*, and thence sent messengers to the King (then two miles off) to signifie his desire of acquaintance. *Fernand Pizarro* told him, that hee was brother to the Leader who was sent from the Pope and *Cesar*, to desire his friendship, and therefore desired audience, hauing some speciall matters to deliuer to him, after which hee would bee gone. The King answered, hee would first haue him depart his confines. The night following they prepared themselues for fight. The next day the King was in Pompe carried on mens shoulders, guarded with fiue and twentie thousand *Indians*. Friar *Vincent de valle viridi* a *Dominican*, carrying in the one hand a Crosse, in the other a Breuiarie, went to him, and by an Interpreter, signified that hee came to his Excellency by the mandate of the Imperiall Maiestie, and that with the authoritie of the *Roman* Bishop, Vicar of the heauenly Sauiour, which hath giuen to *Cesar* the Lands before vnknowne, and now first discouered, that hee might send thither learned and godly men, to preach his most holy Name publikely to those Nations, and to free them from Diabolicall errours. Hauing thus said, he gaue to the King, the *Law of God* *, and

Cap. 3.

Atabaliba of *Atahualpa*.

Saint *Michaels*.

Frier *Vincents* embassage, not in Gods name.

* So he calls his Breuiary.

sayth, that he had created all things of nothing, and beginning with *Adam* and *Eue*, tells how *Christ* had assumed flesh in the wombe of the Virgin, and died on the Crosse, after which he rose againe, and ascended into Heauen. Then auerring the articles of the resurrection and of euerlasting life, he sheweth that *Christ* appointed *Peter* his first Vicar for the gouerment of the Church, and that this power succeeded to his successors the Popes, declaring lastly the power and wealth of *Caesar* the King of *Spaine*, Monarch of the whole world. Therefore the King should doe as became him, if he accepted his friendship, and became his tributarie and vassall; and if lastly hee reiected his false gods and should become a *Christian*. Which if he *would not doe voluntarily, let him know, that he should thereunto be compelled by force and armes*.

The King answered, that not vnwillingly hee would accept the friendship of the chiefe Monarch of the world, but for a free King to pay tribute to a man whom hee had neuer seene, seemed scarsely honest or iust. As for the Pope, he must needs appeare to be a foole, and a shameless man, which was so bountifull in giuing that which is none of his owne. Touching Religion, he denied that hee would alter that which hee professed; and if they beleeued in *Christ*, whom they confessed to haue died on the Crosse, they also beleeued in the *Sunne* which neuer died. And how (sayth he to the Frier) doe you knowe that the *Christians* God created all things of nothing, and died on the Crosse? The Frier answered, that hee was taught it by his Booke, and withall reached it to him, which he looking on, said, it said nothing to him, and threw it to the ground. The Frier presently tooke vp his Booke, and cried amaine to the *Spaniards*, *Goe to* Christians, *goe to, and make them smart for so haynous a deed, the Gospels are derided and throwne away. Kill these Dogs which so stubbornly despise the Law of God.*

Presently *Pizarro* giues the signe, and leades forth his men. The Gunnes amaze the *Indians*, as also the Horses, Drummes and Trumpets. Easily are they hereby, and terrour of their Swords chased, and *Atabaliba* himselfe taken by *Pizarro*, which commanded the footmen: without hurt or slaughter of any *Spaniard*. *Ferdinand* his brother, Captaine of the Horse, made a great slaughter amongst the *Indians*, sparing neither age nor sexe, and filling the wayes with Carkasses. The Frier also all the time of the battell animated the *Spaniards*, admonishing them to vse *the thrust rather then the stroke* with their Swords, for feare of breaking them.

Cap. 4. *Atabalibas* ransome.

The next day *Pizarro* visits his prisoner, and giueth him good words, who grieued with his chaines, couenanted for his ransome to giue them as much Gold and Siluer vessels (so that they should not breake them) as should fill vp the roome as high as a man could reach. But when halfe so much was not brought in a moneths space, they perswaded *Pizarro* to kill him. The King excused himselfe by the length of the way, that it could not come in so soone. If they would send to *Cusco*, they might see themselues cause to credit him. *Soto* is sent thither with two *Spaniards*, which met *Indians* all the way laden with treasure. *Almagro* came to the sharing of this ransome.

Cap. 5. *Pizarros* perfidious crueltie.

Pizarro notwithstanding retayned his former purpose to kill him, that so hee might enioy the Countrey. *Atabaliba* desired to bee sent to *Caesar*, which hee refused. And none that consented to his death, came to a prosperous end. When *Pizarro* had told him of the Sentence, hee exclaimed bitterly, and then turning with his deuotions to the Sunne, hee expostulated with *Pizarro* for breaking his oath, not onely to restore him to libertie vpon his ransome, but to depart out of his Countrie: but hee commanded his *Negros* to execute him, which with a cord fastned to a sticke, and wrung about his necke was soone dispatched. Then marched hee to *Cusco*, and was encountered by *Quisquiz*, *Atabalibas* Captaine, whom hee ouerthrew, and entred *Cusco* by force, and got there more prey then before by *Atabaliba*. The Souldiers tortured the Inhabitants to confesse their treasures; yea some killed the *Indians* in sport, and gaue them to their Dogges to eate. After this hee beganne the *Citie of Kings*, on the Riuer of *Lima*, and made *Almagro* Gouernour of this new Prouince. *Caesar* also gaue him priuiledge to bee Marshall of *Peru*, and to conquer three hundred miles further then *Pizarros* conquest, for himselfe. Hence arose suspicions and iealousies of *Pizarro* to *Almagro*, and after some quarrels *Almagro* is sent to *Chili* by *Pizarro*, so to ridde his hands honourably of him. New Oathes also passed. Hee passeth ouer the snowy Hills, where diuers both Men and Horses were frozen to death. *Pizarro* receiueth soone after, the title of Marquesse, from *Caesar*.

Quisquiz.

Cap. 6. *Chili*.

Mango Inga his acts.

Mango Inga, brother of *Atabaliba*, whom *Francis Pizarro* in those broyles had crowned, was by *Fernandez Pizarro* taken and committed to chaines in *Cusco*: and vpon great promises by his brother *Iohn* freed: who seeing the *Spaniards* tooke a course of robbery rather then warre, rebelled, slue many *Spaniards* at their Mines, and sent a Captaine to *Cusco*, which tooke it, and slue *Iohn Pizarro*, with some *Spaniards*. The *Spaniards* againe recouered it, and againe lost it *, *Mango* besieging it with an hundred thousand *Indians*, which burnt it, and slue the *Spaniards*. The Marquesse sent *Diego Pizarro*, with seuentie *Spaniards*, against *Mango*; but not one of them was left to carrie tidings of their destruction. About the same time *Morgouius* had like successe with his *Spanish* Band, going to relieue *Cusco*. *Gonçales Tapia* was sent with eightie horse, but he and most of his were slaine neere *Guamanga*. *Gaeta* another Captaine with his fiftie *Spaniards*,

* The Citie: some say they held the Castle.

Spanish disasters

ards ranne the same fortune. The Marquesse sends *Godoies* with fortie Horse, but he being assayled, and seeing his men slaine, fled, and brought newes to *Lima*. Then did the Marquesse send *Peter Lerma* with fiftie Horse, and followed himselfe, and slue many of the *Indians* in battell; two hundred Horses, and foure hundred *Spaniards*, had beene lost, neither could hee heare of his brethren any thing. He sent therefore to *Corteſe*, to *Truxillo*, *Nicaragua*, *Panama*, to *Alonſo Aluarado*, who first came to his succour with three hundred *Spaniards*, the most Horsemen. He ouerthrew *Tizoia* (*Mangos* chiefe Commander) with 50000. *Indians*, and againe in another battell.

Meane while *Almagro* (whom the Marquesse thought to bee dead) returneth out of *Chili*, which had not answered his expectations, the fame whereof caused *Mango*, fearing to be hemmed in of all sides, to leaue *Cuſco*, (despairing to recouer his estate) with twenty thousand *Indians*, setling himselfe on the Mountaines ouer *Guamanga*. When *Gaſca* the President sent for him after, promising him peace, he refused, as warned by *Atabalibas* example. *Almagro* would haue entred *Cuſco* in his owne right, as Gouernour, which *Ferdinand Pizarro* refused till he had leaue from the Marquesse. But he by night entred, and imprisoned both *Gonzales* and *Ferdinand Pizarro*. The next day hee was proclaimed Gouernour, according to the Imperiall commission. He hearing of *Aluarado*, and fearing his comming, sent to him Messengers which *Aluarado* stayed, but was soone after taken by *Almagro* in his Tents. *Cap.7.*

Then doth hee returne to *Cuſco* pompous, swearing to cast out all the *Pizarriſts*. *Aluarado* and *Gonzales* corrupting their keepers get out of prison, and acquaint the Marquesse with these things, who prouided fiue hundred men to march against him, but the case was compromitted. Yet did the Marquesse set men to murther *Almagro* by the way as hee should come to the place appointed, which tooke no effect, hee being warned thereof. After this they are reconciled, Oaths going before and after, which soone after were broken, and brake out into open warres, in which *Almagro* was taken, sentenced to death, which no pleading, appeale, intercession could reuerse; but he was first strangled in prison, and then beheaded by *Ferdinand Pizarro*, who had before beene his prisoner. His Father is not knowne; hee left a Sonne by an *Indian* Concubine, bearing his owne name *Diego*. *Almagro* put to death.

The Marquesse sent his Brother *Ferdinand* to *Spaine*, with the processe of *Almagro*, and the Kings fifts. In the meane time one *Rada* a friend of *Almagro*, with yong *Diego* his son conspire against the Marquesse, who contemning their meannesse, was by them slaine in his owne house with his halfe brother *Martin de Alcantara*. *Diego Almagro* inuades the gouerment, and makes all to sweare to him till *Caſar* had otherwise prouided. Hee goeth to *Cuſco*, and there slayeth *Garcia Aluarado*, who had stabbed *Sotello*, and would haue done as much for him. *Cap.8.* *Ferd.* sent to *Spaine*, where he is thought to haue died in prison. The Marquesse slaine.

Caſar hearing of these broyles sent the Licentiate *Vacca di Caſtro* thither with commission, betwixt whom and *Diego* was fought a bloudy battell, three hundred slaine, on *Cæsars* side one hundred and fiftie. *Diego* fleeth to *Cuſco*, but by *Roderigo Salazar*, on whom hee had bestowed many benefits, was betrayed to *Vacca*, who cut off his head. *Cap.9.* *Vacca de Caſtro* cuts off *Diego*.

About this time the Decree for the *Indians* libertie was promulged and *Blaſcus Nunnez Vela* made Vice-roy of *Peru*, who arriuing at *Nombre de Dios*, *A.* 1544. there met with many *Spaniards* which had gotten much by the sale of *Indian* slaues; hee committed to the Officers, and would haue confiscated their money, as against the late Law; which being done by him in a place out of his iurisdiction, it was vpon intercession restored. Going to *Panama* hee causeth the *Indians* to be freed, at *Tumbez* he meets with a Priest and a seruant of *Gonzales Pizarro*, which had beene in the battell against *Almagro*, and hanged them both. He executed a Frier also which had taxed the seueritie of *Cæsars* Edict, and ill rewarding those which had serued him. And whiles he would remit nothing of vtmost rigour, he procured the hate of all, which after brake forth into a rebellion. He committed *Vacca de Caſtro* into prison, whereupon the *Spaniards* chose *Gonzales Pizarro* their Leader, Gouernor, and Procurator generall of the *Peruan* Prouinces. The Vice-roy also put the Kings Factor to death, whose brother the Licenciat *Carualal* sware to be auenged of him. The Vice-roy after this was taken and imprisoned, but soone after sentenced to be sent back to *Spaine* by *Alnarez*, who at *Tumbez* freed him. His brother *Vela Nunnez* seeking to raise forces for him was taken and executed. Ciuill wars grew hot, a battel was fought betwixt *Pizarro* and the vnfortunat Vice-roy there taken, whom *Carualal* in reuenge of his brothers death caused to be done to death. *Cap.10.* Vice-roy *Vela*. *Cap.11.* *Cap.12.*

Gaſca, a man of great subtilty, was sent to appease those affaires; who made the *Indians* to beare the carriages of his Armie on their shoulders, chained on a rowe, to preuent their flight; some fainting vnder the weight of their burthens, others with extreme thirst. Those which could not march with the Armie the *Spaniards* freed by cutting off their heads, to auoide the delay of the chaine: or if they were tied with ropes, they ranne them thorow with their weapons: of some they cut off the legs, of others the nose, or armes. *Gonzales Pizarro* the chiefe of the Rebels, ouercame *Centenus* in one battell, but in another was taken by *Gaſca*, and executed; and after him his Camp-master *Carualal*, a cruell man, which would deride his owne Countrimen, when he executed them; bidding them, because they were Gentlemen horsemen, chuse, which tree they would hang on. *Gaſca* ordained that the *Indians* should pay tribute to *Cap.13.* *Gaſcas* acts in *Peru*. *Cap.14.* *Cap.15.* *Cap.16.*

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their Lords onely of such things as the Countrie yeelded. For before, the *Spaniards* forced them by tortures to bring them Gold: if any not hauing it fled those torturers into the Woods, the *Spaniards* hunted them out with Dogs, and many so found were torne with Dogs, others hanged themselues. Once; the men of *Peru* conceiued so hard an opinion of the *Spaniards*, and of their cruelties, that they not onely denied them to be the sonnes of God, but thought that they were not borne into the world like other men, supposing that so fierce and cruell a creature could not be procreated of man and woman. They called them therefore *Viracochie*, that is, *Sea-froth*, as if they thence had receiued originall. Nor can any alter this their opinion so deeply rooted, but God Almightie; saying, *The windes ouerthrowe trees and houses, fire burnes them, but these* Viracochie *deuoure all things, insatiably seeking Gold and Siluer, which as soone as they haue gotten, they play away at Dice, warre, kill one another, robbe, blaspheme, wickedly forsweare and denie God, neuer speake truth; and vs they haue spoyled of our Countrie and fortunes.*

Peru conceit of *Spaniards.* *Cap.* 21.

Lastly, they curse the Sea, which hath brought to the Land so fierce and dreadfull an issue. If I asked for a *Christian*, they would not answere, nor looke on me. But euery childe could say, *There goeth a Viracochie.* They hid their ancient treasures, that the *Spaniards* should not finde them; saying, that all which they got, in comparison of these hidden, was but as a graine of Maiz to a dishfull. Some they buried in the Earth, and some they threw into the Sea. &c.

CHAP. XIII.

Obseruations of things most remarkable, collected out of the first part of the Commentaries Royall, written by the Inca GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA, *Naturall of* Cozco, *in nine Bookes; Of the Originall, Lines, Conquests, Lawes and Idolatries of the* Incas, *or Ancient Kings of* Peru.

THis Authour (of the blood of the Incas, *or as others call them,* Ingas, *Emperours of* Peru, *by the mothers side, his father a* Spaniard*) hath written three large Volumes of* American *affaires, one of* Soto's *expedition into* Florida, *in sixe Bookes; both the other of his owne Countrie of* Peru, *the one containing in nine Bookes the Historie of things done by the* Incas, *before the* Spanish *Conquest, the later these later* Spanish-Peruan *occurrents. Of the* Floridan *Historie wee haue onely borrowed a few notes, bringing on our Stage a* Portugall, *eye-witnesse of that Voyage, to act his owne part in our next Act or Booke: out of the other I purposed more liberalitie, that thou mightst heare a* Peruan *speake of* Peru: *but the Worke growing so great, and wee hauing out of* Acosta, *and so many others presented so much before, fearing to cloy the Reader with fulnesse (which may, if not here satisfied, goe to the Authour) haue principally collected such things as either they had not, or had by false information receiued and deceiued their Readers, whom this Authour correcteth out of better intelligence. Besides, hee seemes to hold counterpoise, as drawing things from their originall, with our* Mexican *Picture-antiquities.*

L. 8. c. 2.

Ex Præfatione. Of the *Cusco* Tongue. Three pronunciations. Accent. *b. d. f. g. i. x. l. rr.* wanting.

THe Language generall of *Peru*, hath three manner of pronunciations of some syllables much different from the *Spanish*, in which variety of pronunciation lieth the different significations of the same word. One way in the lips, another in the palate, and the third in the throat. The accent is almost alway in the last syllable but one, seldome in the syllable before that, and neuer in the last of all, as some ignorant of the Tongue haue affirmed. That Language of *Cuzco* doth also want these letters following, *b, d, f, g, i* consonant, the single *l* (they vse the double *ll*, as on the other side they pronounce not the double *rr*, in the beginning or midst of a word, but alway single) and *x*: so that of the *Spanish* Alphabet they want eight letters, accounting the single *l*, and double *rr*. Hence they hardly pronounce *Spanish* words in which these letters are. Neither is there any plurall number, but certaine particles which signifie pluralitie, otherwise the singular serues for both numbers.

Monie.

In my time about 1560. and twentie yeeres after, in my Countrie there was no money coyned, but they reckoned by weight, the *marke*, or *ounce*; as in *Spaine* they reckon by Duckets, so in *Peru* by Pezos or Castellans, euery Pezo of Siluer being foure hundred and fiftie Marauedies, and reduced to *Spanish* Duckets, euery fiue Pezos are sixe Duckets.

Pezos.

The first Book of the first part.

ANno 1484. *Alonso Sanchez* of *Huelua*, in the Countie of *Niebla*, traded in a small ship from *Spaine* to the *Canaries*, and thence to *Madera*. In this his triangular trade, hee was one day taken with a tempest, which carried him twentie and eight or nine dayes hee knew not whence nor whither, and then the tempest ending, hee arriued at an Ile (which some thinke to bee *Hispaniola*) where he went on land, and tooke the height. Hee wrote all occurrents, and after a tedious

tedious voyage arriued at *Tercera*, but fiue of seuenteene being left, which all died there (spent with their ill passage) at *Christopher Colon* or *Columbus* his house, which gaue him that heart and courage to the discouery of the *New World*.

This *Spanish* report some of themselues conceale, others deny: see *sup. ca.* 1. §. 4. *To.* 1. *l.* 2. I haue here giuen this voyage (or fable) because the particulars are so full and plaine in this author: whereas *Gomara* saith neither in the man, nor time, nor place, &c. is agreed on: see *Gom. p.* 2. *c.* 13.

Blasco Nunnez de Balboa, An. 1513. discouered the South Sea; & was thereof made *Adelantado*, and the conquest of those Regions granted him by the Catholike Kings. He made three or foure Ships for discouery, one of which passed the line to the South, sailing along the coast; and seeing an *Indian* Fisherman at the mouth of a Riuer, foure of the *Spaniards* went ashore farre from the place where he was, being good runners and swimmers to take him.

The *Indian* marualing what kinde of creature the Ship vnder saile might be, was taken in the mids of his muse and carried a shipboord. They asked him by signes and words (being somewhat refreshed after that dreadfull surprize and bearded sight) what Countrie that was, and how called. The *Indian* not vnderstanding what they demanded, answered and told them his proper name, saying *Beru*, and added another word, saying *Peru*: as if he should haue said, if yee aske me what I am, my name is *Beru*, and if you aske me whence, I was in the Riuer, *Peru* being the common name of a Riuer in that language. The *Christians* conceiued that hee had vnderstood them, and answered to the purpose; and from that time *Anno* 1515. or 1516. they called by the name of *Peru* that great and rich Empire, corrupting both names, as they vse in *Indian* words. Some later authors call it *Piru*. After the discouery of the *Incas* Kingdome the name still continued, howsoeuer the Natiues to this day (seuentie two yeares since the conquest) will not take it in their mouthes, although they speake with *Spaniards* and vnderstand them: neither haue they one generall name for all those Prouinces, as *Spaine*, *Italy*, *France* with vs, but call each by its proper name; and the whole Kingdome they called *Tauantinsuyu*, that is to say, *the fourth part of the World*. That Riuer also where they cooke the *Indian*, was after by the *Spaniards* called *Peru*. *Yucatan* receiued the name from like accident, the first discouerers asking the place, the *Indian* answering *tectetan, tectetan*, that is, *I vnderstand you not*, which they vnderstood of the proper appellation, and corruptly called the place *Yucatan*.

Name of *Peru* whence and how.

The like you may before read of *China*, a name not ener knowne, &c. *Iucatan*.

From *Panama* to the Citie of *Kings*, the sailing is very troublesome, by reason of Southerne windes which alway runne on that coast, as also of many currents: these forced the Shippes in that voyage to make large boords of fortie or fiftie leagues into the Sea, and then againe to landward; vntill *Francis Drake* an *Englishman* (which entred by the *Magellan* straic 1579.) taught them a better course of sailing two or three hundred leagues into the Sea, which the Pilots before durst not doe, being fearefull of calmes, if they were once one hundred leagues from land, otherwise also vncertaine and ignorant.

Sir *F. Drake* teacher of nauigating the S. Sea to the *Spar.*

Touching the originall of the *Inca* Kings of *Peru*, this author affirmeth, that when hee was a childe, his mother reiding in *Cusco* her Countrie, euery weeke there came to visite her some of her kindred which had escaped the tyrannies of *Atabalipa*, at which time their ordinary discourse was alway of the originall of their Kings, of their Maiestie and great Empire, Conquests, and Gouernment: such discourses the *Incas* and *Pallas* hold in their visitations, bewailing their losses. Whiles I was a boy I reioyced to heare them as children delight to heare tales, but being growne to sixteene or seuenteene yeares of age, when they were one day at my Mothers in this discourse, I spake to the ancientest (my Mothers Vncle) desiring him to tell me what he knew of their first Kings, seeing they kept not memory of their antiquities, as the *Spaniards* vse in writing, which by their Bookes can tell all their antiquities and changes which haue happened since God made the World. I desired him to tell me what traditionary memorials he had of their Originals. He willing to satisfie my request, recounted to me in manner following, aduising mee to lay vp these sayings in my heart.

c. 15. *Atabalipa* or *Atabalipa* his cruelties.

In old times all this region was vntilled and ouergrowne with bushes, and the people of those times liued as wilde beasts, without religion or policie, without towne or house, without tilling or sowing the ground, without raiment, for they knew not how to worke Cotten or Wooll to make them garments. They liued by two and two, or three and three, in caues and holes of the ground, eating grasse like beasts, and rootes of trees, and wilde fruits, and mans flesh. They couered themselues with leaues, and barkes of trees, and skins of Beasts, and others in leather. Once, they liued as wilde beasts, and their women were in common and brutish. Our Father the Sunne (*this was the* Incas *manner of speech, because they deriued their pedegree from the Sunne; and for any besides the* Incas *to say so, was blasphemie, and incurred stoning*) *seeing men liue in this fashion, tooke pitie on them, and sent from heauen a Sonne and a Daughter of his owne, to instruct men in the knowledge of our Father the Sunne, and to worship him for their God; to giue them lawes also and precepts of humane and reasonable course of life in ciuill fashion, to dwell in houses and townes, to husband the earth, to sowe and set, to breede cattle. With these ordenances our father the Sunne placed these his two children in the lake* Titicaca, *eighrie leagues from* Cusco; *and gaue them a barre of Gold two fingers thicke, and halfe a yard long, for a signe that where that barre should melt with one blow on the ground, there they should place their residence and Court. Lastly, hee commanded that when they had reduced the people to serue him, they should vphold them in iustice with clemencie and gentlenesse, behauing themselues as a pittifull Father dealeth with his tender and beloued children, like as he himselfe gaue them example in giuing light and heate to all the world, causing the seedes and grasse*

Indian fables of their Originals.

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to grow, and the trees to fructifie, the cattle to encrease, the seasons to be faire, and encompassing the world once every day: that they should imitate him, and become benefactors to the Nations, being sent to the earth for that purpose. Hee constituted also and named them Kings and Lords of all the Nations which they should instruct and civilize.

After these instructions he left them, and they went vp from Titicaca travelling to the North, still as they went striking with that barre of Gold, which never melted. Thus they entred into a resting place seuen or eight leagues Southwards from this Citie Cuſco, now called Pacarec Tampu, that is, morning sleepe, and there slept till morning, which he afterwards caused to be peopled, and the inhabitants boast greatly of this name, which the Inca imposed. Thence they travelled to this valley of Cuſco, which was then a wilde wilderneſſe, and staid first in the billocke, called Huanacanti, in the midst of the Citie; and there making proofe, his Golden Barre easily melted at one streake, and was no more seene. Then said our Inca to his Sister and Wife, In this Valley our Father the Sunne commands vs to make our aboade; and therefore O Queene and Sister, it is meete that each of vs goe and doe his endeuour to assemble and draw hither the people to instruct and benefit them as our Father the Sunne hath enioyned vs. From the billocke Huanacauri our first Kings went each to gather together the people. And because that is the the first place on which they were knowne to haue set their feete, and thence to haue gone to doe good to men; was builded there a Temple to worship our Father the Sunne, in memorie of this benefit to the world.

Temple to the Sunne.

The Prince went to the North, and the Princeſſe to the South: to all the men and women which they found in those wilde thickets, they spake, saying that their Father the Sunne had sent them from heauen to become instructers and benefactors to all that dwell in that land, to bring them from a brutish life to ciuilitie, with many other words to like purpose. Those Sauages seeing these two persons attired and adorned with ornaments, which our Father the Sun had giuen them, and their eares bored and open, as their descendants haue continued, and that in their words and countenance they appeared like children of the Sun, and that they came to giue them sustenance; they gaue them credit, and reuerenced them as children of the Sun, and obayed them as Kings, and calling other Sauages and acquainting them herewith, many men and women came together and followed our Kings whether they would conduct them. Our Princes gaue order that some should be occupied in prouiding victuall in the fields, least hunger should force them backe to the Mountaines; others in making cottages and houses, the Inca instructing them how they should doe it. In this manner this our Imperiall Citie began to be peopled, being diuided into two halues, Hanan Cozco and Harin Cozco, that is, the high and the low Cozco, those which the King drew thither dwelling in the high, those which followed the Queene in the low. One halfe had not more priuiledges then the other, but they were all equall; but those names remained as a memoriall of those which each had attracted: onely those of high Cozco were as the elder, and the other reduced by the Queen as the second sons of the same parents; or, as the right hand and left. In like sort the same diuision was held in all the great townes and small of the Empire, by the high linages and the low, the high and low streetes or wards.

Cuſco or Cozco first inhabited.

Moreouer, the Inca taught the men to doe the offices pertaining to their sexe, as to till the Land, to sowe seedes (shewing them which were profitable) teaching them to make instruments for that purpose, to make trenches for the water, &c. The Queene on the other side taught the women to worke in Cotten and Woolle, and to make garments for their husbands and children, with other houshold offices. These Indians thus ciuilized, went thorow the hilt and wilde places to search out others, and acquainted them with these affaires, telling them what the children of the Sun had done for them, shewing for proofe thereof their new garments, and meates, and so brought much people hither, that in sixe or seuen yeares the Inca had trained many to armes for their defence, and to force those which refused to come to him. He taught them Bowes and Arrowes, and Clubs, &c. And to be short, I say that our first Father Inca reduced all the East to the Riuer Paucartampu, and Westward conquered eight leagues to the great Riuer Apurimac, and nine leagues Southward to Quequeſana. In this Region our Inca caused to people aboue a hundred Townes, the greater of them of one hundred houses.

Vſe of Arts.

Vſe of Armes.

These were our first Incas, which came in the first ages of the World, of whom all the rest of vs haue descended. How many yeares haue passed since our Father the Sunne sent those his first children, I cannot precisely say; we hold that it is aboue 400. yeares. Our Inca was called Manco Capac, and our Coya, Mama Ocllo Huaco, brother and sister, children of the same Sunne, and the Moone, our progenitors. I thinke I haue giuen thee large account of that which thou desiredſt, and because I would not make this cry, I haue not recited this storie with teares of bloud shed by the eyes, as I shed them in my grieued heart, to see our Incas come to an end, and our Empire lost.

The *Incas* Empire dured about 400 years *Valera* hath 500 or 600.

This relation I haue faithfully translated from my mother tongue, which is that of the *Inca*, to the *Spaniſh*, which is farre short of the Maieſtie of the stile, nor so significantly as that language affordeth, and haue abbreuiated some things which might make odious the diſcourſe. It is enough that I haue deliuered the truth of their conceit, as befits an Hiſtorian. Other like things the said *Inca* told me in those visitings and diſcourſes at my mothers house, which I shall recite in their due places.

The Floud.

The common people of *Peru* recite other fables of their Originals, the *Collaſuyu* which dwell to the South from *Cozco*, and the *Cuntiſuyu*, which dwell to the West; fabling that after the floud,

floud, the waters ceasing, there appeared a man in *Tiahuacana* Southwards from *Cusco*, so mightie that he diuided the World into foure parts, and gaue them to foure men which hee called Kings, to *Manco Capac*, the North; the South to *Colla*; to *Tocay*, and *Pinahua* the East and West, and sent each of them to their gouernments, &c. Those of the East and North haue another tale, that foure men and foure women in the beginning of the world came out of a rocke by *Pancartampu*, all brethren and sisters, the first of which was *Manco Capac* and his wife *Mama Ocllo* which founded *Cosco* (which signifieth a nauell) and subiected those Nations; the second *Ayar Cachi* or salt; the third *Ayar Vchu* (a kinde of Pepper) the fourth *Ayar Sanca*, that is, mirth and content. These fables they allegorise also, and some *Spaniards* would here finde the eight persons which came forth of *Noahs* Arke; wherewith I meddle not, nor with the other fables which other *Indian* Nations haue of their progenitors; there being no honourable stocke which is not deriued from some Fountaine, or Lake, or Lyon, Tigre, Beare, Eagle, Cuntur or other Birds of pray, or Hils, Caues, &c. But I by the said *Incas* relation, and of many other *Incas* and *Indians* of those townes which the said *Inca Manco Capac* peopled, in the space of twenty yeares which I there liued, receiued notice of all that I writ: for as much as in my childehood they related their stories to me, as they vse to tell tales to children; and after being grown in age they gaue me large notice of their Lawes and gouernment, comparing this *Spanish* with the old, telling me how their Kings proceeded in peace and warre, and how they handled their subiects: and as to their owne Sonne they recounted to me all their Idolatrie, Rites, Ceremonies, Sacrifices, Feasts, and Superstitions, much whereof I haue seene with mine eyes, it being not wholly left when I was twelue or thirteene yeares old, who was borne eight yeares after the *Spaniards* had gotten my Countrie. I also purposing to write a storie of these things, did write to my Schoolefellowes for their helpe to giue me particular information of the seuerall Prouinces of their Mothers, each Countrie keeping their annals and traditions; which reporting my intent to their Mothers and kindred, that an *Indian*, a childe of their owne land, ment to write a Historie thereof, searched their antiquities, and sent them to me; whereby I had notice of the conquests and acts of euery *Inca*.

See *sup. p.* 1060.

Fables and allegorisers.

Conceits of the originals of all these families.

Manco Capac to the East of *Cosco*, peopled thirteene townes of the nation called *Poques*, to the West thirtie, with the Nations *Masca*, *Chilqui*, *Papuri*; twentie to the North of foure peoples, *Mayu*, *Cauca*, *Chinchapucyu*, *Rimac tampu*: 38. or 40. to the South, 18. of which were of the Nation *Ayarmaca*, the others of the *Quespiancha*, *Mugna*, *Vrcos*, *Quehuar*, *Huaruc*, *Cauinna*. This Nation *Cauinna*, beleeued that their first Parents came out of a certaine Lake, to which they say the soules of the dead haue recourse, and thence return into the bodies which are borne. They had an Idoll of dreadfull shape, which *Manco Capac* caused them to leaue, and to worship the Sun, as did his other vassals. These townes from 100. housholds the greater, and 30. or 25. the lesse, grew to 1000. families, and the lesse to 3. or 400. The tirant *Atauhualpa* for their priuiledges which the first *Inca* and his descendents had giuen them, destroyed them, some in part, others wholly. Now a Viceroy hath remoued them out of their ancient scituation, ioyning fiue or sixe townes together in one place, and seuen or eight in another, a thing so odious and inconuenient that I cease to mention it.

c. 20.

μετεμψυχωσις.

Spanish alterations.

Manco Capac to reduce the abuses of their women, ordained that adultery should be punished with death, as likewise murther and robberie: hee enioyned them to keepe but one wife, and to marrie in their kindred or tribe that they should not be confounded, and that they should marrie from twenty yeares vpwards. He caused them to gather together tame and harmelesse cattle in flockes and heards to cloath them; the Queene teaching these women to spin and weaue. Hee taught them to make the shooe which they call *Vsuta*. He set a *Curaca* (or *Cacique*) ouer each seuerall Nation, chusing them to that dignitie which had taken most paines in reducing the Sauages, the mildest and best minded to the common good, to instruct the rest as fathers. He ordained that the fruits which were gathered in each towne should be kept together, to giue to each man as he had neede, till lands were disposed to each in proprietie. Hee taught them how to build a Temple to the Sunne, where to sacrifice and doe him worship as the principall God, and to adore him as the Sun and Moone, which had sent them to reduce them to ciuilitie. He caused them to make a house of women for the Sunne, when there should be women sufficient of the bloud royall to inhabit it; and propounded all things to them in the name of the Sun, as inioyned by him; which the *Indians* simply beleeued, adoring them for his children, and men diuine come from heauen.

Manco and his successours wore their haire poled, vsing to that purpose Rasors of flint, a thing so troublesome, that one of our Schoolefellowes seeing the readinesse of Scissers said, that if your Fathers the *Spaniards* had onely brought vs Scissers, Looking-glasses, and Combes, wee would haue giuen them all the Gold and Siluer in our Land. They weare their eares with wide holes caused by art to grow into a strange and incredible wideneſse, whereupon the *Spaniards* called them *Orejones*, or men with great eares. Hee ware on his head as a Diadem or royall ensigne a kinde of Ribben of many colours, which compassed his head foure or fiue times a finger breadth, and almost a finger thicke. These three were

Mancos

Manco's lawes.

Suns Nunnery

Poled heads.

Wide bored eares.

Fillets.

Enſignes of dignitie.

Mancos deuiſes, the *Llautu* or ribband, the wide hole in the eare, and polling, as a kinde of Royaltie: and the firſt Priuiledge which the *Inca* gaue to his Vaſſals was to weare the fillet or ribband like the *Inca*, but theirs of one colour only, his of many. After ſome time, hee vouchſafed (as a great fauour) the polling diuerſified in Prouinciall differences of the Eare-faſhions (which was a later and greater fauour) both for the boaring and Earing, or Iewell there worne.

Cuſco and the Neighbours *Incas* by priuiledge, which none elſewere except of the Royall bloud.

Royall Diademe.

The *Inca* growing old, aſſembled his principall Vaſſals in *Cuſco*, and in a ſolemne ſpeech told them, that he intended to returne to Heauen, and to reſt with his Father the Sunne which called him, (which was practiſed by all his ſucceſſors, when they perceiued themſelues neere death) and now at his departure he minded to leaue them his chiefe fauour, to wit, his Royall Title, commanding that they and their Deſcendants ſhould be *Incas* without difference, as hauing beene his firſt ſubiects which he loued as children; and hee hoped that they would likewiſe ſerue his Succeſſor, and augment the Empire: that their wiues alſo ſhould be called *Pallas*, as thoſe of the Royall bloud. Only he reſerued the Royall Head-tire to himſelfe and his Deſcendents the Kings which was a fringe or lace coloured, extending from one ſide of the fore-head to the other. His ſirname *Capac* ſignifieth *rich* (which they vnderſtood of the mindes vertues) and *mightie in armes*. The name *Inca* ſignifieth *Lord*, or generally thoſe of the Royall bloud. For the *Curacas*, though great Lords, might not vſe that Title. The King is diſtinguiſhed from all others by the appellation *Capa*, *Capa Inca* ſignifying the *only Lord*, as the *Grand Signior* among the *Turkes*. They ſtiled him alſo *Huaccharuyak*, that is, *Benefactor to the poore*. They called them alſo *Intip charin*, the Sonnes of the Sunne. *Manco Capac* reigned, ſome ſay thirtie yeeres, others fortie. Hee had many children by his Wife *Mama Ocllo Huaco*, and by his Concubines (ſaying, it was good to multiply children to the Sunne.) He called his Vaſſals alſo of the better ſort, and recommended his Heire as by Teſtument in way of diſcourſe to them, and to the reſt of his children their loue and ſeruice of the Vaſſals, and to the Vaſſals their loyaltie to their King, and obedience to the Lawes. Then diſmiſſing the Vaſſals, hee made another ſpeech in ſecret to his children, that they ſhould alway remember that they were children of the Sun, to worſhip him as their God, and to maintaine his Lawes giuing others examples therein alſo to be gentle to the *Indians*, to vphold them in Iuſtice without oppreſſion: that they ſhould recommend theſe things to their poſterities in all generations, ſaying, that they were the people of the Sunne, which he left vnto them as his Teſtament; to whom he was now going to reſt with him in peace, and from Heauen would haue a care to ſuccour them.

Capa and *Huaccharuyak* peculiar titles to the King.

Manco dieth. *Sinchi Roca* ſucceedeth.

Thus died *Manco Capac*, and left his Heire *Sinchi Roca* the eldeſt brother, and begotten of *Coya Mama Ocllo Huaco* his wife and ſiſter. Beſides the Heire, thoſe Kings left other ſonnes and daughters which married amongſt themſelues to keepe the Royall bloud entire, which they fabulouſly beleeued to be diuine, and of others humane, although they were great Lords of Vaſſals, called *Curacas*. The *Inca Sinchi Roca* married with his eldeſt ſiſter, after the manner of his parents, and of the Sunne and Moone, thinking the Moone to be ſiſter and wife to the Sunne. The *Inca Manco* was lamented by his Vaſſals very heauily, the Obſequies continuing many moneths. They embalmed his corps to preſerue it amongſt them, and worſhipped him for a God, Sonne of the Sunne, offering many Sacrifices of Rammes, Lambes, Birds, Graines, &c. confeſſing him Lord of all thoſe things which he had left.

Curacas.

Mancos Funerall.

Titles of honour.

The name *Inca* deſcended to all the poſteritie by the Male Line, not by the Female; all of this ranke were alſo called *Yntip churin* (children of the Sunne) and *Auqui*, or *Infanta*, which Title they kept till their Marriage, and then were called *Inca*. The lawfull Queene was called *Coya*; alſo *Mamanchic*, that is, *Our Mother*. Her daughters were likewiſe called *Coya*; the Concubines and other wiues of the bloud Royall, were called *Palla*, which ſignifieth a woman of Royall bloud. Concubines which were not of Royall bloud, were called *Mamacuna*, *Mother*. All the Royall Daughters were called *Nuſta*, and if not of Royall Mothers, the name of the Prouince was added as *Colla Nuſta*, *Quitu Nuſta*. The name *Nuſta* continued till they were married, and then they were ſtiled *Palla*.

The ſecond Booke.

Amautas, the learned Peruans.

Pachacamac, the name of God.

Iguoto Deo. Auguſt. in Zrat. l.2. ſaith that *Atabualpa* anſwered *Vincent de valle viridi*, that they held the Sun for God, the earth for Mother, & *Pachacamac* for Creator of all.

THe firſt *Incas* and their *Amautas* (which were their Philoſophers) by light of Nature acknowledged God the Creator of all things, which they called *Pachacamac* (the Sunne they held to be a viſible God) *Pacha* ſignifieth the *World*, and *Camac* to *quicken*, of *Cama*, the *Soule*, as if *Pachacamac*, were the ſoule or quickner of the Vniuerſe. This name they had in ſuch veneration that they durſt not mention it; and if they were by occaſion forced thereto, they did it with holding downe the head, and bowing the bodie, lifting vp their eyes to Heauen, and caſting them downe to the ground, lifting vp their hands open ſtraite from the ſhoulders, giuing ſmacks or lip-motions to the ayre (Rites performed only to him and the Sunne) holding *Pachacamac* in more internall reuerence then the Sunne, whom they named commonly on any occaſion. They ſaid that he gaue life to the World, but they knew him not, for they had neuer ſeene him, and therefore neither built Temples, nor offered Sacrifice to him; but ſaid they worſhipped him in

their

their minds, and held him for the *vnknowne God.* The *Spaniards* which tooke him for a Deuill, and knew not the generall Language, found out another name for God, *Tici Vira-cocha*, which neither I, nor they know what it meaneth: and if any should aske mee how I in my Language would call God, I would answre, *Pachacamac:* nor is there in that generall Language any other name for him. And all those which Authors report are corrupted of other Languages, or deuised by them.

Acosta cals him *Viracocha*, and saith they had no proper name for God.

The *Incas* in *Cozco* kept a Crosse of Marble, White and Carnation, which they call Iaspe Cristaline. They know not how long they had it. *Anno* 1560. I left it in the Vestry of the Cathedrall Church of that Citie. The Crosse was square, three quarters of a yard lond, and three fingers thicke, and so much in breadth, all of one piece well wrought. They kept it in one of their Houses Royall, in a roome which they call *Huaca*, a holy place. They did not adore it, but held it in venerable esteeme, either for the goodlinesse, or for some other respect which they knew not. The *Incas* and all Nations subiect to them, knew not what it was to sweare: you haue heard of their respect to the name *Pachacamac*. The Witnesses were solemnely demanded in waightie cases by the Iudge, *Doest thou promise to tell truth to the* Inca? which he promising, the Iudge gaue him a caueat for lying or concealing. They exceedingly feared to lye, and if they were found to doe it, were grieuously punished, and in cases of great importance, with death, as hauing lied to the *Inca:* for so they spake to the Iudge as if it were to the *Inca* whom they worshipped for God. Besides *Pachacamac*, the Sunne, and Moone (as his wife and sister) and starres, they were forbidden by Law to adore any thing. *Pachacamac* the supreme God had no Temples ordinarily, yet in a Valley called *Pachacamac* was a Temple dedicated to that vnknowne God. The *Spaniards* attribute many other Gods to the *Incas*, through ignorance of their Rites in the first and second age, and of their language; and not knowing the diuers significations of the word *Huaca*, which in the last syllable pronounced high in the roofe of the mouth signifieth an Idoll. It signified also things sacred in which the Deuill gaue answeres, also things consecrated as offerings to the Sunne; Temples likewise and Chappels and Sepulchres whence the Deuill spake: they gaue that name also to all things eminent and superexcellent in their kind, as the faire st Trees, &c. On the contrary they called the filthiest and most monstrous things *Huaca*, which might cause horrour, as the great Snakes of fiue and twentie or thirtie foot long. *Huaca* was applied to all things also which go out of the common course, as to a woman which had Twinnes, making great Feasts, and strowing flowres in the street with Dances and Songs for such her fruitfulnesse. The same name they gaue to sheepe which had Twinnes (for vsually there they had but one) and in their Sacrifices rather offered a Twinne Lambe, if they had it, then another: likewise to an Egge with two yolkes, to those which had in their birth any member more or lesse then vsuall, as if one had six toes on his foot, a shorne lip, &c. also to Fountaines which yeelded extraordinary source of waters, to the ranke of the snowie Hils which runne thorow all *Peru* to the *Magelane* Straits, to all extraordinary Mountaines. Neither did they (as the *Spaniards* say) hold these for Gods, nor worship them, but for their eminence held them in * venerable respect. The same word *Huaca* pronounced with the last syllable in the inner part of the throat, signifieth to weepe; a thing vsuall in that Language, for the same word in differing pronuntiation, to signifie things different.

A Crosse in *Cozco* before the *Spaniards* came.

No swearing.

Acosta by this will bee better vnderstood & corrected.

Huaca and the diuers significations thereof, vnknowne to the *Spaniards* occasioned errors in their stories.

Twins rare.

* He seemeth also to make a difference twixt the adoration to the Sunne, & worship or reuerence of the *Inca*.

As for the Idoll *Tangatanga*, which one Authour saith they worshipped in *Chuquisaca*, and that the *Indians* said it was three in one, and one in three: I know no such Idoll, nor is there any such word in the generall Language of *Peru*: but the Prouince is one hundred and eightie leagues from *Cozco*, and the *Spaniards* corrupt all the words they take in their mouthes. It is likely that the *Indians* to flatter with the *Spaniards*, when they heard them preach of the Trinitie pretended some such likenesse of beliefe. The like I hold concerning their confessions, all which was inuented by the *Indians* to curry fauour with the *Spaniards*. I speake this as an *Indian* which know the naturall condition of the *Indians*: and I say that they had no Idoll with the name of the Trinitie, nor had any such word in their Language.

Acosta taxed. See before in *Acosta. pag.* 1041. *&c.*

They beleeued the immortalitie of the soule, that the bodie was of earth, and called it *Allpacamasca*, that is *quickened earth*. They beleeued another life after this, with punishment for the bad and rest for the good. They diuided the Vniuerse into three Worlds, Heauen called *Hanan pacha*, or the *high World*, whither they said the good men went to bee rewarded for their vertues: this World they called *Hurin pacha*, *the World below*: the third *vun pacha*, the *centre of the Earth*, called also *Cuyarpa huacin*, that is, *the house of the Deuill*. The life in Heauen they said was quiet, free from troubles, as that of the inferior World, which we call Hell full of paine and trouble without any rest or content, whereas this present life participated of both. Amongst the ioyes of the other life they did not reckon carnall delights nor other vices, but quietnesse of the minde only with rest of the bodie. They beleeued the Resurrection vniuersall, not glory nor paine, but to this same temporall life. They made great reckoning of their haire which they polled or combed from their heads, to lay it vp in some place, or in a hole of the wall, and if another *Indian* had seene it falne thence, he would take and lay it vp safe. I haue often asked the cause, and they would tell mee that wee were to returne againe to liue in the World (they haue no word for the Re-

Their beliefe of the soule.

Three Worlds.

Resurrection.

Haire-superstition.

Resurrection) and that the soules should raise all that belonged to their bodies forth of the graues; we therefore lay our haire together that our soules should not bee troubled to seeke the same at that day when there shall be so great hurliburly and pressure, and if it were possible wee would haue it all in one place for quicker dispatch.

Sacrifices.

The Sacrifices to the Sunne were diuers: as creatures tame, great and small; Lambes were the principall, next Rammes, and then barren Ewes; Conies, all Birds which were for meate, and Sewet, or Tallow; Corne and Pulse to the Herbe *Cuca*, and fine garments (which they burned instead of Incense; their drinkes also, as that made of water and Maiz; and in their ordinarie meales when they haue eaten and are about to drinke (for they neuer drinke whiles they are eating) they put their finger in the midst of the first vessell, and looking vp to Heauen with reuerence, they turne vp as it were, with a fillip, a drop of that drinke, offering it with thankfulnes to the Sunne, for that hee hath giuen them to drinke, * and kissing wise mooued their lips twice or thrice to the aire, which with them is a signe of adoration; and then drinke off the rest without more Ceremonies. This I haue seene them often doe. Yet did not the *Indians* of the second age (which began and ended with the *Incas* gouernment) offer the bloud or flesh of men, but prohibited the eating thereof, wherein Historians haue bin deceiued, it beeing true indeed of some Regions before the conquest of them by the *Incas*. Neither did they sacrifice either men or children when their Kings were sicke, as one Historian writeth; for they held them not for diseases, as those of the common people; but esteemed them as Messenges of their Father the Sunne, which came to call his Sonne to rest with him in Heauen; and those were their ordinary speeches, when they were to die.

Peru diet.

* *Dauan dos o tres besos al ayre Peruans* no Man-eaters. or Officers. *Acosta* and others taxed.

Incas conceit of sickneſſe.

Eybrow-rite.

When they entred into their Temples, the principall of those which went in, put vp his hand to his eye-browes, as if he would pluck off some of the haires, and whether he plucked off any or no, he puffed to the Idoll in signe of adoration and offering; this they did not to their Kings but only to their Idols, or Trees, or places where the Deuill gaue answeres. Their Priests and Witches did the like, when they went into their corners or secret places to conferre with the Deuill. This Idolatry I haue also seene them performe.

Priests of *Peru*.

The Priests of the house of the Sunne in *Cozco*, were all *Incas* of the Royall bloud: for other seruice of the Temple were *Incas* of those which were such by priuiledge. They had a High or Chiefe Priest, which was Vncle or Brother to the King: or at least legitimate of the bloud. The Priests had no peculiar Vestment. In other Prouinces where were Temples (which were many) the Natiues were Priests, the Kinsmen of the Lords of those Countries; notwithstanding the principall Priest (or Bishop as it were) was to bee an *Inca*, that so they might hold conformitie of Rites with the Metropolitan: for in all preeminent Offices of Peace or Warre, they had *Incas* their Superiours. They had many houses of Virgins which obserued perpetuall Virginitie without going out of their house; and others of the Concubines for the King.

Cozco Metropolitan: others had as it were Bishops and Priests.

All their Lawes Ciuill and Sacred were attributed to *Manco Capac*, saying, that hee had left and perfected some himselfe, the others for his Successors to accomplish in their times: so to giue authoritie to all, as from the Sunnes Ordnance. And though some of the *Incas* were great Lawmakers, yet no memory is left of any particulars vnder their name, but all is attributed to the first *Inca*.

All Ordinances attributed to *Manco*.

Diuision of the Empire.

The *Incas* deuided their Empire into foure parts: they called it *Tauantinsuyu*, that is, the *foure parts of the World*. Hereof *Cozco* was the Centre, which in that *Inca*-language signifieth *the Nauill of the Earth*, or Land. The East-diuision they called *Antisuyu* of the Prouince *Anti* (a name also giuen to the Rew of Snowie Mountaines in the East) the West *Cuntisuyu*, the North *Chinchasuyu*; the South *Collasuyu*; each name deriued of some Prouince therein so called, and continued to the furthest extent that way, as *Collasuyu* to *Chili*, sixe hundred leagues from *Colla*, and *Chinchasuyu* to *Quitu* foure hundred leagues from *Chincha* to the North.

Anti, called by *Acosta*, *Andes*.

Tithings and Tithingmen. See the like with vs in *Lamb. peramb.* of *Kent*.

They ordained that in euery Towne great or small of their Empire, the Inhabitants should be registred by Tithings, and one of them should take charge of the other nine, as a *Decurion* or Tithingman, called *Chunca Chancapa*. Fiue of those *Decurions* had another Superiour, which had the charge of fiftie. Ouer two of those was another Superiour or Centurion. Fiue Centuries were subiected to one which had charge of fiue hundred, and two of those charges had a *Chiliarch* or Captaine of one thousand: higher they went not.

Orders of Officers.

Chunca Camayu.

The Tithingman gaue account to the Gouernour of those in his charge, to prouide them Seed or Bread corne, or Wooll, or House-reparations, or other necessaries. He also was to informe of thir faults to the Iudges, which according to the greatnesse of the offence were also diuersified in order for dispatch of Iustice, and to take away need of Appeales, except in cases betwixt one Prouince and another, for which the *Inca* sent a speciall Iudge. If the *Decurion* neglected to informe, the fault was now made his owne, and hee corrected for it: as also in the other case of prouision. Hence there were no Vagabonds nor idle persons. The Father was corrected which did not educate or correct his children; the children also were punished in correspondence of their age: and the Tithingman was to informe of both. The Iudges punished them, they said, not for the fact, but the fault in transgressing the *Incas* commandement which they respected as Gods.

They

They had no purse-punishments, Fines or Confiscations; for to leaue them poore, was but to giue them more libertie to euill. If any *Curaca* rebelled and deserued death, his sonne succeeded notwithstanding to his State. In warre they had Natiues for Captaines ouer their owne Countrimen, hauing *Incas* for their Superiours. The Iudge durst not arbitrate, but execute the Law, or else hee died for breaking the Royall commandement. This seueritie of the Officers and of the Lawes which for light offences inflicted death, prooued rather gentle then cruell and barbarous, few daring to transgresse: so that all that Empire, extended thirteene hundred leagues, and consisting of so many Nations and Languages, was gouerned by one Law, as if it had beene one house, the rather because they held the same diuine, and from the Sunnes ordinance by the *Incas*.

Penalties. No fines.

Nothing more merciull then seueritie vnpartiall, which makes all to feare; so Guns haue prooued sauers of mens liues, the generall feare of Ordnance causing few battels, and consequently fewer slaine in warres then when & where they haue not beene.

And the Law-breaker was therefore accounted sacrilegious and accursed, insomuch that some accused by their owne consciences haue made confessions without other accusers, fearing to bring publike plagues on the State, as Diseases or Dearths, which they sought to preuent by appeasing God with their deaths. And I conceiue, that from these publike confessions, the *Spanish* Historians haue written that the *Indians* of *Peru* had confession in secret like Christians, and Confessours appropriated: which is false, for in *Peru* they had no other then I haue mentioned: and the *Indians* which told the *Spaniards* thus, answered so to their questions, as they thought might best please them. Neither had they any Appeales Ciuill or Criminall. Euery Towne had a Iudge, and for higher matters they went to the Superiour Iudge in the Mother Citie. The Sentences of ordinary Iudges, were euery moneth related to the Superiour Iudges; and theirs to others their Superiours, which were in the Court in diuers degrees according to the qualitie of Cases. The Supreame were the Presidents or Vice-royes of the foure parts of the World. This report was made to examine Sentences which had passed, and if they were found vniust, the Authors were seuerely punished. The manner of rendring these reports to the *Inca*, and to those of his Counsell, was by knots in lines of diuers colours, which serued them as it were Ciphers: for the knots of such or such colours declared the offences, and certaine threads of diuers colours fastned to the lines, shewed the punishment. This was their Arithmetike in which they were expert and certaine, some applying themselues to nothing else. If any Prouinciall controuersie could not be decided by those whom the King sent, it was suspended, till his Visitation of those parts, and then hee himselfe would see, heare and sentence.

No auricular confession in *Peru*, as *Acosta &c.*

Iudgements examined.

Quippos.

The Tithingmen also gaue account euery moneth of all which were borne or died, and likewise at the end of the yeere; such as perished in the warres, they also related. The like Officers and Orders were in the Campes of warre, as in the Townes of peace. They permitted not to sacke the Townes which they conquered by force. For euery of those foure diuisions of the Empire the *Inca* had Councels of Warre, of Iustice, of necessary businesse. These had subordinate Officers in diuers degrees which rendred accounts of all to the Supreme Councell. Each had a President or Vice-roy which receiued those accounts, and rendred the same to the King. These were *Incas* legitimate, of great experience in Warre and Peace. And these foure only were Counsellors of State.

Monethly and yeerely accounts.

But foure priuy Counsellors.

Roca succeeded his Father *Manco*; he was called *Sinchi*, that is, valiant; excelling in manly feates of Actiuity, Running, Leaping, casting stones or Darts, Wrestling, any of his time. His Fathers Obsequies beeing finished, hee sought to augment his Empire, assembled his *Curacas* to that end, and put them in mind of that which his Father had said to them, when he would returne to Heauen, commanding the conuersion of the *Indians*, to the knowledge and worship of the Sunne; whereunto he was now obliged by his place, and for the profit of the bordering Nations which had need thereof. They promised all readinesse, and he made his expedition to *Collasuyu* and perswaded with faire words, the Nations *Puchina* and *Chanchi*, being simple and credulous of euery nouelty (as are all the *Indians*) and so proceeded without violence twentie leagues that way to the people *Chuncara*, in all things following his Fathers example. Hee also brought in other Nations on each hand; some affirme a great many. He is thought to haue reigned thirtie yeeres: and then professing that he went to rest with his Father the Sunne, hee left *Lloque Yupanqui* his sonne to succeed him, and a numerous Issue besides. His name *Lloque* signifieth *left handed* (for so he was) *Yupanqui* was added for his vertues, and signifieth, *thou shalt account* or reckon, to wit, his great exploits and good parts. If any thinke the word may imply aswell the recounting of vices, let him know that in that Language it is not so, the same Verbe not beeing flexible to euill transition which is vsed to good, nor to good which may be applyed to euill; but their elegance enforceth a change of the Verbe in change of the obiect. The name *Yupanqui*, as that of *Capac* were for their merits giuen to three other *Incas*. He reduced vnder subiection proceeding by the *Collasuyu*, the people *Cana* by perswasions. The *Ayauari* refused and fought with him, and after fortified themselues and indured many skirmishes, but by siege and famine were subdued.

Roca Inca his acts.

Indian credulitie.

Lloque Yupanqui the third *Inca*.

Strange Grammer.

After that he went to *Pucara*, which was a Fortresse builded by him: and sent to the *Pancarcolla* and *Hatuncolla*, which listned to his proposition, being a great Nation, or rather a multitude of Nations, which had many fables of their originall, some from a Fountaine, others from a Caue,

See *Acosta.*

Caue, others from a Riuer. They worshipped a white Ramme as their principall God, being Lords of much cattell. They said that the first Ram in the world aboue, made more reckoning of them then other *Indians*, and had multiplied their Cattell. They offered to that Ram Lambs and tallow in Sacrifice. All of them agreed in this Ram deitie, in other their gods differing, but now exchanged all for the Sunne. Afterwards *Tisicaca*, and *Chucuytu*, and *Hurin Pacassa* were subdued by him. Now to intermixe somewhat of the Sciences which the *Incas* had.

Of the *Peruan* Arts. Astrologie.

Their Astrologie and and naturall Philosophie was little, by reason their *Amautas* or Pphylosophers wanted letters. They better vnderstood morrall learning, and left it written in the practise of their lawes. They obserued the solstices and equinoctials by certaine towers. The Moone and Moneth they called *Quilla*, the yeare *huata*. The eclipses of the Moone they attributed to her sickneſſe, fearing that she would dye and fall from heauen, and kill all below, and therefore they sounded Trumpets, Cornets, Drums, and such Instrumencs as they had, beating, and making their Dogs also to houle, thinking her affectioned to Dogges, for a certaine seruice which they fable done by them, and therefore imagine she would respect them, and awake out of her sleepe caused by sickneſſe. The ecclipse of the Sunne they say happeneth for some offence done against him, for which he is angrie. The spots in the Moone they fable to haue come of a Foxe, which being in loue with the Moones beautie, went to heauen, and touching her with his foreteete left those foule memorials. They make their children to cry *Mama Quilla, Mother Moone doe not dye leſt all periſh.* The men and women cry likewise in her ecclipse with horrible noise: when she recouers her light, they say *Pachacamac* hath cured her and commanded her not to dye, that the world should not perish; and giue her great thankes. All this I haue seene with mine eyes. The lightning and thunder they adore not for gods, but honour and esteeme them as the Sunnes seruants resident in the ayre, not in heauen. Like account they make of the Rainebow, which the Kings *Incas* placed in their armes and scutchion. In the house of the Sunne was a roome for each of them. They made no Prognostications nor Predictions by signes of the Sunne, Moone, Comets, but by their dreames often and strange, and by their sacrifices. The Sun euery euening set in the Sea, and with his heate dried vp much of the water, and swam vnder the earth thorow it to the East. For Phisicke they vsed purging and bleeding, but had no skill of Vrines, or Pulse: some rootes and hearbes they made medicinable vse of, especially of *Tobacco.*

Dreames of Eccliples.

Thunder and lightning. Rainbow.

Dream-diuinations.

Medicine.

Geometry. Chorography. Arithmeticke.

In Geometrie they had some skill for partitions of their grounds, but nothing for speculation; and so much Geographie, as with plats or pictures to expresse the Nations. I haue seene one of *Cusco*, and the confines admirably artificiall. Arithmeticke they practised with knots, as is said, and with graines of Maiz, and small stones, making perfect accompts. Musicke they had in some rules of art; with diuers Instruments, as Pipes proportioned to a consort, and flutes and songs.

Musicke.

Poetry.

The *Amautas* also had some practise of Poetrie, and composed Comedies and Tragedies. The Actors were not base persons, but *Incas* and the Nobilitie, sonnes of the *Curacas*. The argument was the acts of their ancestors. These were represented before the King and Lords at Court. They had no base or dishoneſt parts intermixed. They made Verses short and long with measuring the syllables without rimes, I haue giuen an instance; the argument is (*like that of Iupiter and Iuno in our Poets*) the daughter of a King had a pitcher full of water to moisten the earth, which her brother brake, and with the blow caused thunders and lightnings. They were found in knots and particoloured threads, being very ancient. The words are thus in *Peruan* and *English*, the syllables also in *like number and meeter.*

A *Peruan* hym in spondaike verses.

Cumac Nusta	Faireſt of Nimphes,	*May nimpiri*	Sometimes also
Totallay quim	Thine owne Brother,	*Chichi munqui*	Thou sendst forth haile,
Pununy quita	This thy Pitcher	*Riti munqui*	Thou sendst forth snow.
Paquir Cayan	Now is breaking;	*Pacha runac*	The worlds maker,
Hina Mantara	Whose hard striking	*Pacha camac*	Pachacamac
Cunun nunum	Thunders, lightens,	*Viracocha*	Viracocha
Ylla pantac	And throwes fire-bolts.	*Cay hunapac*	To this office
Camri Nusta	But thou sweet Nimph,	*Churasunqui*	Hath thee placed
Unuyn Quita	Thy faire Pitcher	*Cama sunqui.*	And authorised.
Para Munqui	Powring, raineſt:		

Handicrafts. Goldsmiths.

Now for Handicrafts, the Goldsmiths (of which they had so many) knew not to make an anuile of Iron, nor of other mettall; nor to cast Iron, although they had Mines thereof. They vsed for anuiles certaine hard stones, of a pale greene colour, which they plained and smoothed with rubbing one against another. They were rare and precious. They knew not how to make hammers with handles of wood, but wrought with instruments made of Copper and Laton mingled, in forme of a Dye, of seuerall sizes, which they held in their hands to strike with as men doe with stones. They had no Files nor Chissels, nor Bellowes for casting of mettals, but vsed Pipes of Brasse, halfe a yard long or lesse, and ioyned eight or tenne together as there was neede.

Carpenters.

Neither had they skill to make tongues. And yet did they make marueilous workes. Their Carpenters were as much to seeke or more, hauing no Iron tooles, but an Axe and a Hatchet and those

those of Brasse; no Saw, nor Augre, nor Plainer, nor Nailes, but fastned all things with lines or ropes of a kinde of heath. Neither were their Masons in better case: they vsed a certaine blacke stone not to cut but to beate their stoneworks with force of their armes, and yet haue left incredible Monuments of their art. The *Iesuites* and other Religions haue instructed the youth since in other arts, in Dialogues and Comedies of Scripture. One Iesuite in praise of our Lady the Virgin *Mary* composed a Comedie in the *Aymara* tongue; the argument was *Gen.* 3. *I will put enmitie betweene thee and the woman, and betweene thy seede and her seede: She* (so the *Romists* reade and make of it this remarkeable vse) *shall breake thy head, &c.* A dialogue of the faith was recited at *Potocsi* before 12000. *Indians*, and another of the Sacrament at the *Citie of Kings* before innumerable, the *Indian* youth acting and pronouncing with such seemely gestures as much affected the *Spaniards*. The Licentiate *Iuan Cuellas* read the Latin Grammer to the *Mestizos* of *Cozco*, with good fruite.

Masons.

Note.

Ayta Capac followed his predecessors examples, and went forth with 12000. men (the former expeditions had beene with lesse company, as of 7000 and so vpwards as the state encreased) and couering his couetousnesse and ambition with pretence of conuerting people to his religion *, came to the disemboking of the great lake *Titicaca*, and made Boates for transporting his army. He brought vnder by faire meanes the *Tiahuanacu*, which people had admirable buildings. One was a hand-made Mount admirable high, founded on stones ioyned with morter, none could tell for what cause. In one roome thereof stood two figures of Giants cut in stone with long garments downe to the ground, with couerings on their heads, well worne with age. There was also a huge wall of stones so great that it may breede wonder what force of men might be able to bring or raise them where they are, seeing that in a great distance there are no quarries. There are other braue buildings, great porches or frontals, in diuers places each made of one stone in all the foure parts; yea to greater admiration some of these are set on stone, of which some are thirtie foote long, and fifteene broad, and sixe in front, and these stones so great, and the porches are of one peece; nor can it be imagined with what instruments they were wrought. The Naturals say they are ancienter then the *Incas* times, and that they imitated these in building the fortresse of *Cozco*; and knew not who made them, but haue a tradition that they were all made in a night. It seemeth that they were neuer finished, but were onely beginnings of what the founders intended. *Diego de Alcobaça* a Priest, my Schoolefellow, & borne in the same house that I was, being also my foster brother, and a Preacher to the *Indians*; which hath beene there, wrote to me that in that Region *Tiahuanacu* fast by a lake called *Chuquiuitu*, there stands a marueilous house, with a faire Court fifteene yards square, compassed with a high wall, on one side whereof is a great hall 45. foote long, and 22. wide, couered like the house of the Sunne in *Cusco*. This Court with the wals and floore, hall, roofe, porches, and thresholds of two doores (the one of the hall, the other into the court) is all made of one peece wrought in one rocke: the wals of the hall and of the wall are three quarters of a yard thicke. The roofe though it seeme of tharch is of stone. They say it was dedicated to the *Maker of the World*. There are also many stones cut in shapes of men and women, so naturall as if they were aliue drinking with cups in their hands, some sitting, some on their feete, others as it were passing, others with children in their armes, and 1000. other postures. The *Indians* say that for their sinnes, and for stoning a man which passed thorow that Prouince, they were conuerted into statues. But to returne to our *Inca*, he subdued many Nations or pettie habitations; such as would not be wonne by perswasions, hee mastered with seege and hunger. Battels were very rare. Hee died hauing raigned about thirtie yeares, and was bewailed a yeare after the custome. His Sonne *Capac Tupanqui* succeeded, the fifth *Inca*.

The third Booke.

* This lesson the *Spaniards* haue learned too well since.

Admirable buildings. *Pedro de Cieça. c.* 105. handleth this from his owne sight more largely.

Men-stones.

Capac Yupanqui the fifth *Inca*.

His first care, after his Diadem assured, was to visite his Kingdome; in which visitation hee spent two yeares, enquiring into the courses of his Ministers and Gouernours. After this hee went vp from *Cozco* with 20000. men, and went Westward. Hee caused a Bridge to be made in the Riuer *Apurimac* at *Huacachaca*, lower then that of *Aceha*. Hee passed ouer it to the faire Prouince *Tauahura*, which gladly receiued him; thence to *Aymara*, there being betwixt those two Prouinces a Region dishabited of thirtie leagues; which passed, he found at the hill *Mucansa* much people of that Prouince (which is thirtie leagues long, fifteene wide, rich of Mines of Gold, Siluer, Lead and Cattell) to encounter him. But he sought rather to beseege them on the hill, hauing purposely sent men about, and by hunger forced them to composition after a moneths siege. Hauing pacified the *Aymaras*, hee proceeded to *Cotapampa* and *Cotanera* of the Nation *Quechua*; and after to the Vallie of *Hacari*, great and fertile. Hee made another expedition, leauing his Brother his Lieutenant of his Kingdome, and the foure Masters of his Campe his Councellours, chusing others to serue him; and went to the Lake of *Paria*, where two *Curacas* at contention, made him arbitrator, and themselues his subiects in the diuision *Collasuyu*. Thence thorow a spacious Countrie vnpeopled, but full of Cattell and hot Springs; hee came to the Prouinces *Tapacri* and *Cochapampa*. Hee made another Bridge in the water-passage of *Tuicara*. The former of *Huacachaca* was made of Osyers, this of Bull-

Osyer Bridge.

Bul ruſh bridg See *Acoſta* of their waies to paſſe Riuers.

ruſhes there growing, of which they made foure cables as big as a mans legge, reaching from one ſide to the other; on which they laid great bundles of the ſame matter as bigge as an Oxe, ſtrongly tied together and to the Cables: ouer theſe bundles they made two other cables which they faſtened ſurely with the bundles: vpon theſe they laid other little bundles as bigge as a mans arme, wouen into each other and with the cables; theſe were as the cauſey of the Bridge. This Bridge is thirteene or foureteene foot broad, and about one hundred and fiftie paces long. They renewed it euery ſixe moneths. Often vſe made readineſſe and quicke diſpatch. They remoued it as they ſaw occaſion. The *Inca* paſſed further to *Chayanta*, thorow a diſhabited Countrey: this with fiue other great Prouinces he ſubiected, and then returned to *Cozco*, and rewarded his Captaines.

The Kingdome now reached one hundred and eighty leagues from *Cuſco* Southwards, and Weſtwards to the Sea, ſixtie leagues one way, and eightie another: to the Eaſt thirteene, to the South-eaſt fortie. He adorned the houſes of the Sunne which *Manco Capac* had founded, and that of the Virgins, with other great workes. After this he ſent the Prince *Roca* with an army of

Remouing of people from one place to another.

20000. men, by the way of *Chinchaſuyu* Northwards from *Cuzco*, which had continued at a ſtay ſince *Manco Capac*, but ſeuen leagues from the Citie, the Country beyond being rough and vnpeopled. He entred into the rich Countrey of *Sura*, which gently receiued him, as did alſo the next called *Apucara*, which was in enmitie with the former. The like ſucceſſe hee had in *Rucana*, *Namaſca*, and other Vallies to *Arequepa* eightie leagues outright, and foureteene in breadth. The *Inca* tranſplanted people from thoſe parts to *Apurimac*, both being hot Regions. Old *Inca Capac Yupanqui* after theſe things dyed, leauing about eightie children (ſome of them left one hundred, ſome two hundred, and ſome aboue three hundred) and his Sonne *Roca* ſucceeded.

Many children

Let vs now ſpeake of *Cozco* and the holies thereof.

Religious reputation of *Cozco* and the ſuperſtitious holies therein.

One of the principalleſt Idols of that Empire was *Coſco*, the Imperiall Citie, which the *Indians* worſhipped as a thing ſacred, becauſe it was founded by *Inca Manco Capac*, and becauſe it was the houſe and Court of the *Incas* their gods. If an *Indian* in the way met another which came from *Cozco*, though otherwiſe equall, and now he himſelfe were going thither, he gaue him reſpect therefore as his ſuperiour for hauing beene there; how much more if he were a neere dweller, or Citizen there? The like was in Seedes, Pulſe, or whatſoeuer was brought from *Cozco*, more eſteemed for that cauſe then thoſe of other parts in other reſpects as good. To hold it ſtill in reputation, the Kings adorned it with ſumptuous buildings, of which the principall was

The Temple of the Sunne.

the Temple of the Sunne, euery *Inca* increaſing it, which is ſaid to be builded by *Yupanqui*, becauſe he enriched it, being before founded by *Manco*. The Chappell or ſhrine of the Sunne was that which is now the Church of Saint *Domingo* (although not the ſame altogether) wrought of poliſhed ſtone. The high Altar (that we may ſo call it, for they knew not how to make an Altar) ſtood to the Eaſt, the roofe was thatched (for they could not make tile.) All foure wals were couered from the top to the bottome with Plates of Gold. In the Eaſt or high Altar ſtood the

Rich hangings

figure of the Sunne, made of one planke or plate) of Gold, twice as thicke as the other plates on the wals; the face round with rayes and flames of fire, all of a peece. It was ſo great that it

Sunnes image.

tooke vp all the end from one wall to the other. Neither had they any other idols in that or any other Temple but this: for indeede (whatſoeuer others ſay) they worſhipped no other gods but the Sunne. This Idoll fell by lot, in the *Spaniſh* Conquerours ſharing, to one *Mancio Serra*, whom I knew and left aliue when I came to *Spaine*, who loſt it at play in a night, whence they ſaid Prouerbially, *hee had plaid away the Sunne before it was vp*. Hee was after choſen the ordinary *Alcalde* of the Citie many yeares, and grew to abhoore play very much. But by ſuch a ſhare falling to one man, may be gueſſed the exceeding riches of that Citie. On the one ſide and on the other of that Image were the deceaſed bodies of the Kings, placed according to their antiquitie, as children of the Sunne, embalmed (wee know not how)

Bodies of Kings deceaſed.

ſo that they ſeemed aliue. They were ſet in their ſeates of Gold placed on plankes of gold, holding their faces to the people. Onely *Huayna Capac* was placed before the figure of the

Huayna Capac.

Sunne with his face to it: as his beſt beloued ſonne, whom they worſhipped in his life time for his vertues. Theſe corpes the *Indians* did hide with the reſt of their treaſures, the moſt of which is not yet knowne. *Anno* 1559. the Licentiate *Polo* found fiue of them, three of the Kings, and two of the Queenes. The principall doore looked to the North, as it ſtill abides. That and the other leſſe doores were lined with plates of Gold, in manner of a Porch. Without the Temple, on the top of the wals ran all alongſt a chamfred worke of gold, in forme of a Crowne, aboue a yard broad, round about the Temple.

A rich Cloiſter

Beyond the Temple was a Cloiſter of foure ſquares (one of which was the Temple) ſound about the top whereof was ſuch a crowne of chamfered gold, as is before mentioned, aboue a

Fiue Chappels

yard broad, inſtead of which the *Spaniards* haue ſet vp one of white plaiſter. There were ſquares, or ſeuered Chappels ſtanding by themſelues, couered like a pyramis, which made the

Moone Chappell.

three other ſides of the Cloiſter. One of them was dedicated to the Moone, all which and the doores thereof was couered with plates of Siluer. Her Image was placed therein like that of the Sun, with a womans face in a planke of Siluer. Thither they went to viſite her, and to commend them-

themselues to her as the wife and sister of the Sunne, and mother of the *Incas*, and all their generation; and called her *Mamaquilla, Mother Moone*: but offered no Sacrifices to her as to the Sunne. On each hand of the Moones image were the bodies of the Queenes deceased ranked in order of their antiquitie. *Mamaoello* Mother of *Huayna Capac* stood before the Moone face to face, for producing such a Sonne. The next roome to that of the Moone, was dedicated to the Planet *Venus*, and to the seuen Starres, and to all the Starres in common, which they held to be the seruants of the Moone, and therefore placed them about their Lady to be ready at hand for any seruice. The next roome was lined with siluer also, and the porch of siluer. The roofe was made with resemblances of Starres great and small, like the starrie firmament. The next to this of the Starres was dedicated to the Thunder and Lightning and Thunderbolt, all which were signified in one word *Tllapa*. They worshipped them not for gods, but held them for seruants of the Sunne. They made no picture thereof. The fourth roome or Chappell was dedicated to the Rainebow, which they esteemed seruant to the Sunne; this roome and the former were all garnished with gold. On the golden plankes of this was the Rainebow painted. When they saw a Rainebow in the skie, they couered their mouth with their hand, saying, that if their teeth were vncouered they would consume. The fifth building was for the chiefe Priests, and the other Priests which serued in the Temple, not to eate or drinke in, but for consultation about their Sacrifices: it was garnished with gold from the top to the bottome.

Chappell of *Venus* & Stars.

Chappell of Starrie skie.

Chappell of thunder, lightning and bolt.

Chappell of Rainebow.

The chiefe Priest was called *Villac Vmu*, that is, the *Priest which speaketh*, namely to the people, what the Sunne hath giuen him in charge, or diuels, or dreames, or other diuinations haue foretold. Three of those fiue roomes remaine, the Gold and Siluer except. Those of the Moone and Starres are downe. Euery side had foure Tabernacles without, which had like workes on them in stone, as within of mettall. Not onely the wals but the floores of those Tabernacles also was of Gold. The Images were also pouldered with Gemmes, Turkesses, and Emeralds; for they had no Diamonds nor Rubies. There were twelue doores to the Cloister, and as many Tabernacles or shrines, besides that of the Moones Chappell and of the Starres, these were of Siluer, the rest were all plated ouer with Gold in forme of Porches. They had also in the house of the Sunne many other roomes or chambers for the Priests and seruants of the house, which were *Incas* of priuiledge: For none but an *Inca* might enter into that house, nor any woman, no not the wiues or daughters of the King. The Priests serued their courses by weekes, which they reckoned by the quarters of the Moone: in which space they departed not out of the Temple day nor night. The Porters and all inferior officers were of the same townes which serued in the Kings house; there being no difference made in the two houses of the Father and the Sunne, but that one had women, the other no Sacrifice in it, equall otherwise in Maiestie. For seuerall Sacrifices they had seuerall roomes. In the house were fiue Fountaines of water which runne thence in pipes of Gold: the Pillars were some of stone, others of Gold hollow, others of Siluer; there they washed the Sacrifices. Onely one of these Fountaines were left to water the garden of the Couent, till 1558. when it being occasionally broken, no *Indian* could tell whence that water came, or how to helpe it. Such traditions of sacred things it seemes were kept by their Priests, and now lost. Occasion seuen moneths after found the water, which they amended without further search of the Fountaine, the pipes lying very low.

Priests.

Women might not enter.

Moueable weekes.

Seruitors.

Sacrifices.

Fountaines.

This Garden was in the *Incas* time a Garden of Siluer and Gold, as they had in the Kings houses, where they had many sorts of Hearbes, Flowers, Plants, Trees, Beasts great and small, wilde, tame, Snakes, Lizards, Snailes, Butterflies, small and great Birds, each set in their place. They had Maiz, Quinua, Pulse, Fruit-trees with the fruite on them all of Gold and Siluer, resembling the naturall. They had also in the house heapes of wood, all counterfeit of Gold and Siluer, as they had in the house royall: likewise they had great statues of men and women, and children, and many *Pirua* or Troses for corne, euery day inuenting new fashions of greater Maiestie, vsing yearely on the Sunnes chiefe festiuities to present him so much Siluer and Gold wrought into counterfeit formes. All the Vessell (which was infinite) for the Temples seruice, Pots, Pans, Tubs, Hogsheads, was of Gold and Siluer, euen to the Spades, and Pickaxes for the Garden. Like to this Temple of *Cozco* were others in many Prouinces of that Kingdome, in which euery *Curaca* indeuoured according to his power to haue such riches of Gold and Siluer. But the most famous was that of *Titicaca*.

Garden of gold and siluer.

Golden counterfeits.

All vessels and instruments of Gold.

This might for Gold and Siluer compare with that of *Cozco*. It is an Iland in the mids of a Lake of the same name, where their fables tell that after the floud, the Sunne first shined; and after that, he exposed his Sonne and Daughter (as ye haue heard) to ciuillize the world. In these respects it was holden for a place sacred thorow all that Empire, and a Temple was built therein, all lined with plates of Gold, dedicated to the Sunne. All places subiect to the Empire, yeerely offered Gold and Siluer, and Precious stones, in thanksgiuing to the Sunne for his benefits there done them. This Temple had the same Seruice as that at *Cozco*. Of the offerings of Gold and Siluer was such a quantitie stored in the Ile, besides that which was wrought, that it is more matter of wonder then credit. *Blas Valera* saith, that the *Indians* reported that there was enough

Rich Temple at *Titicaca*.

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to build another Temple from the foundation, and when the *Spaniards* came, they threw it all into the Lake.

Spaniſh vndertaking for treaſure.

In the Valley of *Orcos*, ſix leagues Southwards from *Cuzco* is a little Lake aboue a mile about, but very deepe, into which the report was that much of *Cuzco* treaſure was throwne. Some *Spaniards* agreed to be at coſt to empt ie it, *Anno* 1557. but hauing entred fiftie paces into their maine worke, by which they had thought to haue conueied the water into the Riuer *Yucay*, they were encountered with a rocke, which ſeeking to make way thorow, they brought forth more fire then ſtone, and were enforced to giue ouer. The *Indians* are thought to haue hidden infinite treaſures. But for that barren rockie Ice the *Incas* were at further coſt to couer the ſtone with good earth, that it might beare Mayz (which growes no where in that eold Region) of which a little quantitie grew, and by the King was offered to the Sunne in his Temple, and to the choſen Virgins in *Cuzco*, which were to ſend it to other Monaſteries and Temples, one yeare to one, and another to another, that they might haue of that graine which ſeemed to haue come from heauen. They ſowed it in Gardens of the Sunnes Temple, and made ſuch adoe about keeping and beſtowing it, that that *Indian* thought himſelfe a happy man which had a graine of that Maiz, and that he ſhould neuer want bread all daies of his life.

Superſtitious corne.

The fourth Booke. Houſes of Virgins.

THe *Incas* had houſes of Virgins retired in many Prouinces, touching which the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians haue beene deceiued. I will ſpeake of the houſe at *Cuſco* called *Aclahua*, that is, *the houſe of the choſen*, to wit, for their beautie, or ſtocke, to ſerue the Sunne. Theſe liued not in the Temple of the Sunne, but diſtant a ſtreete from it, a row of houſes going betweene them. For neither might men enter where the Nuns were, nor women where the Prieſts were. It was neceſſary that theſe women ſhould be of royall bloud, without any mixture of either ſide. There were in it ordinarily 1500. Nunnes. Some of them were ancient, called *Mamacuna*, that is, *Mothers which take charge*, or care of the reſt. Some were as Abbeſſes, others as teachers of the Nouices both in rites and handiworkes, as to ſpin, weaue and ſow; others were porters, or prouiders of neceſſaries. They liued in perpetuall cloſure to their dying day, neither might they ſpeake with any man, or ſee any man or woman, but thoſe of their owne houſe. Onely the *Coya* and her daughters might haue leaue to enter and conferre with them. By them the *Inca* ſent to know how they did, and whereof they had neede. The principall gate was not opened but for the Queene, or to receiue Nouices. They had twentie Porters, which men might not paſſe the ſecond gate vnder paine of death. They had fiue hundred Girles for ſeruice of the Monaſterie, daughters to thoſe which the firſt *Inca* had priuiledged to be *Incas*. Theſe alſo had their *Mamacunas*. The principall exerciſe which the women of the Sunne did, was to make all the garments and robes that the *Inca* or his *Coya* did weare, and thoſe fine robes which were offered to the Sunne. The King himſelfe might not giue thoſe Garments to any of his *Curacas* which were not of his bloud. They made alſo the Bread for the Sacrifices to the Sunne at the great feaſts *Raymi* and *Sittua*, called *Zancu*, and the drinke which the *Inca* then dranke.

1500. Nuns.

Exceeding ſtrictneſſe.

Men Porters.

Nuns workes.

Robes for perfume.

All the Vtenſils of the houſe, euen to Pots and Pans, were of Gold and Siluer, as in the houſe of the Sunne. They had ſuch a Garden alſo as the other, of golden Plants, Birds and Beaſts. Obedience and Virginitie was perpetuall, vnder paine of burying quicke. Any man which ſhould defloure, muſt not onely dye himſelfe, but his wife, children, kindred and neighbours. Such the Law, but there was neuer found cauſe of execution. Like to theſe of *Cuzco*, dedicated to the Sunne, were other Nunnes and houſes in principall Prouinces of the Kingdome. In which were admitted thoſe of the bloud Royall, pure, and mixed, and daughters alſo of the *Curacas* as a great fauour. Alſo ſome of the faireſt of the common people to be concubines for the *Inca*, and not for the Sunne, but kept with like vigilance. Their life was like the other, and their maintenance from the *Inca*. Their workes the *Inca* might impart with others, and themſelues alſo he might take out for his Concubines, which then might not returne againe, but either ſerued the Queene or were ſent into their Countries with great credit. Thoſe alſo which were old in theſe houſes might haue like licenſe. Thoſe that were dedicated for the King preſent, when heo was dead, were called *Mamacunas*, and were inſtructers of thoſe Concubines which entred for the New *Inca*.

Golden Garden.

Perpetuall virginitie.

Other Nunneries.

Mamacunas when.

Euery of theſe houſes had a Gouernour, which muſt be an *Inca*: a ſteward and others officers. All the veſſels were of Gold and Siluer, as in the houſes of the Sunne and of the King, ſo that all the Gold and Siluer in the whole Kingdome was ſpent in manner in the Sunnes ſeruice, and of thoſe which were eſteemed his deſcendants. The *Curacas* were ſtinted what veſſels of Plate they might haue for their owne vſe, which was but little. They might neuer be beſtowed on other men, which had beene choſen women for the *Inca*; for they held it a profanation of that which was holy; yea to be a ſlaue to the *Inca* was more eſteemed then to be wife of another Lord. eſteeming him as next to the Sunne; wherein ſome *Spaniſh* authors haue beene deceiued. yet did he reward his great men with women, but they were the daughters of other *Curacas* or Captaines, which held this for a fauour done them that he ſhould eſteeme their daughter as a iewell, which with his owne hand he would beſtow. Sometimes (but ſeldome) he beſtowed on

Spaniſh authors deceiued.

ſome

some of the *Curacas* his owne Daughters which were (as they esteemed such as were not of the whole bloud) bastards, which hee had by women not of his *Inca*-kindred, which was holden Diuine.

Besides these, there were many other of Royall bloud which liued retired in their owne houses with vow of Virginity, though not inclosed in any Monastery: which tooke libertie to goe out to visit their kindred neere them in their sickneſſe or trauell. Such were highly reputed and were called *Ocllo*, a sacred name: and if they lost their chastitie, were burned aliue or cast to the Lyons Denne. One of these very old I knew, which visited my Mother, beeing her Grandfathers sister. Widowes in the first yeere of their widow-hood kept very close; those which had no children married againe; but those which had, continued continent all their liues: in which respect the Lawes allowed them many priuiledges, and the tillage of their grounds before the *Curacas* or *Incas*.

Another sort of Nunnes.

Widowes.

And for matter of Marriage in *Cozco*, once in a yeere or two, the King assembled all the youth of both Sexes, of his owne Linage, the Males of twentie to foure and twentie, the Maids of eighteene and so to twentie (he permitted them not sooner to marry) and called them forth, such a man and such a maide, and hauing ioyned them with his owne hand, deliuered them to their Parents: after which the Marriage Feast was solemnized by the new Parents, two, foure, or sixe dayes. These were legitimate wiues and the most honoured. The day following his Officers did the like for the Citizens, obseruing the distinction of *High* and *Low Cozco*. The Gouernour in each Diuision with the *Curacas* did the like in their gouernments, the *Inca* neuer vsurping but assisting the *Curacas* Iurisdiction. Those of one Prouince might not marry with those of another, but obserued the Rites of the Tribes of *Israel*: nor might they goe to liue out of their Prouinces or out of their owne Townes, or the Wards of the same Towne.

Marriages.

Tribes, towns, wards, not intermarrying.

In defect of children by the lawfull Wife, the Inheritance by Law fell on the eldest of the bloud lawfull, as from *Huascar* to *Manco* and neuer to Bastards: for which Lawes sake *Atabualpa* destroyed all the Royall bloud, hee being a Bastard. Others might not marrie their sister, but the *Inca* only. The Prouinces differed in some cases, the elder Sonne of the *Inca* succeeding, in other places all the brethren after each other, and somewhere the best esteemed of the Sonnes. Such vsiges were before the *Incas* times, and not broken by them.

Laws of Inheritance.

Diuers customes.

The *Incas* made a great Feast at the wayning of their eldest Son, which was at two yeeres old or vpwards, & they first cut off his haire with a flint-razor, the Fathers beginning, each following in his dignity: then did they name him and offer presents. The same was imitated by the *Curacas* and the people. Their children were brought vp without any dainty niceneſſe. Assoone as they were born they washed them in cold water, and then put them in blankets. They gaue them the breast but at morning, and noone and night, thrice a day, how much soeuer they cried, lest they should be gluttons. *But if I should follow our Author in houshold affaires, I should be too long.*

Care of Infants.

Inca Roca their sixth King pursued his Northerne Conquests to *Chanca*, a valiant Nation, which say they descended of a Lyon, and therefore worshipped the Lyon for God. I haue seene them in their Feast of the Sacrament twelue of them like *Hercules*, attired in a Lyons skinne. He proceeded to the end of the Prouince *Antahuaylla* and thence to *Vramarca* and *Hancohuallu* and *Villca*, *Sulla*, and *Vtunsulla*. After that he sent his Sonne the Prince *Yahuarhuacac* to *Antisuyu* or the East, where since *Manco Capac* they had done nothing. They say that when this Prince was borne, he wept bloud, and so his name signifieth. Other Historians haue herein beene deceiued. He tooke with him fifteene hundred Warriours, and three Campe-masters. Hee went to *Hausca* (which was after, the lot of my Father *Garcilasso de la Vega*) and thence to the Vallies where the herbe *Coca* groweth, so much esteemed by them: and beyond it to *Cannac-huay* which hath fiue leagues of descent almost perpendicular, and striking terrour to the beholders: how much more to them which goe downe, the way winding like a Snake? In these Prouinces of the *Antis* they worshipped Tygres and great Snakes fiue and twentie or thirtie foot in length, called *Amaru*, which doe no harme, being as some say, charmed to that innocence by a great Magician. They worshipped also the herbe *Coca* or *Coca* as the *Spaniards* call it. In this Expedition the Prince added thirtie leagues to the Empire, but ill peopled. The *Inca Roca* leauing the Prince his Deputie, went with thirty thousand to the Conquest of *Chareas*: and added fiftie leagues square to his Soueraigntie: after which he dyed and his Sonne *Yahuar Huacac* succeeded. *Rocas* Lawes and Schooles which he is said first of all to haue founded in *Cozco*, for the Arts aforesaid, I omit. He was wont to say that *Pachacamac* must needs be a great King which had such a house as the glorious Heauens to dwell in: also, that if he were to worship any thing below, he would worship a wise and vnderstanding man: Yet saith he, that which beginneth, groweth, dieth irrecouerably, ought not to be worshipped.

Inca Roca the six King his conquests.

Acosta and other, say that it was thorow griefe of captiuitie.

Coca.

Steep & deepe descent of fiue leagues.

Yahuar Huacac or weep-bloud, for the ill diuinings of that accident at his birth, stayed a good while in visiting his Kingdomes before hee thought vpon Conquests. Yet at length hee sent his Brother *Inca Maita* with twenty thousand South-westward, which conquered from *Arequepa* to *Tacama*. After this he minded a more haughtie Designe to conquer *Caranca* and other Regions in the Diuision *Collasuyu* valiant people, but was soone called to other thoughts by the ill demea-

Yahuar Huacac the seuenth *Inca.*

Apophthegmes.

Yahuarhuacas acts.

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Feare of his Sonne.

demeanour of his eldeſt Sonne, whom therefore hee purpoſed to diſherit for his cruell conditions. He cauſed him to liue with the Shepherds which kept the Cattle of the Sunne in *Chita*, which he did, carrying himſelfe like a Shepherd three yeeres and a halfe. He came one afternoone to his Fathers houſe and ſent to ſpeake with him, who ſent him word that he ſhould goe thither where he had placed him, hauing incurred death by breaking his precept. Hee ſent word that hee came with a meſſage from as great a Lord as himſelfe, which when he had deliuered he would returne. He marueiling what Lord that ſhould be, admitted him to his preſence, and heard him tell that

A viſion of the Prince.

at noone that day, as he was feeding the Sunnes cattell, there ſtood a man, before him in a ſtrange habit and forme, hauing a beard on his face aboue a ſpan long, and clothed to the foot, with an vnknowne creature faſtened to his necke. *He ſaid (that he was the Sonne of the Sunne and brother of* Manco Capac *the firſt* Inca, *and therefore to them all: that hee was named* Viracocha Inca, *and came from the Sunne our Father to giue him aduiſe that the moſt of the Prouinces of* Chinchaſuyu, *both ſubiects and others, were in armes and comming with a mightie Armie to deſtroy the Imperiall Citie* Cozco: *that therefore he ſhould preuent and prouide in time. And feare them not, for in whatſoeuer aduerſitie I will ſuccour thee as my fleſh and bloud.* After theſe words hee vaniſhed away. His Father chid him and would not beleeue him. Three monethes after came newes of the Rebellion of many Nations which had killed their Gouernours, and had aſſembled thirty thouſand Souldiers in demand of *Cozco: Hancohuallu* was their Generall. This was the firſt Rebellion of the Prouinces which the *Incas* had conquered, and was ſo ſudden to *Yahuar Huacac* that hee fled out of *Cozco* with a few followers, with purpoſe to ſecure himſelfe in *Collaſuyu*. The Citizens were readie to flee each his way, till ſome thinking of the Prince (whom vpon that Dreame or Viſion they called *Viracocha Inca*, his former name is vnknowne) gaue him intelligence thereof. He gathered what forces he could, and followed his Father to whom hauing preſented in a pithy ſpeech, the miſerable leauing of the houſe and holies of the Sunne, and of the Sunnes Virgins to ſuch prophane Enemies, hee bid thoſe which loued an honourable death before a ſhamefull life to follow him: which foure thouſand of the Royall bloud did, to whom others from all parts aſſembled. Hauing ſet order in *Cozco*, hee went with eight thouſand reſolute Warriours to meete the enemy which had now paſſed the Riuer *Apurimac*.

The fift Book.

THe next day came newes of 20000. men, comming to his aide from *Cantiſuyu*, which hee attributed to *Viracocha* which had promiſed him ſuccour in all diſtreſſe; this bred him reſpect, and confidence to the buſineſſe with the *Indians*. He entertained theſe ſupplies ioyfully, which told him of other fiue thouſand comming two dayes behind. To theſe hee ſent word to Embuſcado themſelues in a place appointed, that ſo in the fury of the battle they might come

Great battle.

forth vnexpected. This they did and much daunted the enemies, eſpecially when with ſhouts and cryes manifold ſmall troupes came in alſo which were of ſuch as had fled from *Cozco*, who hearing of the Princes reſolution made head as they could and made the Rebels thinke that they ſhould neuer ſee an end of their enemies.

Aduantage by Fables.

A brute was alſo raiſed, and rumoured in both Campes that *Viracocha* turned ſtones and trees into men, to fight for the Prince. The battle continued eight houres with ſo much bloud, that a Brooke in the Plaine ranne therewith. Twentie thouſand were ſlaine on both ſides, twelue thouſand of the Rebels ſide beſides their Generall and Campemaſters taken.) Father *Acoſta* hath

Acoſta taxed, See *ſup.* 1060.

much of this *Viracocha*, but altogether fabulous. For the *Indians* eſteeme him next to the Sunne, and his Son not aboue him, beleeuing but two Gods the inuiſible and viſible as is ſaid; the *Indians* telling Fables to pleaſe the *Spaniards*, and ſome things for want of the Language were not rightly

Their dealing with the Sun.

vnderſtood by the *Spaniards*. The Prince after the Victory ſent three Meſſengers, the firſt to the houſe of the Sunne (for in all things they dealt with him as if he had beene a bodily man, ſetting him meate and drinke, &c.) the other to the houſe of the Virgins, the third to his Father. He dealt very mildly with the Rebels and their wiues and children, pardoning them and prouiding for the Widowes and Orphans. Hee was receiued with great Iubilee in *Cozco*, and thence went to the Straits of *Muyna*, to viſit his Father which ſeemed malcontent. They ſpake ſome words in priuate, and the Prince came forth and ſaid that his Father would not returne to *Cozco*. This (whether true or falſe) was enough, and in vaine had he now gainſaid it; ſo that a Pallace of pleaſures was there built for the Father to ſpend the reſt of his dayes, his Sonne taking the Diademe. This Viſion of *Viracocha* with a beard and clothed to the foot, whereas the beardleſſe Natiues are clothed but to the knees, was the cauſe that the *Spaniards* at their firſt comming

Why the *Spaniards* were called *Viracocha*.

b *Acoſta* ſaith they were ſo called becauſe they came by Sea: *Benzo*, as the froth or ſcumme of the Sea, in contempt.

were called *Virachoca*: and for that they tooke and killed the Tyrant *Atahuallpa*, which had ſlaine *Huaſcar* the right Heire, and wrought ſo many cruelties. Which cauſed that ſix *Spaniards* alone, of which was *Soto* and *Barco*, went to *Cozco* two or three hundred leagues without harme. They called them alſo *Incas*, Sonnes of the Sunne. That which ſome ſay, b that they were called *Virachoca*, becauſe they came by Sea, ſaying that the word ſignifieth the fat (or ſcumme) of the Sea, they are deceiued: for *Virachoca* is the *Sea of fat*, or tallow (*Vira, ſebo; cocha, mar*) ſo that it appeares to be a proper name, and not compounded. I conceiue further that the Artillery was the cauſe that they were called *Virachoca*.

This

This *Inca Viracocha* by his victorie and viſion was ſo eſteemed, that in his life time they worſhipped him as a God ſent by the Sunne for reparation of things amiſſe, reuerenced him beyond his predeceſſors. He built a Temple for memoriall of that Viſion to *Viracocha* in *Cacha*, therein imitating, as much as was poſſible, the place where hee ſaw the ſame, and therefore without a roofe: it was an hundred and twenty foot long, and eighty wide, of ſtone fairely wrought, with foure doores, the Eaſterne onely open, with his figure in a Chappell, ſomewhat reſembling thoſe Images which wee make of the Apoſtles. The *Spaniards* deſtroyed it, as they did other famous workes which they found in *Peru*, ſcarſely any Monument remayning: which they did to ſearch for treaſure vnder them. He made alſo two huge Birds called *Contures* (ſo great, that ſome haue beene found with the extremes of their wings extended, fiue Varas, or *Spaniſh* yards aſunder) they are fowles of prey, ſo fierce, that their dammes breake their talons; the beake ſo ſtrong, that at once they will breake the hide * of a Cow. Hee made the picture of theſe two Birds, one repreſenting his father in myſterie fleeing from *Cozco*, the other *Viracocha*. He ſought to gratifie his Commanders and Subiects, and ſought new conqueſts. Hee ſent *Paknac mayta Inca* his brother againſt *Caranca*, *Vllaca*, *Llipi*, *Chicha* and *Ampara*. Theſe two laſt worſhipped the ranke of Hills for their heigth, and for the Riuers which they yeeld. Theſe were all ſubiected: and Eaſtward to the *Sierra*, or ſnowy Hill, Southwards to the furtheſt Prouince of *Charcas* two hundred leagues from *Cozco*. So that the Sea and the Hills on each hand, and Southward the Deſarts betwixt them and *Chili*, bounded the Empire. Northwards hee went with thirty thouſand warriours to *Huamanca*, and other Nations which hee ſubiected. Hee made a water-paſſage twelue foot in the channell, to run an hundred and twenty leagues from betwixt *Parcu* and *Picuy* to *Rucanas*; and another thorow all the diuiſion *Cuntiſuyu* from South to North one hondred and fifty leagues from the high *Sierras* to the *Quechuas*: which may be ranked with the Worlders of the world conſidering the Rockes they brake thorow without inſtruments of ſteele, and onely by ſtones with force of hands. Neither know they to make arches, but were driuen to goe about. The *Spaniards* haue ſuffered them all to periſh: as they haue permitted two third parts of thoſe which were to water the Corne grounds to be loſt alſo.

Viracochas Temple.

Condores or *Contors*, huge birds.

* *Cuero*, perhaps it ſhould be *cuerno*, the horne.

Huge Aquæducts.

Embaſſadours came from *Tucma* (the *Spaniards* call it *Tucuman*) to the *Inca*, offering vaſſalage, whom hee made to drinke in his preſence (an ineſtimable fauour) and promiſed ſo much better reſpect as his courſe deſerued. *Hancobnallu* notwithſtanding all his kinde vſage, left his Countries to goe ſeeke new, and the *Inca* ſent *Colonies* to the *Chancas*. This *Inca* they ſay had a foretelling of the *Spaniards* comming. Hee died, and left his ſonne *Pachacutec Inca* his heire. It is ſuppoſed that he raigned aboue fiftie yeeres. *Anno* 1560. I ſaw his body in *Cozco*, in the poſſeſſion of Licenciate *Polo*, with foure others: this with white haires, the ſecond of *Tupac Inca Yupanqui*, the third of *Huayna Capac*, which two were hoary but not white: the two other were Queens; *Mama Runtu* wife to *Viracocha* and *Mama Ocllo* mother of *Huayna Capac*. They were ſo whole that there wanted not haire, eie-brows, nor haire on the eie-lids. They had their garments, ribands, & diadems, as while they liued. They were ſet as the *Indians* vſe with their hands acroſſe on their breaſts, the right hand ouer the left, their eyes downwards, as looking on the ground, and ſeemed as if they had beene aliue, and full fleſhed. The *Indians* would neuer tell the *Spaniards* their embalming arte. They weighed ſo little, that they were eaſily carried to the Gentlemens houſes which deſired to ſee them. The *Indians* by the way kneeled to them with ſighs and tears.

Tucma.

Bodies of the Kings ſeene. See *ſup. Acoſta.*

When the *Inca* had conquered any Prouince, and ſetled the gouernment, hee improued the lands which would beare Mayz, ſending Engineers to that purpoſe for conueyance of waters, without which they ſowed no Mayz in thoſe hot Countries. They alſo made plaine the fields, and layd them in ſquares, the better to receiue the water. They made plaine the Mountaines which were capable of ſeed, as it were in ſcales or ſteppes, one plaine ſubordinate to another, therefore called *Andenes*. Hauing thus improued the Land, they diuided it, to each Towne their ſhare by themſelues; each ſubdiuided into three parts, one for the Sunne, a ſecond for the King, and the third for the Naturals; with that prouiſion, that alway the Naturals ſhould haue ſufficient, and if the people increaſed, the Sunnes and *Incas* part were leſſened, that they ſhould not want. The like diuiſion they made of the grounds which needed not ſuch watering, ſowed with other ſeeds. The *Andenes* commonly belonged in greateſt part to the Sunne, and the *Inca*. The Mayz grounds they ſowed euery yeere, heartning them with dung, as Gardens.

Manner of improuing and allotting lands.

The Sunne, *Inca* and people ſharers.

Andenes.

They firſt husbanded the Sunnes grounds, next that of Widowes and Orphanes, and of the old and ſicke, all which were holden for poore, and had peculiar men in euery Towne appointed Officers for that purpoſe. They had ſeed alſo, if they wanted, out of the Store-houſes. Each man was tied to husband enough for prouiſion to his owne houſhold. The lands of thoſe which ſerued in the warres were prouided as thoſe of the poore; their wiues for that time being reſpected as widowes. And if any were ſlaine in the warres, great care was had of his children. After theſe lands, each man tilled his owne, one helping another in courſe; then thoſe of the *Curaca*, which were laſt cultiuated in euery Towne. In *Huayna Capacs* time, one of the *Chachapuyas* was hanged for tilling the *Curacas* land his kinſman, before the widowes, and the Gallowes was ſet vp in the *Curacas* land, where hee had tranſgreſſed the *Incas* precept. The laſt of all

Order of tillage.

Care of Widowes, Poore, and Souldiers.

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Workes in common done with festiuall alacritie.

all was the *Incas* lands, which thought his good to be grounded on the prosperitie of his Subiects. These and those of the Sunne were common workes which they did with their best ornaments and rayment, with spangles of Siluer and Gold, and feathers on their head, as on festiuall dayes; with songs in breaking vp their ground, in praise of their God and Prince. One *Anden* neere *Cozco*, being the first in the Kingdome which was dedicated to the Sunne, was tilled onely by *Incas* and *Pallas* of the bloud Royall with a great feast in their beast iewels, making

Incas labour.

Spade.

Songs of *Haylli*, that is, *of triumph*. Their Plough (or Spade rather) was of wood, a yard long, plaine before and pointed, round behind, foure fingers thicke; halfe a yard from the point was a stirrup of two pieces of wood fastned to the principall, in which he set his foot, leaping and thrusting it forcibly into the ground vp to the stirrup. They went in companies, seuen or eight together, and digged vp turfes of incredible bigneſſe. The women went besides them to helpe with their hands to lift vp the earth, and weed out the rootes, and to cheare them with Songs. The Land was diuided to each man according to the number of his familie, and to the *Curacas* in greater proportions; likewise the water and other things necessary.

Women.

Tributes of labour.

The principall tribute which they payed was this labouring the grounds of the Sunne and *Inca*, gathering their fruits, and keeping them in places appointed. Of their owne priuate lands they payd nothing. Other tributes were their making of clothes, shooes and armes for expense in warre, to which end they had wooll of the Cattell of the Sunne and *Inca*, which were innumerable in the Hills, and Cotton in the Plaines. The poore were tied to giue on certaine dayes so many pipes of Lice so to acknowledge subiection, and to keepe themselues cleane. The Royall kindred, Priests, Ministers, and *Curacas* were tribute-free; the chiefe Captaines to Centurions, the Iudges, Officers and Souldiers in time of seruice, young men vnder 25. and old men aboue 50. and all women and maidens: Their labour was not imposed but voluntary. Gold, Siluer and Gemmes were not reckoned tribute, nor treasure, nor price of other things bought and sold, or of mens labour. Onely they esteemed them for beautie, and thereof made voluntary presents for the Temples, Nunneries and houses Royall. For they might not visite a Superiour without a Present. The *Curacas* in the principall feasts must visite the *Inca*, and made him Presents of these or other things of account, as materials for buildings, Lyons, Tigres, Beares, Parots, Monkies, great Snakes, or any other thing faire, fierce, great or strange. The King had in euery Towne two places, one to keepe his goods for the seruice of the Sunne and himselfe, another for prouision against deare yeeres; besides others for high-wayes, &c. Wooll was distributed euery two yeeres, as any had need for garments for them and theirs, so that none needed to begge, neither had they any beggars in later times. I neuer saw *Indian* man or woman in my time that begged, but one old woman named *Isabell*, which did it more to goe from house to house, as a Gipsie or Iuggler, then for any need. The *Incas* also caused to build publike Ianes for entertainment of Strangers, which had all necessaries free out of the Kings Store-houses: and if any were sicke, they were likewise prouided for. None trauelled in priuate affaires, but in the Kings businesse. When any new conquest was made, they recorded on their quipus the quantitie, qualitie, site and other conditions of the lands of each Prouince, Towne and Diuision, that order might accordingly be taken. The Mines were giuen to the *Curacas*. Salt, Fish and Cotton were common, none to applie any part to himselfe, but to gather what hee needed. Each man might plant trees in his owne ground and enioy them at his pleasure. The lands were diuided as you haue heard.

Lowse-tribute.

Scotfree-men.

Gold and Siluer no money.

Presents.

Repositories.

No beggars.

Innes and trauellers.

Hospitals.

Course in new conquests.

The Sixth Booke.

Stupendious buildings and riches of the *Incas*.

THe seruice and ornament of the houses Royall of the *Incas* may seeme to haue exceeded any Kings of the world in some things. The buildings of their Houses, Temples, Gardens, and Baths were adorned with stone fairely wrought, and set so close that the ioynture could not bee seene. Many of them had melted Lead or Siluer or Gold for the ioyning, which caused the totall destruction of them all, by the *Spaniards* seeking for those metals. They had the counterfeits in Gold and Siluer of herbs which growe on walls, as if they had beene the plants there growing: and likewise the resemblances of Mice, Butterflies, Snakes great and small, Lizards seeming to moue; the *Incas* chambers were lined with Gold, with figures of Men, Women, Birds, all knowne Beasts wilde and tame, all in their naturall figure and largeneſſe in Gold and Siluer; the *Incas* Chaires of state were of solid Gold, without backes, hauing a great square Table of Gold ouer them. All the vessels of seruice both for Table, Butterie and Kitchin, small and great, were of Gold and Siluer, and that in all the Kings houses, so that when hee iourneyed in progresse they did not remoue them from one house to another, as likewise in the Prouinces where he had occasion to march with his Armies, or to visite his Kingdomes. Hee had in them also of like metals many Granaries and Repositories not to keepe Graine, but to expresse Maiestie.

Their houses.

Garments, *Cieça*, *Zarate*, *Gomera*, and other *Spanish* writers testifie the same of these prodigious treasures in *Peru*.

Hee had store of rich garments, the *Inca* neuer vsing to weare one thing twice, but giuing them once worne, to his kindred. The bed-furniture was of the wooll of the *Vicunna*, so fine, that King *Philips* Beds are thence furnished. Feather-beds they had not, but had such Mantles layd ouer and vnder them. Tapistrie was supplied with linings of Gold and Siluer on the walls.

Their

Their prouisions for diet were abundant, they preparing for all their kindred and seruants: the houres were from eight to nine in the morning, and in the euening lightly by day-light. Their drinking lasted till night, for whiles they eate they drinke not.

Gardens, Orchards and Baths.

Their Gardens and Orchards had all the faireſt trees and plants planted, and many others counterfeited of Gold or Siluer; as Mayz with the leaues, ſtalkes, roots, and reedy tops of gold and ſiluer mixed, and ſo in other herbs and flowers; ſome comming forth, ſome halfe growne, ſome ripe; with counterfeits of Lizards, Butterflies, Snakes, Foxes, wilde Cats (for they had none tame) Birds of all ſorts and poſtures, ſet on trees and plants; Deere, Lions, Tigres, and whatſoeuer creatures the Land had, ſet in due places. Their Baths had great veſſels in which they bathed themſelues, of gold and ſiluer, and water pipes of the ſame. They had alſo wood-ſtackes counterfeited thereof. The moſt of which treaſures the *Indians* hid from the couetous *Spaniards*, vnwilling that others ſhould bee ſerued with that which was for the ſeruice of their Kings.

Seruants and Officers.

The ſeruants and officers for Water, Fewell, and the Kitchin, for the Table of ſtate (for the Women and Concubines prouided for the *Inca* himſelfe) Butlers, Porters, Keepers of the Wardrobe, Iewels, Gardens, and in other Offices, were not particular perſons: but for euery Office they had two or three Townes aſſigned, whoſe charge it was to ſend men of abilitie and truſt, by dayes, weekes, or moneths changed in courſe: and this was their tribute; the whole Towne being puniſhed in any defect. Theſe Townes were within ſixe or ſeuen leagues of *Cozco*, being thoſe which *Manco* the firſt *Inca* had reduced from Sauages to Townes of ciuilitie, and theſe were *Incas* by priuiledge, and had the title and attire according. The *Incas* huntings were at certaine times of the yeere with twentie or thirtie thouſand men, one halfe going on the right hand, the other on the left, circling in twentie or thirtie leagues, bringing in whatſoeuer wilde beaſts in that compaſſe, and killing all they pleaſed. Euery foure leagues they had Poſts, ſwift runners for ſudden meſſages, called *Chaſquis*, either by word or quipus. But now wee will returne to *Pachacutec*.

Huntings.

Posts.

Pachacutec hauing finiſhed the ſolemnities viſited his Kingdome, to examine the courſes of his Gouernours: and then ſet forth his brother *Capac Yupanqui* with an Armie, which paſſed thorow the Prouince *Sanſa*, corruptly by the *Spaniards*, called *Xauxa*, which profeſſe to be deſcended of a man and a woman which came out of a Fountaine; their Townes were like Fortreſſes: they worſhipped the figure of a Dog, and did eate Dogs fleſh ſauourly. They had alſo an Idoll like a man, in which the Deuill ſpake. This people called *Huanca* were ſubiected, the *Tarma* and *Pumpu* alſo and *Chucurpu*, *Ancara*, *Huaylla* (in which Prouince he grieuouſly puniſhed *Sodomites*, a ſinne before vnknowne to the *Indians*) after which conqueſts hee returned to *Cozco*, hauing gained ſixtie leagues North and South in that Expedition, continuing three yeeres. *Pachacutec* was buſie in making Lawes, building Temples, founding Houſes for elect or *choſen Virgins* in the Prouinces (which was to make ſuch Prouinces, Citizens and Naturals of *Cozco*) in erecting Fortreſſes alſo in his frontiers, and Royall Palaces in the moſt delectable places, and Store-houſes to keepe prouiſions againſt yeeres of dearth. He ſpent three yeeres in viſiting his Kingdome, and after ſent his brother *Inca Capac Yupanqui* with his ſonne the Prince *Inca Yupanqui*, knighted that yeere after their manner, and fiftie thouſand men by *Chinchuſuyu* to *Pincu*, *Huaras*, *Piſcopampa*, *Cunchucu*; which being ſubiected, hee proceeded to *Huamachucu*, where they worſhipped particoloured ſtones, and ſacrificed mans fleſh, which was in that conqueſt altered. After that they came to *Caſſamarca* (famous for the taking of *Atabualpa* by the *Spaniards*) where they firſt ſtood out and after yeelded, and there was founded a Temple for the Sunne, and a houſe of Virgins, which after grew one of the chiefe in the Kingdome. In returning they ſubdued the *Yauious*, and were with feſtiuall pompe entertained in *Cozco*, each Nation in the Citie gracing the ſolemnitie, ſingled in their ſeuerall bands with warlike Muſike, adding Songs of triumph: betwixt the Generall and the Prince went the *Inca Pachacutec*, till they came to the limits of the Temple of the Sun, and then they put off their ſhooes, except the *Inca* which at the doore of the Temple was vnſhod alſo, where entring, adoring and rendring praiſes for the victories, they returned to the Market place where they ſolemnized the feaſt with ſongs, dances, and good cheere. Each Nation aroſe from their place and ſung and danced before the *Inca* after their Countrie guiſe. This continued a moneth.

Pachacutec, the ninth *Inca*.

Sanſa Dog-worſhippers.

Benefits and prerogatiue of Nunneries and Sun-temples.

Peruan Knights.

Forme of *Peruan* triumphs.

Shoo-ceremonie.

After this the King with his ſonne and brother went to the conqueſt of the Vallies *Piſco*, *Yca*, *Chincha*, which Countries hee enriched with a Riuer from the *Sierras*, turning the courſe which naturally went Eaſtward into the Weſt, to water the grounds. All thoſe Nations for fiue hundred leagues ſpace worſhipped the Sea, beſides the particular Idols of each People, and called it *Mamacocha*, or *Mother Sea*, for her plentie of fiſh, which ſhee gaue them to eate. They worſhipped alſo the Whale for the monſtrous greatneſſe. In another expedition the Vallies *Runahuanac*, *Huarcu*, *Malla*, *Chilca*, all ſubiect to one Prince, were ſubdued, the *Inca* beſieging and famiſhing their Armie. Then paſſed they to the Vallies of *Pachacamac*, *Rimac*, *Cancay* and *Huaman*, which alſo had one King, called *Cuſmancu*. The *Spaniards* corruptly call *Rimac*, *Lima*: *Pachacamac* had the name of the inuiſible God, neither had they any Temple to him in all *Peru* but

Riuer turned out of the courſe.

Sea worſhipped.

Pachacamacs Temple, and Oracle at *Rimac* or *Lima*.

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but here, the edifices and ſacrifices whereof were remarkable. Beſides beaſts they ſacrificed men, women and children. The *Spaniards* confound the Temple of *Rimac*, with that of *Pachacamac*, which were differing, that of *Rimac* being an Oracle (for *Rimac* ſignifieth him *that ſpeaketh*) of much veneration with the Natiues, and after the conqueſt with the *Incas*. The *Spaniards* founded there the *Citie of Kings*, ſo named, becauſe founded on the day of the *Epiphanie*. Their Idoll was kept in a Temple, not ſo ſumptuous as that of *Pachacamac*.

Cuyſmancu refuſed ſubiection to the *Incas* demands in name of the Sunne, ſaying his *Pachacamac* was the Creator and preſeruer of all, and therefore greater then the Sunne, to whom they had erected a Temple, where they offered the beſt things they had, and held him in ſuch reuerence, that when the King entred his Temple to worſhip him, he did not dare to looke on him, but he and the Prieſt went backwards with their ſhoulders towards the Idoll: and that hee alſo adored *Rimac* which fore-told things to come; and *Mamacocha*, the Sea. The *Inca* ſent him word that they alſo in their hearts worſhipped *Pachacamac*, but without Temple or Sacrifice, becauſe they knew him not, and were fearefull to pronounce his name. Many other words of perſwaſion paſſed, and peace was concluded, on condition that they ſhould worſhip the Sunne, as did the *Incas*, and make him a Temple apart as to *Pachacamac*; that they ſhould take away their Idols in the Temple of *Pachacamac*, and worſhip him without Statue; and that they ſhould ceaſe humane Sacrifices: that a Houſe of Virgins ſhould be erected in the Valley of *Pachacamac*: that *Cuyſmancu* ſhould remaine in his Lordſhip, acknowledging the *Inca* Lord Soueraigne, and obeying his Lawes, and that *Rimacs* Oracle ſhould ſtill bee in eſtimation. And thus Royall affaires, and thoſe of greateſt moment were after conſulted of in *Pachacamacs* Temple, vulgar buſineſſes were remitted to *Rimac*. *Pachacutec* hauing beene a great King and Prieſt and Captaine, enriched the Temple of the Sunne, couering the walls with plankes of Gold, as alſo the Shrines, and of the Cloiſter. Where the Idoll of the Sunne was, there is now the bleſſed Sacrament, and in the Cloiſter are Proceſſions, and yeerely Feſtiuals in the Couent of Saint *Domingo*.

Rites of *Pachacamacs* Temple

Exchange and ſucceſſion of Idols.

Hee ſent his ſonne in another Expedition, who comming to the Valley, entred *Pachacamacs* Temple, but without Sacrifices or verball Oriſons, onely profeſſing mentall adoration. He viſited alſo the Temple of the Sunne with rich offerings, and then the Idoll *Rimac*: and after marched to *Huamac*, where *Chimu* a great Lord reigned: from thence to *Truxillo* in the Vallies *Parmunca*, *Huallmi*, *Santa*, *Huarapu* and *Chimu*. Here while *Chimu* would admit no new Gods, a bloudy warre followed, which at laſt ended in his vaſſallage. The *Inca* now hauing enlarged his eſtate aboue an hundred and thirty leagues North and South, and in breadth from the Hills to the Sea ſome ſixtie or ſeuenty leagues, fell to founding Townes, Temples, Store-houſes, and reformed the Empire, ennobled the Schooles, augmented the Schoole-maſters, cauſed all the *Curacas* and all Officers to learne the *Cuſco* Language (as common) and much enlarged *Cozco*. Hee reigned about fiftie yeeres, or as others, aboue ſixtie, and left *Yuca Yupanqui* his ſucceſſor, leauing aboue three hundred ſonnes and daughters. The *Spaniſh* Authours confound the father and the ſonne. *Many of his ſentences and lawes are recorded by the authour, here omitted: as likewiſe the tranſplanting of Colonies, order of bringing vp the* Curacas *heires in the Court; the common or Coure Tongue; the deſcription of* Cozco, *the Schooles, and the three Royall Palaces, Almes, &c. for all theſe I remit the curious to the Authour, fearing blame for this our length. Yet their chiefe Feaſt of the Sun, rites of triall and inſtalling of Knights, I haue added.*

Other Vallies ſubdued.

Common Tongue.

See of their Feaſts in *Acoſta.*

Cozco was another *Rome*, in which the Sunne had foure Feſtiuall ſolemnities obſerued, the principall in Iune, which they called *Yntip Raymi*, as it were *The Sunnes Eaſter*, and abſolutely *Raymi*, in acknowlegement of the Sunnes Deity ouer all, and his being Father of the *Incas*, *Manco* and his deſcendants. All the principall Captaines which were not then in the warres came to it, and all the *Curacas*, not by precept but of deuotion, in adoration of the Sunne, and veneration of the *Inca*. And when age, ſickneſſe, diſtance or buſineſſe in the Kings affaires detained them, they ſent their ſonnes or brethren with the chiefe of their kindred to that ſolemnitie. The King did performe the firſt ceremonies as Chiefe Prieſt: for although they had a high Prieſt alwaies of the bloud Royall, Brother or Vncle to the King, legitimate by Father and Mother; yet in this Feaſt proper to the Sunne, the King himſelfe, as firſt-borne of the Sunne, was the principall Solemnizer. The *Curacas* came in their greateſt brauerie, and beſt deuiſes; ſome like *Hercules*, in Lions skinnes with their heads in the Lions head-skinne, as boaſting of deſcent from a Lion; ſome like Angels, with great wings of a Cuntur fourteene or fifteene foot diſtant in the extremes ſtretched out, as deſcended of that Fowle; ſome with yizors of moſt abominable and deformed formes, and thoſe are the *Yuncas*; others with golden and ſiluer ornaments; and others with other inuentions. Euery Nation carried the armes which they vſed in fight, as Bowes and Arrowes, Darts, Slings, Clubs, Lances, Axes, &c. the pictures alſo of whatſoeuer exploits they had done in the ſeruice of the Sunne or *Incas*. Once; all came in their beſt accoultrements and brauerie that they were able.

Cozco as *Rome*, mother of ſuperſtitions.

Raymi, that is, the Feaſt.

Generall aſſembly.

The King was chiefe Prieſt at that Feaſt.

Brauerie and Deuiſes.

They prepared themſelues to this feſtiuitie with a rigorous Faſt, in three dayes eating nothing but a little white raw Mayz, and a few herbs with water; not kindling a fire in the Citie, or accompanying with their wiues all that time. The Faſt ended, or the night before the

Faſt of three dayes.

Feaſt

Feast the Priests *Incas* made ready the Sacrifices and Offerings, which euery Nation is to prouide. The women of the Sunne make that night a great quantity of dowe of Maiz called *çancu*, whereof they make little loues as bigge as a common Apple. Neyther do these *Indians* euer eat their Maiz made into bread but at this Feast and at another called *Citua*; then eating two or three bits at the beginning of the meale; their ordinary meales in stead of bread haue *çara* parched or boyled in graine. The Virgins of the Sunne prepare this bread for the *Inca*, and those of his bloud; for the rest, innumerable other women are appointed, which make it with Religious care. Bread festiual.

In the morning early the *Inca* goeth accompanied with all his kindred, ranked according to their age and dignitie, to the chiefe street of the Citie called *Hancapata:* and there expect the Sunne rising, all barefooted, looking to the East with great attention; as soone as he peepes forth, fall on their elbowes (which is as kneeling here) adoring him with their armes open, and their hands before their faces, giuing kisses to the ayre (as in *Spaine* it is the vse to kisse a mans owne hand, or the Princes garment) so acknowledging him their God. The *Curacas* set themselues in another street next thereto, called *Cassipata*, and make the same adoration. After this the King riseth on his feet, others remaning on their elbowes, and taketh two great vessels of Gold full of drinke, the one in his right hand, as in the name and steed of the Sunne, as if he did drinke to his kindred (this was their greatest courtesie of the Superior to the Inferior, and amongst friends, to giue them drinke) and powres it into a pipe of Gold, by which it runneth into the house of the Sunne. After this he drinketh part of that in his left hand, giuing the rest to the *Incas* in a small Cup, or out of the same vessell (this sanctifying or giuing vertue to all that is brought forth) euery man drinking a draught. The *Curacas* drinke of that which the women of the Sunne haue made. This done, they went all in order to the House of the Sunne, and two hundred paces before they came at the doore, they put off their shooes; only the King stayed till hee came at the doore. Then the *Inca* and his entred in and adored the Image of the Sunne, as naturall Sonnes. The *Curacas* abode in the street before the Temple. The *Inca* offered with his owne hands the vessels in which he had done that ceremony; the other *Incas* gaue their vessels to the Priests (for they which were not Priests, might not doe the Priestly office, although they were of the bloud.) The Priests hauing receiued the *Incas* offered vessels, went forth to receiue those of the *Curacas* which brought them in order of their antiquity, as they had bin subiect to the Empire; they gaue also other things of Gold and Siluer, with Sheep, Lizards, Toads, Snakes, Foxes, Tigres, Lions, variety of Birds, and whatsoeuer most abounded in their Countries. The offerings ended, they returned to their streets in order. Then the *Incas* Priests bring forth great store of Lambes, barren Ewes and Rams of all colours (for sheep in those parts are of al colours, as Horses in these) all being the Cattle of the Sun. They take a black Lambe (which they esteeme the holiest colour for Sacrifices and the Kings weare commonly black) and offer that first for Soothsaying (a thing vsed by them in all things of moment in peace and warre, looking into the heart and lungs for prognostications) they set the head to the East, not tying any of his feet, open him aliue (being holden by three or foure *Indians*) and that on the left side, to take out his heart and entrals with their hands, without cutting. The best Augury was if the lungs mooued when they were taken forth: the worst, if the Sacrifice in the opening arose on the feet ouercomming those which held it. If one prooued vnluckie, they assayed another of a Ram, and another of a barren Ewe; if all prooued vnlucky they gaue ouer keeping the Feast, and said the Sunne was angry for some fault which they had done, and expected wars, Dearth, Murrayne, &c. After this Augury, they opened not the other Sacrifices aliue but out off their heads, offering the bloud and heart to the Sun. Adoration of the rising Sun. Festiuall and consecrated Drinke. Procession bare-foot. Oblations. Strange Offerings. Sacrifices and Auguries. Blacke taires. Soothsaying vsuall. Rites thereof.

The fire which they vsed must bee new, giuen them, as they said by the hands of the Sunne, which they did by the force of the Sunne beames shining thorow a Iewell which the High Priest held in his hand *(as by a burning Glasse)* on Cotton. With this fire they burned the Sacrifice and rosted that dayes flesh: and carried thereof to the Temple of the Sunne, and to the house of Virgins to keepe all the yeere. And if the Sunne did not shine, they made fire with motion of two smooth round stickes: but this absence or refusall of the Sunne they esteemed vnlucky. All the flesh of those Sacrifices was rosted openly in the two streets aforesaid; they parted it amongst the *Incas*, *Curacas*, and common people which were at the Feast, giuing it with the bread *çancu*. Holy fire.

After this they had many other Viands: and when they had done eating they fell to drinking, in which vice they exceeded, though now the *Spaniards* example haue that way done good, and this vice is infamous amongst them. The *Inca* sitting in state sends his Kinsmen to the principall in his name to make them drinke, first the valorous Captaynes, next the *Curacas* which haue not bin Commanders in war, then to *Cozco-Incas* by priuiledge: the manner was this; the *Inca* which brought the drinke said, *the* Capa Inca *sends thee banketting drinke, and I come in his name to drinke with thee.* The Captaine or *Curaca* tooke the Cup with great reuerence and lifted vp his eyes to the Sunne, as giuing him thankes for such a fauour, and hauing drunke, returned the Cup to the *Inca* with shew of adoration, not speaking one word. Hee sends to the Captaines in generall; but to some speciall *Curacas* only; the rest, the *Incas* in their owne name, and not in the Kings, cause to drinke. The Cups were holden in great veneration because the *Capa Inca* had touched them Festiuall eating and drinking.

them with his hands and lips. After this beginning they fell to freer drinking one to another, and after that to dancing, the Feast continuing nine dayes with great iollity, but the Sacrifices held but the first: and after they returned to their Countries.

Manner of making Knights.

Now for their Knights, till they had that order, they were not capeable of the dignities of warre or peace. The youths of the Royall bloud (for none else might be in election) from sixteene yeeres old vpwards, first made experiments of themselues in rigorous tryals, whether they could indure the hard Aduentures of warre. Euery yeere, or each other yeere, these noble youths were shut vp in a house where old Masters examined them. They were to fast seuen dayes strictly, with a little raw Corne and water, to try their endurance of hunger and thirst. Their Parents and brethren also fasted for them to intreate the Sunne to fauour them. They which could not sustaine this fast, were reiected as vnsufficient. After this they heartned them with meate, and tryed their actiuitie in running of a certaine Race a league and halfe long, where was a Banner set, which he that first came at was Captaine of the rest; others also to the tenth were subordinately honoured. Their next tryall was in skirmish, one halfe to keepe, the other to get a Fort; and they which were now keepers, were another day besiegers, where eagernesse and emulation sometimes cost some their liues in that ludicrous warre. Then followed wrestling betwixt equals, leaping, throwing small and great stones, also a Launce and a Dart, and other Armes, shooting, casting with a sling, and exercise in all weapons of warre. They caused them to watch ten or twelue nights as Centinels, comming suddenly on them at vncertaine houres, shaming those which they found sleeping. They tryed with wands how they could indure stripes, beating them cruelly on the armes and legs (where the *Indians* goe bare) and if they made any sad remonstrance of sorrow they reiected them, saying how would they beare their enemies weapons? They were to bee in manner vnsensible. A Fencer also made semblance with a two hand Club called *Macana*, another while with a Pike, to hit or strike them, and if they shrugged, or in their eyes or body made shew of feare, they were reiected. Next they made triall whether they had skill to make their armes of all sorts, and shooes called *Vsuta*, like those which the *Franciscans* weare.

After all these, the Captaines and Masters of these Ceremonies tell them of their pedigree from the Sunne, the noble Acts of their Ancestors, and instruct them in courage, clemency and mildenesse to the poore, with other parts of morality. The Heire apparant indured no lesse rigorous tryals then others, except in running for the Banner, and all that tryall time (which was from one New Moone to another) he went in poore and vile habit to teach him to pity the poore. These things done, the King solemnly attended, made a Speech to them, and each on their knees receiued at his hand the first Ensigne of dignity, which was to boare a hole in their eares.

The New Knight kissed his hand, and the next person to the *Inca* put off his *Vsutas*, and put him on gallant shooes of Wooll. Then did he goe to another place, where other *Incas* put him on breeches, as the token of manhood, which before he might not weare: after which they put on his head two kinds of flowres, and a leafe of another herbe which will long keepe greene. No other men might weare those flowres. The Prince had the same Ensignes, and differed only in his yellow fringe of Wooll (which none but he, and that first after his tryall, might weare) and an Axe of Armes with a kinde of laueline aboue a yard long; which when they put in his hand, they said *Ancunapac*, that is, *for tyrant Traytors*. The Kings fringe was coloured; he ware besides on his head two feathers of a Bird called *Corequenque*, which are said to bee but a Male and a Female, in one place only called *Villacuntu*. These they weare vpon their fringe: and euery new Successor must haue new. When the Prince is Knighted all of the bloud Royall adore him as their Prince.

The seuenth Booke.

Inca Yupanqui the tenth *Inca*.

The *Musus* inuaded.

INca *Yupanqui* bestowed three yeeres in visiting his Kingdome, and afterwards resolued on a difficult designe, namely to passe the *Antis* Eastward from *Cozco*, that hauing trauersed those high Hils, he might find passage by some Riuers running thence Eastward: for the Hils themselues still couered with Snow falne and falling were impassable; mooued by a tradition of many Habitations and Countries in those parts. One of which was called *Musu* (by the *Spaniards*, *Moxos*) to which he might enter by a Riuer in the *Antis* diuided into fiue, which all make the Riuer *Amarumayu*; which I suspect to fall into the Riuer of *Plate*, the greatest Riuer knowne after *Orellana*. With this determination he sent to cut a great quantity of that stuffe which the *Spaniards* call *Higuera*, wherein they spent two yeeres, making thereof a kind of Boats, so many as receiued ten thousand Souldiers with their prouisions, each holding thirtie, fortie, fiftie more or lesse, with their prouisions in the midst. Thus went they downe the Riuer, and had great encounter with the *Chanchus* which liued on both sides the Riuer, all painted and naked with feathers on their heads armed, with Bowes and Arrowes. They were reduced to subiection, and sent presents of Poppenjayes, Monkies and Huacamayas, Waxe and Honey, which they continued till the death of *Tupac Amara* the last of the *Incas*, whom the Vice-roy *Francis de Toledo* beheaded.

The *Chanchus* subdued.

A Colonie of these was planted neere *Tuno*, some sixe and twenty leagues from *Cozco*. They pro-

proceeded in their Conquest till they came at *Musu* two hundred leagues from *Cozco*. These hearing their Relations of the *Incas* conquests and deuotions, and *Viracochas* vision, were content to accept of their friendship, and confederacie, but not to acknowledge vassallage. They permitted them to make a plantation there, and gaue them their Daughters for Wiues, being now not aboue a thousand left, the rest wasted in the ill wayes and warres. They sent an Embassage also to *Cozco* which were well entertained and instructed in all their Rites. These *Peruans* would haue returned into their Countrey about the time of *Huayna Capacs* death, but hearing of the *Spanish* conquest, stayed.

Peruan Colony in the *Musus* Countrie.

Anno 1564. one *Diego Aleman* a *Spaniard* hearing of Gold in those parts, with twelue others went on foote with an *Indian Curaca* for his guide (the ill wayes admitted no Horses) and hauing trauelled into the *Musus* Countrey after eight and twentie dayes, were set vpon and tenne *Spaniards* killed, *Diego* himselfe taken, and two only escaped in the darknesse of the night. The *Indians* made *Diego* their Captaine (of a Captiue) against their enemies. About this Golden prize the *Spaniards* after fell into contention, diuers hauing gotten the grant, and many were slaine by their emulous Competitors, and so made an easie prey to the *Chunchos*. Three they took and after two yeeres dismissed them. One of them was a Frier and Priest whom they requested at his departure to send for their conuersion which was not done. But let vs returne to *Inca Yupanqui*.

Spanish attempts frustrate.

After this Expedition to the *Musus*, hee resolued on the Conquest of the great Prouince *Chirihuana*, which is vpon the *Antis* Eastward from *Charcas*. And because the Countrey was vnknowne, he sent Spies which brought word that it was a wretched Countrey, wilde Mountaynes, miry Marishes, Lakes and Bogs, vnprofitable for Seed and Husbandry, and the Naturals brutish worse then beasts without Religion or worship of any thing, without Law, Townes, or Houses, and eating mans flesh, hunting to that end the Neighbour Prouinces, and drinking their blood, without difference of sexe or age; eating also their owne when they dyed, and when they had eaten their flesh, they layd the bones together and mourned for them, burying those Relikes in Rockes or hollow Trees. They were clothed in skinnes, and abstayned not from sisters, mothers, daughters. Good *Inca Yupanqui* (so they vsed to call him) hearing this, said they were more bound to the Conquest, to the end to ciuilize them; for therefore our Father the Sun hath sent vs.

Chirihuana. A *Sauage* beastly Nation.

Hee sent tenne thousand men which spent two yeeres, and returned without hauing effected their Deigne by reason of the ill condition of the Countrey. Neyther had the Vice-roy *Don Francis de Toledo* any better successe in the like attempt. *Anno* 1572. in which by reason of the badnesse of the wayes vnpassable for Mules, his Litter was carried on mens shoulders, whom the *Chirihuanas* followed with cryes threatning to eate them. Such terrour they cause to the borderers, that an hundred of them will flee from ten: yet this little conuersation with those which the *Inca* sent, instructed them to leaue eating their dead friends, and to dwell in houses in common.

Inuasions of the *Incas* and *Spaniards* frustrate.

The good King *Inca Yupanqui* after this, proceeded to another purpose of conquering *Chili*, and from *Atacama* sent Spies to discouer it, and the difficulty of the wayes; which passed the Deserts and left markes in the way lest they should loose it at their returne, there beeing eighty leagues of Wildernesse from *Atacama* to *Copayapu*, which is a little Prouince well peopled, from which to *Cuquimpu* are other eightie leagues vnpeopled. These hauing giuen aduice to the *Inca*, he sent ten thousand men of warre vnder the command of *Sinchiruca* with prouisions necessary; and after them sent ten thousand others both to succour them, and to terrifie the enemy. When words would not perswade the men of *Copayapu* to receiue the command of the *Lord of the foure parts of the World*, they came to skirmishes and after so composition, vpon the comming of the second Army. The *Inca* hereupon leuied other ten thousand, and sent them to follow the former which marched eighty leagues, and after many troubles came to another Valley or Prouince called *Cuquimpu*, which they subdued. And so proceeded conquering all the Nations which are till you come to the Valley of *Chili*, whereof that whole Kingdome takes the name. This exploit was sixe yeeres in hand, the *Inca* still sending fresh supplies of men and prouisions of armes, clothes and other necessaries, so that he had fiftie thousand men of warre in *Chili*. They went fifty leagues further Southwards to the Riuer of *Maulli*, still vsing faire meanes rather then cruelty to reduce them. And thus the Empire was aduanced aboue two hundred and sixty leagues beyond *Atacama*: yet ambition looking further, they passed the Riuer *Maulli* with twenty thousand men. Three dayes they fought cruelly till halfe of both sides were slaine: the three dayes following they were content to sit still in expectation, and after that departed from each other without further accomplishment. *Maulli* was now the Southerne boundarie, and the *Inca* hauing intelligence sent them word rather to cultiuate and order what they had gotten then to seeke new Conquests. Thus they fortified the Frontiers and attended the administration of Iustice, and building Houses for the Sunne and the King.

Chili discouered.

Subued.

Battle at *Purumaucu*.

Spanish acts in *Chili*.

Diego de Almagro was the first *Spaniard* which discouered *Chili*, but hauing purchased nothing but

Almagros Discouery.

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but the ſight and innumerable troubles in the way, he returned to *Peru*, which was the cauſe of the generall Rebellion of the *Indians* of *Peru*, and of the diſcords and Ciuill warres of the *Spaniards*. *Pedro de Valdiuia*, made the next Diſcouerie, and happily conquered them, but as vnhappily was put to death by the *Araucans* his vaſſals, after hee had raiſed his profits to a hundred thouſand Pezos yeerely, which yet did but enlarge his appetite. The *Araucans* had aſſembled twelue or thirteene thouſand, notwithſtanding which numbers *Valdiuia* ſtill had the better, by reaſon of the Horſemen, ten of which would breake thorow a thouſand *Indians*, which therefore would not deale with the *Spaniards* in the Plaines but kept the Hils. A certaine old Captaine hearing hereof, would needs goe thither to ſee what that Military myſterie might be, that one hundred and fiftie men ſhould hold vnder ſo many thouſands. He called a Councell, and asked if the *Spaniards* were mortall and made of fleſh, ſubiect to humane infirmities of wearineſſe and ſleepe; and likewiſe of their Horſes; which being affirmed, hee taught them another courſe of battle, diuiding all their thouſands into ſo many bands ſingle, each of which ſhould fight, and doe what they could, and when they were wearie ſhould conuay themſelues away, and giue place to another Regiment; meanewhile to recollect themſelues into their ranke againe, and to refreſh themſelues: ſo likewiſe ſhould the ſecond and third and all of them doe in their order. Thus they fought and fled, and ſtill ſeemed to the *Spaniards* both broken and whole, they hauing often broken the bands, which yet kept ſtill neere the number which they had at firſt. This troubled them, their bodies and horſes yeelding to wearineſſe by long continuance from morning till afternoone: and then *Valdiuia* commanded his men that they ſhould recoyle by degrees, making a defenſiue warre till they might recouer certayne Straits, where they might eaſily by the ſtrength of the place bee defended. This was heard by one *Philip* a *Chili* Seruant of the Gouernours (by his *Indian* name, *Lautram*) who fled to his Countrimen, and told them this his Maſters intent. Whereupon they ſent ſome Regiments to make good that place, ſo that about Sunne-ſet the *Spaniards* thinking to ſecure themſelues there, came to the Sunne-ſet and irrecouerable night of their Fates. The Gouernour and a Frier were taken, the reſt ſlaine: three *Indians* fled and carried newes of this diſaſter. *Valdiuias* death is diuerſly told; ſome ſay that that *Philip* killed him, ſome that another Captayne did it with a Clubbe whiles others by his promiſes were wonne to giue him libertie. *Francis de Rieros* which then was a Captayne in *Chili*, from the reports of *Indians*, tels that the *Chilois* made dances all night, at the end of each dance cutting off a piece of the fleſh of both their Priſoners and eating it before their faces. Notwithſtanding they doe not ordinarily eate mans fleſh. This was *Anno* 1553. and euer ſince the Rebellion hath continued: at which time *Don Sebaſtian* rebelled in *Potoſi* and *Francis Hernandes Giron* in *Cozco*, Rebellions later then thoſe of the *Pizarriſts* and *Almagriſts*.

P. de Valdiuia.

An old *Chili* Captaine his policie, whereby *Arauco* hath beaten the *Spaniards*.

Philip betrayeth his Maſter.

Others ſay, they powred molten gold downe his throate.

I might adde to theſe affaires of *Chili*, the great Earth-quakes, *A.* 1600. in *Peru*, at *Arequepa*, the rayning of ſand, as alſo of aſhes about twenty dayes from a *Vulcan* breaking forth; the aſhes falling in places aboue a yard thicke, in ſome places more then two, and where leſt aboue a quarter of a yard, which buried the Corne-grounds of Maiz and Wheat, and the boughes of Trees were broken and fruitleſſe, and the Cattle great and ſmall dyed for want of paſture. For the ſand which rained couered the fields thirty leagues one way, and aboue forty another way round about *Arequepa*. They found their Kine dead by fiue hundred together in ſeuerall Heards, and whole Flockes of Sheepe and Heards of Goates and Swine buried. Houſes fell with the weight of the ſand, others coſt much induſtry to ſaue them. Mighty Thunders and Lightnings were heard and ſeene thirty leagues about *Arequepa*. It was ſo darke whiles thoſe ſhowres laſted that at mid day they burned Candles to ſee to doe their buſineſſe. This from *Peru*: from *Chili* they write that *the Rebellion of* Arauco *groweth euery day ſtronger. On Wedneſday the foure and twentieth of Nouember* 1599. *there came in the morning vpon the citie of* Valdiuia, *about fiue thouſand* Indians *of the bordering places, and of the places adioyning to* Imperiall, Pica, *and* Putem, *three thouſand horſmen and the reſt foot; ſeuenty of them Harcabuſe men, and two hundred in coates * of Maile* (Cotas.) *They came vnperceiued, hauing ſet double Eſpials on the citie. They came in Squadrons ranked in order; for they knew that the* Spaniards *were aſleepe, and had but foure men in their* Corps de gard, *and to walke the round. They were blinded with their fortune ſome twentie dayes before hauing beaten the* Indians *from their Fort in* Vega, *and the Mariſhes of* Paparlen, *ſlaying many that for eight leagues about no* Indian *durſt be ſeene. Thus entred they the ſtreets of that vnhappy citie, and fired the houſes; then tooke the gates, and in two houres ſpace with fire and Sword deſtroyed the Towne, and wanne the Fort and Artillery, killing foure hundred* Spaniards *of both Sexes; ſacked three hundred thouſand Pezos of ſpoile, conſuming all the reſt. The ſhippes of* Vallano, Villaroell, *and another of* Diego de Roias, *were at anchor in the Riuer, and if ſome had not eſcaped in Canoas to carry them newes, they had runne the like fortune. The* Spaniards *ſeuerity a little before made them thus cruell, hauing ſold ſo many of their wiues and children for ſlaues to Merchants, which carried them out of their Countries, being baptized, and hauing kept Prieſts fiftie yeeres. Now firſt, they deſtroyed the Churches, and brake the Images in pieces. Ten dayes after Coronel* Franciſco del Campo, *came with three hundred men ſent from*

Later accidents in *Peru* and *Chili*.

Prodigious ſhowres of ſand & aſhes 1600.

They tell alſo of fearefull Earthquakes at *Arequepa* 1582. See *ſup. p.* 940. 941.

A Letter written by a Citizen of *Iago* in *Chili*.

* Note the *Araucans* armes gotten from the *Spaniards*.

Valdiuia deſtroyed.

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from his Excellency from Peru, *to succour those Cities. Hauing seene this lamentable destruction, he went to succour* Osorno, *and* Villarrica, *and sad* Ymperiall, *of which hee knew nothing but that it had beene besieged a yeere by the enemies, hauing nothing to eat but dead Horses, Cats, Dogges, and Hides. But first he succoured* Osorno, *to which the victorious enemies had gone from* Valdiuia. *Newes came at the same time, whiles I was writing, that those of* Ymperiall *were dead with famine, all saue twentie whom hunger forced to a worse destinie, to goe to the* Indians. *Lord haue mercy on vs.* Amen. *March* 1600. *from Saint* Iago. *Ymperiall famished.*

Father Diego de Alcobaza *(whom I haue before mentioned) writ to me,* Anno 1601. *that the* Indians *were growne of such dexteritie in warres, that euery* Indian *on horsebacke with his Lance, durst sally out on any* Spanish *Souldier, were he neuer so valiant: and euery yeere many goe from* Peru *thither but none returne. They haue sacked two Townes, and killed all they found in them, carrying away the women and daughters and seruants: and lastly, they killed in an Enboscada the Gouernour* Loyola, *which was married to a daughter of* Don Diego Sayritupac *the* Inca, *which went from* Villacapampa, *before your Worship went to those parts. God haue mercy on the dead, and giue remedie to the liuing.* Other things he writ so irkesome, that I forbeare to recite, as of the plagues of *Arequepa*, one of which was that Wheate was worth that yeere ten or eleuen Ducats, and Maiz thirteene. *Anno* 1602. the disasters of *Arequepa*, continued as the Iesuites haue written. *Anno* 1604. *Padre Maestro Francisco de Castro* gaue mee this further Relation of *Chili. Of thirteene Cities which are in this Realme of* Chili, *the* Indians *haue destroyed sixe, viz.* Valdiuia, Imperiall, Angol, Sancta Cruz, Chillan *and* Conception. *They wasted and consumed therein, the Houses, Churches, Deuotion, Feautie of the fields; and yet the greatest misery is, that the* Indians *haue gathered heart and courage for greater spoyles and destructions of Cities and Monasteries. They haue bent their minds to mischiefe and cunning stratagems. They besieged the Citie* Osorno, *and consuming the* Spanish *forces, they retired to a Fort in which they haue held them as it were in a continuall siege, the besieged sustayning themselues with seeds and herbes. In one of the sieges which that Citie sustained, they broke the Images: in the last they killed the Centinels, and safely entred and seised the Fort, the* Spaniards *not perceiuing, and whiles they were busie in spoyle, the* Spaniards *came on them, and got from them the women and Nuns. The last Victory of the* Indians, *was the taking of* Villarrica, *with great slaughter of* Spaniards, *firing it in foure parts. They killed all the Friers of Saint* Domingo, *Saint* Francis, *and our Lady of Pitie, and the Clergie men: they captiued all the women which were many, and of a good account.*

Another letter 1601. *Indians* valour. Gouernour *Loyola* slaine. Dearth. 1604. Sixe Townes destroyed. *Osorno* Fort taken. *Villarrica* taken.

Now let vs returne to the *Inca Yupanqui*, who how determined to ceasse further inuading and conquest, His Realme now extending a thousand leagues. He made many Fortresses and Temples to the Sunne, and Nunneries, and Royall Palaces, and Conueyances of water. Especially hee bestowed paines on the Fortresse of *Cozco*, for which his Father had brought great store of stones. He visited his Kingdome to see with his eyes the necessities thereof that he might remedie them, which he did with such care, that he merited the surname of *Pious*. After which hee dyed full of Trophees, hauing enlarged his Empire so farre to the South, and a hundred and forty leagues Northwards.

Tupac Inqua Yupanqui his eldest Sonne succeeded. The Fortresse of *Cozco* which hee built may seeme a worke of Deuils rather then men, the stones (or Rockes rather) in three circuits about being so many and great, the *Indians* hauing neither Iron nor Steele to cut or worke them, nor Oxen, nor Carts to draw them, but all done with force of men with great Cables, and that thorow vneuen wayes in rough Mountains. Many of them they brought ten, twelue, fifteene leagues, particularly that stone which the *Indians* call *Saycusch*, that is, *wearied*, which was brought fifteene leagues, and passed the Riuer *Yucay* little lesse then *Guadalquiuir* at *Cordoba*. The most came from *Muyna*, fiue leagues off. Many of them are so close, that scarsly the place where they are ioyned can be discerned, which required the lifting vp and often setling one stone vpon another, hauing neyther Square, nor Rule. Nor could they make Cranes or any sort of Engine to helpe them. It seemes that the *Incas* thought hereby to expresse their magnificence and power, and the skill of their workmen. This Fortresse was built on a Hill on the Northside of the Citie, so steepe that way that it could not bee assaulted, and therefore one wall serued on that side two hundred fathomes long. They had no morter but vsed a kind of coloured clay faster then it. On the other parts they made three wals one before another, each aboue two hundred fathomes, in forme of a halfe Moone, there were stones in them, but such as were admirably great. A Priest of *Manilla* hauing beene in *Peru* and seene them, told me that hee could not imagine how they could be laid but by the blacke Art. And indeed this in respect of the want of Art may bee said to exceed the seuen Wonders of the World: for it is easie to conceiue how the Pyramides of *Egypt* and wals of *Babylon* might be made, which here is not. Euery wall in the midst had one gate which had one stone equated the breadth and height thereof. Betwixt one wall and another was about thirty foot: the battlements were about a yard high. The height I cannot exactly tell. Within the wals were three strong Forts, the middlemost called *Moyoc Marca*, or the *round Fort*, in which was a Conduit of good water brought farre off vnder ground, the *Indians* knew not whence: it was known only to the *Inca* and some chiefe Councellors. In this the Kings remained when they went to visit the Fortresse, and the wals were all adorned with gold

Yupanqui Inca his acts and death. Fortresse of *Cozco* a rare worke. See *sup.* 1056. *Acostas* Relation. The wonders of the world not so wonderfull as *Cozco* Fortresse. One round Fort and two square,

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gold and ſiluer and counterfeits of beaſts, and birds, and plants, enchaſed therein, which ſerued for Tapeſtry. The ſecond Fort was called *Paucar Marca*, the third, *Sacſac Marca*, both ſquare, with Roomes for Souldiers which muſt be *Incas* of priuiledge, for no other Nation might enter, it being the houſe of the Sunne for warre, as Temples were for Prayer. The Captaine was of the bloud Royall legitimate. They had vnder earth paſſages from one Fort to another very artificiall with Labyrintian windings and turnings inextricable but by a Thread. When I was a Boy I often ſaw the ruines thereof, but none of vs durſt enter the Vaults further then wee had Sun-light.

House of the Sun for warre.

Labyrinth.

The whole worke was of ſtone, ſome poliſhed, ſome rude. They had to draw the great Stone *Saycuſca* twenty thouſand *Indians* with Cables, one halfe before, the other behind; in one vneuen paſſage it killed three or foure thouſand *Indians*. They call it *wearied*, becauſe they were wearie and neuer layd it in the building. The Architect was *Calla cuncay*. The *Spaniards* not only doe not repaire the Fortreſſe, but pull it downe to build their priuate houſes, euery of their houſes in the Citie beeing therewith adorned. In ſuch manner haue they caſt ſo great Maieſty to the ground. The three wals ſtand becauſe they cannot ruine them for their greatneſſe, yet ſome part they demoliſhed to ſeeke the Chaine of gold which *Huayna Capac* made. This *Inca* beganne this Fortreſſe which continued fiftie yeeres before it was finiſhed.

Spaniſh acts.

The eighth Booke.

THe Great *Tupac Inca Yupanqui* (his name *Tupac* ſignifieth *Reſplendent* or *Illuſtrious*, for ſuch were his Acts) after the accompliſhment of ſolemnities concerning his Fathers Funerals, and his owne Coronation, which conſumed one yeere; viſited his Kingdome, the better to know and to be knowne of his Subiects, and for better execution of Iuſtice by his Officers and Iudges, in which he ſpent foure yeeres. This done, he leuied forty thouſand Souldiers to proceed in the courſe of his Fathers, which palliated their ambition of Souereigntie and Dominion, with reducing men from Barbariſme and beaſtiality to Ciuility and Religion. He marched to *Caſſamarca*, and entred the Prouince of *Chachapuya*. Eaſtwards from *Caſſamarca*, a Countrey of valiant men and very faire women. They worſhipped Snakes, and the bird *Cuntur* was their principall God. It then contayned aboue fortie thouſand Families. Their chiefe Armes were ſlings, and they wore a kinde of ſling-net for their head tyre (*hee cals both by the name honda.*) Beyond them are the *Huacrachucu* a fierce and warly Nation, which weare on their head a blacke leaſh of Wooll with white flyes here and there, and for a feather a piece of a Deeres horne: theſe worſhipped in thoſe times Snakes, and kept them pictured in their Temples and houſes. Theſe lay in the way to the former, and much bloud was loſt in fight on both ſides; whereupon the *Inca*, after their ancient cuſtome, ſought to reduce them by faire meanes, intimating that hee came more to doe them good as they had done to other Nations, ſuffering the *Curacas* to rule ſtill; then to rule ouer them, ſeeking no more but that they ſhould worſhip the Sunne, and leaue their barbarouſneſſe. He diuided his Armie, and ſent ſome to take the moſt commodious places, ſo that they were forced to ſeeke peace. He ſtayed there, the Countrey being rainy, till the next Summer, and ſent for twenty thouſand men more, inſtructing the *Huacrachucus* meane while in his deuotions and Lawes, and to conuay away the waters, and make the grounds fit for ſeed to their great benefit.

Tupac Inca Yupanqui the 11. King of *Peru*.

Caſſamarca.

Huacrachucus ſubdued.

The next Summer hee entred the Prouince *Chachapuya*, where notwithſtanding the wonted gentle meſſage he was incountred with a cruell warre. This Prouince was fiftie leagues long, and twenty broad, reaching to *Muyupampa*, which is thirtie leagues long. The Hils were craggie, and in places very ſteepe and ſnowie; three hundred which he ſent to ſpie, were drowned in the ſnow, not one eſcaping. The proweſſe and numbers of the *Inca* brought all by degrees to ſubiection, *Pias*, *Charmac caſſa* (an open paſſage of the ſnowie Hill, very dangerous where the three hundred were loſt) *Cuntur Marca*, *Caſſa Marquilla*, all Mountaynous and craggie places, till hee came to *Raymipampa*, ſo called of a Feaſt which he ſolemnized there to the Sunne in his Campe, being a faire Valley; and thence to *Muyupampa*, where *Ancohualla* entred as is before ſaid in *Viracochas* time, rather then he would bee a ſubiect to the *Inca*; theſe and *Caſcuyuuca* now yeelded. The next Summer hee marched on to *Huancapampa*, a great Nation, but diuided amongſt themſelues, naked and warring not for wealth but women, worſhipping Birds, Beaſts, Plants, euery one as himſelfe pleaſed. Theſe he tamed by hunger (ſtaruing ſuch as came not in) and gaue them Maſters to inſtruct them in husbandry, and how to clothe themſelues, to water their fields, and to plant Townes, ſo that it became one of the beſt Prouinces in *Peru*. More to ennoble it, hee after built there a Temple and houſe of Virgins, prohibiting the eating of mans fleſh, and gaue them Prieſts and men learned in the Lawes to inſtruct them. Afterwards he added three great Prouinces, *Caſſa Ayahuaca* and *Callus* to his Signory, which liued ciuilly, hauing Townes and Fortreſſes, and a kind of Republike or free State, hauing their meetings and choice of Gouernours. Theſe Conqueſts ended, he ſpent long time in viſiting his Kingdom, and building Temples, Nunneries, Store-houſes, Aquæducts, eſpecially taking care of the Fortreſſe at *Cuzco*.

Chachapuya.

Muyupampa.

Raymipampa.

Huancapampa.

Three ciuill Prouinces ſubdued.

Huanuco or *Cuenaco.*

Some yeeres this way ſpent, hee marched Northward to *Huanuco*, which containeth many diſunited Nations, whom he eaſily conquered, and planted Townes there, being a fertile Countrie,

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trie, and temperate, making it the chiefe Prouince of many others in those Confines. He built there a Temple for the Sunne, and a house of chosen Virgins, twenty thousand *Indians* performing seruices in course to those two houses. He went next to the Prouince *Cannari*, which ware their haire long, tied on a knot in the Crowne. By these head-tires in the time of the *Incas*, each *Indian* was knowne of what Nation he was; which in my time they continued, but now they say all is confounded. These *Cannaris* before this worshipped the Moone as chiefe Deity, and great Trees and Stones in the second place; but now were brought to the *Incas* Sunne-religion, and their Countrie ennobled with a Temple, Nunnerie, Palaces, Water-passages, &c. The Nation *Quillacu* is belowe the *Cannari*, the most miserable of Nations, neither hauing good land, nor aire, nor water, whence grew a Prouerbe applied to couetous misers, *bee is a very Quillacu:* on these the *Inca* imposed a tribute of Lice, that so they might learne to be cleanly. *Tupac Inca Yupanqui* and his sonne *Huayna Capac* much ennobled those Prouinces of the *Cannaris*, and of *Tumipampa*, with building Royall houses, adorning the Lodgings in stead of Tapestry with counterfeits of Herbs, Plants and Creatures of gold and siluer, the Porches chased with Gold and inlayed with Emeralds and Turquesses: a Temple also of the Sunne enchased with Gold and Siluer, the *Indians* custome being to make ostentation of seruice to their Kings, and to flatter them filling their Temples and Palaces with all the treasures they were able (in Pots, Pannes, and other vessels of gold and siluer and much costly raiment.) Hauing returned to *Cozco*, his ambition not long after brought him backe to *Tumipampa*, where he gained many Prouinces vnto the confines of the Kingdome of *Quitu*, viz. *Chanchan Moca, Quesna, Pumallacta*, (that is, the Land of Lions, by reason of the store there, being also worshipped for Gods) *Ticzampi, Tiu cassa, Capampi, Vrcollasu* and *Tincuracu*, barren and barbarous Regions, which he sent Masters to teach Ciuilitie and Religion. After that, he made another expedition with fortie thousand men to *Quitu*, the name of the Kingdome and King. It is seuenty leagues long and thirtie broad, fertile and rich. They worshipped Deere, and great Trees.

Pedro de Cieça saith 30000. *c.80.* he calls it *Guanuco*, and saith, there was a Royall house very admirable of great stones cunningly placed; neere to which was the Temple, &c.

Cannari.

Quillacu. Louse-tribute.

Cieça cap.44 p.1 calls it *Thomebamba*, and is large in this point.

See *Cieça c.46.*

Quitu.

The warre continuing long, he sent for his sonne *Huayna Capac* to come with twelue thousand men more to exercise him in warre. *Huayna Capac* signifieth *from a childe rich in magnanimous exploits. Capac* was a title giuen to things of greatest eminence. And this seemed præeminent in him that he neuer denied any woman any sute, vsing to them gentle compellations of *Mother, Sister, Daughter*, according to their age, &c. *Tupac Inca* returned to *Cozco*, and left his sonne to dispatch the warre, which was three yeeres before *Quitu* was reduced, beside two yeeres which his father spent: the reason whereof was the *Incas* custome to gaine not by fire and sword, but as they could make the Natiues forsake it; which had this effect, that their conquest was more durable, and their vassals bare them better affection. At the end of those fiue yeeres the King of *Quitu* died, and the people subiected them to *Huayna Capac*, which vsed them gently. He passed on to *Quillacenca*, that is, *Iron-nose* Prouince (so called for their boring the nostrils, and wearing Iewels thereat) a vile, brutish, lousy People, without Religion, eating any carion. They were easily subiected, as likewise the next Prouince of like condition *Pastu*, and *Otauallu* a People more ciuill and warlike, and *Caranque* a barbarous Nation which worshipped Tigres, and Lions, and great Snakes, in their Sacrifices offering the hearts and bloud of men which they ouercame in warre: these he ciuillized also.

Huayna Capacs bounty to women.

Quitu subdued

Quillacena.

Tupac Inca was busie in his Fortresse at *Cozco*, keeping twenty thousand men at worke therein with great order and emulation of each Nation to exceed other. *Huayna Capac* returning, was receiued with great triumph,: and because he had no children by his eldest Sister *Pillcu Huaco*, he was secondly married to his second Sister *Rana Ocllo*, the *Incas* still vsing that marriage in imitation of *Manco Capac*, and for certainty of the bloud on both sides. King *Tupac*, and his Councell ordained that both should be lawfull Wiues, and holden for Queenes, and not for Concubins. Hee married also *Mama Rucu*, his Vncle *Amaru Tupacs* eldest daughter the next in bloud to the former, hauing no third Sister of whole bloud. By *Rana Ocllo* he had *Huascar Inca*; and by his Cousin-german, *Manco Inca*. *Tupac Inca* drawing neere to death called together his children (which were aboue two hundred) and made the wonted discourse or Testament, commending peace and iustice and care of their vassals to them, and to shew themselues indeed the children of the Sunne: recommending to the Prince, the reducing and conquest of the Sauages to the seruice of the Sunne, and a politike life, and to follow the example of his Fore-fathers, and to chastise the *Huallcanilcas* which had slaine his Captaines in rebellion. Hee said he was now going to another life, his father the Sunne calling him to rest with him. Thus died *Tupac Inca*, famous for the benefits done to his Countrie, therefore called *Tupac Yaya, Illustrious Father.* By *Mama Ocllo* he had sixe sonnes; the eldest, *Huayna Capac:* the second, *Auqui Amaru Tupac Inca*; the third, *Quehuar Tupac*; the fourth, *Huallpa Tupac Inca Tupanqui* (my mothers grandfather;) the fifth, *Titu Inca Rimachi*; the sixth, *Auqui Mayta.* They embalmed his body which I saw *Anno* 1559. as if it had beene aliue. *The rest of this eighth Booke the Authour hath spent in description of the creatures of principall note of those parts, in which out of* Acosta, *and others hauing beene tedious already, we will not here trouble the Reader.*

Huayna Capacs marriages.

Tupa Incas death and progenie.

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The ninth Booke.

Huayna Capac the twelfth.

THe mighty *Huayna Capac*, after other things ſet in order, hauing a ſonne (*Huaſcar*) borne, for whom he made twenty dayes feaſt; began to propound great and rare deuiſes to himſelfe. One was a Chaine of gold, much ſought but neuer ſeene by the *Spaniards*. The *Indians* vſe much dancing, and are as eatily diſtinguiſhed one Nation from another by their dances, as by their head-tires. The *Incas* had a graue kinde of dancing in meaſures, men alone without women, hand in hand, ſinging in their ſoft paces, three hundred or more in a ſolemne feaſt, the *Inca* himſelfe ſometimes dancing with them: at other times they danced about, ſtill comming neerer to that Royall centre. This holding of hands in a ring gaue occaſion to make the golden Chaine, that they might dance by it without touching hands, as I haue heard the fore-mentioned old *Inca*, (my mothers Vncle) diſcourſe. Hee told mee that it contained the length and bredth of the great ſtreet of *Cozco*, which is ſeuen hundred foot, and the bigneſſe of euery linke thereof was (he ſaid) as bigge as his wreſt. *Auguſtin de Zarate* calls it *Maroma*, a Cable, from the report of *Indians* then liuing, and ſayth, it was as much as two hundred *Indians* could lift) Much haue the *Spaniards* ſought for this and other treaſures, whereof they could neuer finde any foot-print. Prince *Yats Cuſi Huallpa* (that was his name before, and ſignifieth *Huallpa the Sunne of reioycing*) was in memorie of that which was made to honour his birth called *Huaſcar*, an *r* added to *Huaſca* (which ſignifieth *a Rope*, their Language not differencing a Chaine from a Rope) by which addition *Huaſcar* might be without ſignification, and auoyde the ill ſound of a Rope, which was added to his former name at his *waining and pelling Feaſt*, when hee was two yeeres old. After that hee leuied fortie thouſand Souldiers, and went to *Quitu*, in which Voyage hee tooke for his Concubine the eldeſt daughter of King *Quitu* aforeſaid, which was there kept in the *Houſe of the choſen*, or Nunnerie; and by her had *Atahuallpa*, and other children.

A gold chaine of incredible length and greatneſſe.

Huaſcar as Roper.

Atahuallpas mother.

Further conqueſts.

Thence he went to the *Plaines*, and made conqueſt of the Valley of *Chimu* (now *Trugillo*) and *Chacma*, *Pacaſmayn*, *Canna*, *Collque*, *Cintu*, *Tucmi*, *Sayanca*, *Mutupi*, *Puchin Sallana*, beſtowing much coſt to conuey water, and benefit his new conqueſts. After ſome time ſpent at *Quitu*, hee leuied another Armie of fifty thouſand, and conquered *Tumpiz* (a vicious, luxurious People, and Sodomiticall, which adored Tigres and Lions, and ſacrificed the hearts and bloud of Men) and *Chunana Chintuy*, *Collonche*, and other confining places. Hee made a faire Fortreſſe in *Tumpiz*, and ſet there a Garriſon: he built a Houſe of the Sunne, and another of Virgins: and after that entred into the Prouince *Huancauillca*, which had killed thoſe Maſters which his Father *Tupac Inca Yupanqui* had ſent to inſtruct them. Hee commanded all the *Curacas* to come before him, which durſt doe no other, with all the chiefe men, to whom one of the Maſters of the Campe made a Speech of their treaſon and bad demerits: Notwithſtanding the *Inca* vſing his naturall clemency, and making account of his title *Huacchacuyac* (*The benefactor or louer of the poore*) both pardoned all the common people, and would ſo farre remit the better ſort which had beene doers in that buſineſſe, that though all had deſerued death, yet one onely of tenne whom the lot ſhould deſigne to execution, ſhould die: and of the *Curacas*, and Captaines, each ſhould loſe two teeth in the vpper iaw, and as many in the lower, both they and their deſcendants, in memorie of falſifying their promiſe to his father. They which feared that all ſhould paſſe the ſword were content, and the whole Nation would needs both men and women participate in that tooth-loſſe, and did likewiſe to their ſonnes and daughters, as if it had beene a fauour. One of that Nation I knew in my fathers houſe at *Cozco*, which largely recounted the premiſſes.

Vallies in the Plaines ſubdued.

Tumpiz or *Tumbez* ſubdued.

Huancauillca puniſhed.

Huacchacuyac a title of the *Incas*.

Tooth-rite.

The *Inca* ſpent much time in viſiting his Kingdome from *Quitu* to *Charcas*, aboue ſeuen hundred leagues, and ſent Viſitors to *Chili*, whence his father had drawne much Gold. This done, he raiſed an Armie of fifty thouſand men of the Northerne Prouinces, and hauing viſited the Temple of *Pachacamac*, and cauſed the Prieſts to conſult with the Oracle, which promiſed proſperitie to his deſignes, and the like at *Rimac*; hee paſſed thorow thoſe Vallies to *Tumpiz*, and ſent to the Iland *Puna*, twelue leagues in compaſſe, the Lord whereof was called *Tumpalla*, a man which kept many women and boyes for his luſt; beſides the Sea, their common Deitie, they worſhip Tigres and Lions, and ſacrificed the heart and bloud of Men. Theſe receiued the *Incas* commands, but after killed and threw ouerboord his men as they were conueying them to the Continent, and ſacrificing ſome of them, which the *Inca* ſeuerely reuenged, both on them, and on their confederates in the Continent, and commanded them to keepe the memorie of that diſmall execution in mournfull ſongs; enioyning them to obey his Gouernour which kept the Fortreſſe of *Tumpiz*. From *Tumpiz* he proceeded in viſitation of his Kingdome to the *Chichas*, with intent to doe the like in the Southerne part, and ſent Preſents fine garments to the Gouernours, *Curacas*, Captaines and Royall Officers, according to the cuſtome of the *Incas*. But hearing that the *Chachapuyas* were in rebellion (to whom hee ſent Meſſengers, which receiued ill vſage and anſwers) he made a Bridge, and marched ouer the Riuer, and came to *Caſſa marquilla*, with purpoſe to deſtroy them.

I. Puna ſubiected.

Their treaſon.

Dreary ſongs.

Chachapuyas rebellion and pardon.

The people not being able to hold out, fled into the Mountaines, and others more wiſely knowing his gentle diſpoſition, procured a Matron of their Countrie, which had beene Concubine to *Tupac Inca Yupanqui* to meet him with a multitude of feminine ſupplicants, which ſo well played her pitifull part in a perſwaſiue ſpeech ſeconded with cries and lamentations of

that

that chorus of women, that the *Inca* relented, taking her vp from the ground, called her *Mamanchic (our mother)* granted her request, and gaue her commission to make an end of the businesse, sending some vnarmed *Incas* with her to that purpose. The *Chachapuyas* in remembrance of this fact encompassed the place where shee had met the *Inca*, with three walls, not permitting the foot of man or beast to touch so holy ground: the vttermost wall of clay, the second of stone vnpolished, the inmost of polished stone, which the couetousnesse of the *Spaniards* ouerthrew, as they did other the best buildings, to search for treasure. Thankfulnesse.

Huayna Capac went to *Manta* (in which Countrie stands the Port which the *Spaniards* call *Puerto Viejo*) which worshipped the Sea and Fishes, Tigres, Lions, and great Snakes, and amongst other things a great Emerald, which they say, was little lesse then an Estriches egge. In their greater Feasts they shewed it publikely; the *Indians* came from farre to adore it, and sacrifice to it, and to present it with small Emeralds, as daughters to the mother; the Priests and *Cacike*, telling them that this was the most agreeable offering. Thus were many Emeralds gathered here together, where *Don Pedro de Alnarado* and his companions (one of which was my father *Garcilasso de la Vega*) found them in the conquest of *Peru*, and brake most of them on an Anuill, saying (like bad Lapidaries) that if they were precious stones they would not breake with the greatest blowes, and if they brake they were but Glasse. But their goddesse-Emerald the *Indians* had conueyed away before, neither could it since be found by any industrie. The people of *Manta* were open and shameless Sodomites, and in their marriages the Bridegrooms kinsmen and friends had first handsell of the Spouse. They flayed the Captiues which they tooke in Warre, and filled the skinnes with ashes, and hanged them vp at the doores of their Temples, and in their feasting and dancing places. These with the *Apichiqui*, *Pichunsti*, *Sana*, and other Nations confining on the Coast, he subiected. These were more brutish then the *Mantans*, and not onely raced their faces with stones, but deformed their children with laying one boord on the fore-head, and another in the necke, so keeping them in presse from day to day, till they were foure or fiue yeeres old, to make them broad-faced, shauing away the haire of the crowne and necke, and letting it growe on the sides, making it curle and bush out to more monstrositie. *Manta.* *Puerto Viejo.* Their foolish deuotions. Emerald-goddesse a huge gemme. Platter-faced.

From these he went to *Saramisse* and *Passau*, vnder the Equinoctiall Line, where they worshipped nothing at all, and had neither Towne nor House, but liued in hollow Trees, went naked, vsed women in common, neither did their lusts stay there; had their faces quartered into foure coloures, yellow, azure, particoloured and blacke, their haire, long, curled and full of filth, (I saw them with mine eyes when I came for *Spaine*) and are the sauagest people that can bee imagined. *Huayna Capac* would none of them, but said, let vs returne, for those are not worthie to haue vs to be their Lord. The *Indians* haue a tradition that at the Point of Saint *Elena* there came in Boats of Rushes, huge Giants higher then common men from the knees vpwards, their eyes as bigge as Saucers, and other members proportionable; they had no women with them, and were clothed in beasts skinnes, or naked. They setled themselues there, and digged Wells admirably deepe in the Rocke, yeelding very coole water. One of them did eate more then fiftie men; and were forced to get fish for their diet. They killed the women of the Countrie in vsing them; were great Sodomites, and were therefore at last by fire from Heauen consumed, leauing onely some bones of them as memorials, which haue beene, and still are there found. *Anno* 1550. there were as great bones found at *Mexico*. In this Point of Saint *Elena*, neere to *Puerto Viejo*, are certaine Fountaines of pitchie substance fit to calke ships, boiling out very hot. Barbarous people. Giants. See *sup in Acosta. pag.* 1002. *&c.* Bituminous Springs.

Huayna Capac one *Raymi* or Feast day of the Sunne, looked vp to the Sunne, which the high Priest, one of his Vncles, told him was vnlawfull. But soone after hee looked vp againe, and againe was reproued by the Priest: but he answered, *Answere mee to these questions; I am your Lord, and which of you dares bid mee rise and goe a long Iourney?* None, said he, would bee so mad. *And if any the greatest* Curaca *be commanded by me to goe from hence to* Chili, *will he not doe it?* The Priest answered, that none would disobey him in any thing. *Why then I say* (said the *Inca*) *that our Father the Sunne must needs haue a greater and mightier Lord then himselfe, which commands him euery day to take such a Iourney: for if he were a superiour Lord, he would some time or other rest himselfe.* The *Caranques* rebelled and were seuerely chastised, and 2000.* of them beheaded in a Lake, and therefore called *Tahuarcocha*, or *Sea of blood*. After this, with much griefe that he was forced to such sharpe medicines, he went to *Quitu*, and finding his Sonne *Atahuallpa*, wittie, wise, warlike, and comely of personage (as vsually were the *Incas* and *Pallas*) hee much affected him, and still would haue him about him, and so handled the matter, that with consent of his Brother *Huascar*, he set him in possession of the Kingdome of *Quitu*, and other Prouinces, giuing him experimented Captaines, and part of his Armie, the better to secure himselfe, and to pacifie the vnsettled new-gained Prouinces in his Fathers life time, to that end transplanting Nations from one Region to another. Reuerence to the Sunne. Wise apophthegme. See *sup.* 1028. *Caranques* rebell. *Cieça* saith 20000. perhaps including all which were slaine in the warre. *Atahuallpa* put in possession of *Quitu*, and other Prouinces subdued by his father.

Huayna Capac made two famous Royall wayes, the one alongst the Hills within Land, the other by the Sea-side. From *Cozco* to *Quitu* are fiue hundred leagues by the *Sierras*, rockie and craggie way, which hee made plaine, breaking downe the high, and exalting the lowe places some-

High-way workes greater thē the worlds ſeuen wonders or *Annibals* Alpe-way.

ſometimes fifteene or twenty ſtades or mans heights, that a Cart might haue gone on them till the wars of the *Indians* and *Chriſtians* much endammaged them. By the Plaines he made another of leſſe difficultie, making mud-wals to hold in the way, forty foote broade with a high cauſie both in the Vallies, and in the ſands, driuing ſtakes therein to know the way which is there ſo moueable and changeable, the like ſpace of 500. leagues.

Spaniſh Ship.

Buſied in theſe affaires and great workes he had newes of the *Spaniards* (thoſe which *Baſco Nunez de Balboa* firſt diſcouerer of the South Sea, had ſent vpon diſcouery 1515. who, as before is ſaid, impoſed the name *Peru*) which filled him with wonder and care. Hee liued after this in peace eight yeares, and dyed *Anno* 1523. hauing raigned two and fortie yeares, not minding the

Propheſies and

proſecuting of further conqueſts after he had heard of the *Spaniſh* Ship, by reaſon of a Propheſie or ancient Oracle which the *Incas* had, that after ſo many Kings a ſtrange Nation ſhould come and deſtroy their Kingdome and Idolatry. Three yeares before that Ship was ſeene, as they were

Prodigies foreſignifying the loſſe of the *Incas* Empire.

celebrating the Sunnes feſtuall ſolemnity, an Eagle Royall, which they call *Anca*, purſued fiue or ſixe kiſtrels and as many ſmall haukes, which ſet vpon the Eagle and beate her, ſo that hauing no way to eſcape, ſhe fell in the market place amongſt the *Incas*, as ſeeking helpe at their hands. They tooke her and did what they could to relieue her; but within few dayes ſhe died; an augurie ſeeming to preſage ſome diſaſter to that ſtate. There were alſo greater earthquakes then the ordinary (to which *Peru* is vſually ſubiect) and the Sea often ſwelled ouer the ſhores; the aire no leſſe terrified them with comets. The Moone in a cleere night had three circles round a-

Llayca a diuiner.

bout her very great, one of bloud, the middlemoſt blacke, the vtmoſt of ſmoake. *Llayca* a diuiner told the *Inca*; *Onely Lord, know that thy mother the Moone aduiſeth thee that* Pachacamac *threatneth the royall bloud, and to ſend great plagues on thine Empire; the firſt circle ſignifying the bloudy warre which ſhall follow when thou art gone to reſt with thy Father the Sunne, betwixt thy poſteritie, that in few yeares it ſhall altogether faile: the ſecond ſhewes the deſtruction of our Religion and republique and alienation of thy Empire, which ſhall turne all into ſmoake as is ſignified by the third circle.* *Inca* was troubled, but put it off ſaying, *thou haſt dreamed theſe fooleries laſt night, and ſaiſt my Mother hath ſent me ſuch intelligence.* But the Soothſayer anſwered, he might ſee it with his owne eyes, and conſult with other diuiners, which he did, and found the ſame ſight and anſwere; hee yet made ſeemings not to beleeue, ſaying hee did not beleeue the Sunne would permit that to happen to his progenie. He offered notwithſtanding many Sacrifices to him, and appointed the Soothſayers in all parts to conſult with their ſeuerall Oracles, eſpecially with *Pachacamac* and *Rimac*, whoſe anſwers were obſcure and doubtfull. Theſe things I heard of two Captaines of *Huayna Capacs* guard, then eightie yeares old, and baptiſed, ſpeaking hereof with teares, *Don Iuan Peshuta*, and *Chanca Rimachi*, as alſo of *Cuſihuallpa* that old *Inca*, and of my Mother and her Brother *Don Fernando Huallpa Tupac Inca.*

Huayna Capacs ſickneſſe and laſt will, or ſpeech before his death.

Huayna Capac one day bathing himſelfe came forth cold, and found himſelfe deadly ſicke, made a teſtamentall diſcourſe, ſaying, that he was *now going to heauen to reſt with his Father the Sunne, which called him out of the bath, euer ſince which time he was ſo indiſpoſed of body: when I am dead you ſhall burie my body as is vſed to be done with Royall bodies, my heart and entrals in* Quitu, *in token of the loue which I beare it; my body you ſhall carrie to* Cozco *to lay it with my anceſtors. I commend you to my Son* Atahuallpa *whom I ſo much loue, who remaineth for* Inca *in my place in this Kingdome of* Quitu, *and in all the reſt which he ſhall conquer by armes to augment his Empire. And for you the Captaines of my armie, I charge you in particular to ſerue him with that fealty & loue which you owe to your King, in all and euery thing doing what he ſhall command you, which ſhall be the ſame that I ſhall reueale to him by order of our Father the Sunne. I likewiſe commend vnto you iuſtice and clemencie towards the Vaſſals, that the Title of* Louer of the poore *giuen vnto vs, be not loſt; and that in euery thing you doe like the* Incas, *Sonnes of the Sunne.* Hauing made this ſpeech to his children and kinſmen, he called the reſt of the Captains and *Curacas* which were not of the bloud royall and gaue them in charge fealty and ſeruice due to their King, and at laſt concluded: *It is many yeares ſince that by*

The Propheſie of the *Incas* Empire.

reuelation of our father the Sunne, we hold that when twelue Kings are paſſed of his Sonnes, there ſhall come a new and vnknowne people into thoſe parts, and ſhall gaine and ſubiect to their Empire all our Kingdomes and many others. I ſuſpect that they ſhall be of thoſe whom we know to haue gone along ſt the coaſt of our Sea: they ſhall be a valiant Nation which euery way ſhall exceede you. We well know that in mee is compleat the number of twelue Incas. *I certifie you that a few yeares after my departure from you, that new Nation ſhall come and fulfill that which our Father the Sunne hath ſpoken, and ſhall gaine our Empire and rule ouer it. I command you that yee obey and ſerue them as men which euery way ſhall haue aduantage of you: whoſe Law ſhall be better then ours, and their armes more mightie and inuincible then yours. I leaue you in peace, for I goe to reſt with my Father the Sunne which cals mee.*

Cuſihuallpa his comment on that ſpeech.

All this the *Indians* held in great veneration, and fulfilled euery iot thereof. I remember that one day that old *Inca* ſpeaking in preſence of my Mother, and rehearſing theſe things, and the *Spaniards* entrance, and their conqueſt: I asked him how, their Countrey being ſo rough, their people ſo warlike, and their number ſo many, they loſt their Empire to ſo few *Spaniards*. He anſwering me, repeated the foretelling or propheſie of the *Spaniards* aforeſaid, and ſaid that the

Inca

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Inca had commanded them to *obey and serue them, for euery way they should haue the aduantage of them.* And for that obiection of cowardise, he answered me. *These words which our* Inca *said vnto vs, being the last that euer he spake to vs, were more powerfull to subiect vs and quite our Empire, then the armes which thy Father and his companions brought into this Land.* Thus died *Huayna Capac*; his body was embalmed, and carried to *Cozco*; his heart interred in *Quito*. His funerall solemnities and mourning continued a yeare, according to the custome of the *Inca* Kings. Hee left aboue two hundred sonnes and daughters; some *Incas* affirme aboue three hundred to exaggerate the crueltie of *Atahuallpa*, which slew them almost all: who therefore was so odious, that the *Spaniards* hauing put him to death, were thought men sent from their God the Sun to take vengeance on the destroyer of his seede. And when they brought Cockes and Hens with them into *Peru*, they hearing the Cockes crowing said, that in perpetuall infamie of that tyrant and abhominable memory of his name, they pronounced it in their crowing, saying *Atahuallpa*, and would answer the Cockes crowing with reckoning the name *Atahuallpa*: wherein the children imitated them in those times, so that if they had heard a Cocke crowe, they would recrow in like tune the name of *Atahallpa*: a thing which I my selfe and other boyes my Schoolefellowes, children of *Spaniards* by *Indian* women haue often done, together with the *Indian* children. They named likewise on such occasion his principall Captains, whose names were of so many syllables, *Challcuchima*, *Quilliscacha* and *Ruminnani*. The *Spaniards* thought they did this for his honour, saying the Cockes made this honorable mention of him: so *Blas Valera* writeth, which receiued it of the *Indians* of *Quito* his naturall subiects, which applied to a good mention that which those of *Cozco* deuised in euill, for his cruelties there done.

Huayna Capac death.

Indians hate to *Atahuallpa* for causes following.

Cock-conceit, whereby it appeareth that they had no Cocks before in *Peru*.

Huayna Capac being dead, his two Sonnes *Huascar* and *Atahuallpa* raigned quietly for the space of foure or fiue yeares, one in *Cozco*, the other in *Quito*. After which *Huascar* began to thinke with himselfe that he had done ill in consenting to his father in the matter of *Quito*, which now was his brothers; whereby he was barred vp also from further conquests; the other three waies being locked vp by the *Antis*, the Sea and *Chili*; so that his brother might by new conquests make himselfe greater then he: and whereas now his stile was *Capa Inca* (*onely Lord*) in time, the other might both equall and exceede him. These things more and more troubling him, hee sent a Messenger to his brother, saying; *that by the ancient constitution of the first* Inca Manco Capac, *the Kingdome of* Quito, *and all the Prouinces which he possessed, belonged to the crowne and Empire of* Cozco, *which howsoeuer he had quitted to him vpon his Fathers command, yet was it more by force then iustice, being to the losse of the crowne and preiudice of the successors; and therefore neither ought his Father to command it, nor was he obliged to fulfill it. Yet seeing he had giuen consent, he was content vpon these two conditions; first that he should adde nothing to his Empire; secondly, that hee should doe him homage and fealtie, as his vassall and feudatarie.* *Atahuallpa* receiued this message with great humilitie and seeming submission, and three dayes after returned answere, that in his heart he had alwayes reknowledged vassallage; being returned to the *Inca* by Post, he was much content, sending reply, that he againe confirmed that estate to his Brother conditionally, that by such a time he should make his personall homage at *Cozco*. *Atahuallpa* answered hee was a happy man to vnderstand such the *Incas* pleasure, that he would doe it by the time set him; but for greater solemnitie, he did beseech his Maiestie to giue him leaue that all the Prouinces of his estate should come with him to celebrate in *Cozco* the obsequies of *Huayna Capac* his Father, with rites agreeable to those of *Quito* and the other Prouinces, which ended, hee and his would doe their due homage.

Huascar the thirteenth, and last *Inca* Emperour.

Huascars message to *Atahuallpa*.

His answer and pretended humilitie.

All this did *Huascar* grant, and *Atahuallpa* made vse of to his proiect of soueraignetie. He sent proclamation to all his Prouinces, that all men seruiceable should in such a space make ready to goe to *Cozco* to celebrate his Fathers obsequies, and to performe the homage to the Monarch *Huascar Inca*, and that therefore they should set forth in their best ornaments and bravery for greater solemnitie. But priuily he sent to his Captaines to leuie the best Souldiers which should carry their armes closely; for he more minded executions then exequies. He commanded them to march in bands, fiue or sixe hundred together, one band two or three leagues after the other: and when they came within ten or twelues dayes iourney of *Cozco*, that they should ioyne together, the last doubling their iournies to ouertake the former. In this manner *Atahuallpa* sent aboue 30000. men, most of them old Soldiers of his Fathers, with choise Captaines, and appointed two Camp-masters or Generals, *Challcuchima* and *Quizquiz*. *Huascar* relying on the loyaltie of his Subiects, and his Brothers faire promises, not onely suspected no treason, but prouided them necessaries. *Atahuallpa* vsed this dissimulation, knowing himselfe of vnsufficient power to warre openly on his brother. But some of the experimented Gouernors and Captaines, as they passed, could not but resent and disgust this course; and signified so much to the *Inca*; who thus awakened out of his dreame, sent to gather forces in the South parts and East and West: to *Chinchasuyu* he sent not, which were the best Soldiers, because of these forces marching thorow their Countrie. The other through long peace were vnaccustomed to armes, of which were leuied aboue 30000. the rest being too remote for a sudden businesse.

Atahuallpa leueth forces to assault *Huascar* vnder pretence of obsequies to *Huayna Capac*.

Huascars securitie.

Atahuallpas men passed the Riuer *Apurimac* without contradiction, and embattelled themselues

Sero medicina paratur.

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selues in three squadrons, so marching to *Villacunca* within six leagues of *Cozco*. He himselfe abode still in the confines of his Kingdome, there to obserue the successe of this battel, wherein he placed his chiefe trust, by reason of the negligence of the other side, & the courage of his old souldiers. These thought the shortest way the surest, before more forces might be assembled by *Huascar*, and within two or three leagues Westwards from the Citie was the battell fought, in which one side fought to get, the other to keepe the *Inca*, whose vnhappy fate made him prisoner to *Atahuallpas* men as he was fleeing thence with 5000. which were all in manner slaine in presence, some by the enemies, some by themselues seeing their Lord prisoner. Many also not willing to enioy liberty after he was taken, offered themselues prisoners. They set a sure guard about the Emperours person, and sent to proclaime his taking thorow all the Empire, lest other forces should come to his succour; sending word also to their Master *Atahuallpa*. Hee vsed his victory most cruelly; for dissembling that he would restore *Huascar* to the Kingdom, he summoned all the *Incas* in the Empire, and all the Rulers and Officers to appeare at *Cusco* by such a day, to capitulate on certaine Articles to be obserued betwixt the two Kings, that they might liue together in loue like brethren. Thus all the *Incas*, except those whom sicknesse, age, or remotenesse hindred, came thither, whom *Atahuallpa* caused to be put to diuers and cruell deaths.

The battell betwixt *Atahuallpas* men and *Huascar*. *Huascar* taken.

Atahualpas cruelty and dissimulation.

For he knowing that he was not of the *Incas* bloud legitimate, that is, by the *Coya* or sister of the King, nor yet of the whole bloud, so to challenge the inheritance by Father and Mother, remoued these rubs out of the way of his ambition; yea all those who were of the halfe bloud, though further from claime, yet lest they might imitate his example, he caused also to be slaine. Not contenting himselfe with the death of his two hundred brethren and sisters, the children of *Huayna Capac*, he proceeded to the Vncles, Cousens, and all, whether legitimate or bastards: some he caused to be beheaded, some hanged, some were cast into Riuers with weights at their neckes, some cast from high precipices. All which were done before he had passed *Sausa*, nintie leagues off the Citie. Yea they brought forth *Huascar* to see these dismall executions, that he might dye in the death of euery of his kinsmen. The *Curacas* Captaines and Nobility they brought forth being the rest of the prisoners bound, to the Valley of *Sacsahuana*, and made a long lane of them, thorow which they made poore *Huascar* to passe couered with mourning weedes, and hauing a roape about his necke: they seeing their *Inca* in this case, fell downe with cries to doe him reuerence; and were therefore slaine with Hatchets and Clubs before his face. After this the cruelty passed to the women and children of the bloud royall, *Atahuallpa* commanding to take them all (but those in the house of Virgins) which were brought to the field *Yahuarpampa*, or *bloudie field*, a name confirmed by the cruell executions, by staruing, hanging, and diuersified tortures on that tender sexe, and innocent age. Euery quarter of the Moone they renewed these cruelties, from which some were yet suffered to escape, of which number were my Mother and her Brother then eleuen yeares of age or vnder, which they sent away in disguised habits of the common people; for all degrees might they be knowne by their habit.

Ill conscience fearefull, and therefore tyrannically cruell.

See of it in *Viracocha*.

Of the *Auquis* or Infants Royall which escaped, were *Paullu* and *Titu* the Sonnes of *Huayna Capac*. *Don Carlos* the sonne of *Paullu*, married with a *Spanish* woman, by whom hee had *Don Melchior Inca*, which in the yeare 1602. came into *Spaine* to receiue rewards promised for the seruices of his Father and Grandfather in the pacification of *Peru*, *Anno* 1604. I receiued a letter of *Valladolid* that he was allowed 7500. Duckets of reuenue in the Citie of *Kings*, and that he must bring his wife to *Spaine*, that the *Indians* which are his inheritance shall be set ouer to the Crowne, and that he shall no more passe to the *Indies*. This is the chiefe of the bloud of the *Incas*, by the male line descended of *Huayna Capac*. Of *Atauallpa* I knew one Sonne and two Daughters, one of which *Donna Angelina* by Marquesse *Picarro* had a Sonne called *Don Francisco*, he died a little before I came to *Spaine*: the next day, before his buriall many *Incas* came to my Mothers, and amongst others her old Vncle, who said that *Pachacamac* had preserued him many yeares to see an end of all his enemies; and instead of mourning much, reioyced; whereof I demanded the reason why we should be glad for the death of our Kinsman? he biting his mantle (which with them is a token of great anger) said, *What, wouldst thou be the kinsman of an Auca, sonne of an Auca* (that is, *a tyrant traitor*) *which destroyed our Empire, killed our* Inca, *consumed our bloud and lineage, which did so many cruelties so differing from the nature of the* Incas? *I could eate him raw without sauce now he is dead: for his Father the traitor* Atahuallpa *was not the son of* Huayna Çapac *our* Inca, *but sonne of* Quitu Indian, *which with his mother wrought treason to our King; otherwise he would neuer haue done, no not imagined such things to his enemies, much lesse to his kindred; say not therefore, he is our kinsman, thou wrongst thy kindred to reckon to it so cruell a tyrant, &c.* This *Francisco* whiles he liued, seeing the hatred which the *Incas*, and all othee *Indians* bare him, had little to doe with them, and came little abroad, they still calling him *Auca*. His Father destroyed the Officers and Seruants of the Kings house, and the Townes whereof they were, being by *Manco Inca* priuiledged *Incas*, of some a third, of others a fifth or a tenth part. Hee named also and committed great mischiefes on the *Canaries*, & slew 70000. of them, because they would not subiect themselues to him at the beginning of his rising, whereby there were said to remaine fifteene times as many women as men.

A Catalogue of the posterity of the *Incas*.

Don Melchior next in bloud kept in *Spaine*.

Atahuallpas son and second daughters.

His whole posterity wasted.

Hatred of the *Incas* and *Indians* to *Atahuallpas* Sonne.

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In the end of the yeare 1603. the *Incas* of *Peru* writ to *Don Melchior Carlos Inca*, and to me, all their names desiring vs to make supplication to his Maiestie, to command that they should be exempted from tributes which they paid, and other vexations which they suffer no lesse then other common *Indians*. They sent painted in white *Chis taffata* the Tree royall from *Manco Capac* to *Huaina Capacs* sonne *Paullu*, in their ancient habit, with the coloured ribbon of their heads, and eare-rings in their eares, with Partisans instead of Scepters in their hands. Their phrase was much mixt with *Spanish*, for now they are all Spaniolized. They rehearse much miseries of their life, for which cause I doe not here record it. They write with much confidence that the King would not onely relieue them, if he were made acquainted, but reward them, as the posterity of Kings. At the side of euery Kings picture they set those of his posteritie, with the title *Capac Aylla*, or the *Royall stocke*, distinguishing each Kings descendents. Of *Manco Capacs* posterity there remaine 40. *Incas*: of *Sinchi Roca* 64. of *Lloque Yupanqui* 63. of *Capac Yupanqui* 56. of *Mayta Capac* 35. of *Inca Roca* 50. of *Yahuar Huacac* 51. of *Viracocha Inca* 69. of *Pachacutec* and his Sonne *Yupanqui* put together 99. of *Tupac Inca Yupanqui* 18. of *Huayna Capac* 22. These two last generations (as neerer the Crowne) *Atahuallpa* with great diligence destroyed. The whole summe is 567. persons, all descended by the male line; for of the female they made no such account, except they were Sonnes of the *Spaniards* which conquered the Land; for those they call *Ingas* also, beleeuing that they descended of their god the Sunne. This writing was signed by eleuen *Incas*, agreeing to the eleuen descents, each for all of his race.

Miserable state of the *Incas* in *Peru*.

Tree Royall of *Incas* and their posteritie liuing in *April* 1603.

CHAP. XIIII.

The suppliment of the History of the Incas, *briefely collected out of the Authors second part, or* Generall History of Peru.

THus haue we run thorow the Authors first part, or Commentaries Roiall, of the originall and liues of the *Incas*. In his second part, entituled the *Generall History of Peru*, he relates the *Spanish* Acts, Discoueries, and conquests there; part of which in *Benzo*, *Vaz*, and others ye haue seene already, and the *Spanish* Authors haue related the same at large. I will briefely touch a few things to perfect this our story of the *Incas*. In the taking of *Atahuallpa* he relateth at large the Oration of Frier *Vincent de valle vridi*. First, touching God, his creation of the world, and of man. Secondly, Touching *Adams* sinne and Christs redemption on the Crosse. Thirdly, his power giuen to the Apostles, and ouer them and all Christians to *Peter* and his successor the Pope. Fourthly, the Popes gift of all those Countries to the Emperour, Lord of the world, to the end to bring them to the Christian faith. Fifthly, the Emperours authorising *Francis Pizarro* as his Embasador and Lieutenant, *that those Realmes might receiue that benefit, and that he might begin alliance and confederacie betwixt the Emperours Maiestie and the* Inca, *in such sort that his whole Kingdome should become tributarie, and the* Inca *become his subiect and wholly deliuer vp his Kingdome and renounce the administration thereof, as other Kings and Lords haue done. Secondly, after such peace and friendship, and subiection voluntary or by force, hee was to giue obedience to the Pope, and receiue the* faith of Christ, *quite abandoning his superstition of Idols, inuented by the Diuell. All which, O King, thou art to take well in worth as being very profitable to thee and thine: and if thou denyest, know that thou shalt be compelled by warre, fire and bloudshed, and all thine Idols shall bee throwne downe to the ground. And we will constraine thee with the Sword, that leauing thy false Religion whether thou wilt or no, thou shalt receiue our Catholike Faith and pay Tribute to the Emperour giuing vp thy Kingdome to him. But if thou shalt obstinately resist, know for most certaine, God will suffer, as of old* Pharao *and all his Army perished in the Red Sea, that thou likewise and thine* Indians *shall bee destroyed by our Armes.*

Frier *Vincents* speech to *Atahuallpa*.

Note the latter part of this Friers Oration: for which cause I haue inserted it at large.

Strange Preaching of *Christianitie*.

This Oration was kept by the tradition of *Quipus* (or *Quippos*) which are the knot-records of *Cassamarca* where the deede was done: the words of trinity and other Christian Mysteries were not well vnderstood, and therefore ill deliuered by the Interpreter: that language still wanting proper tearmes for them, and being forced to Indianize *Spanish* words for that purpose. *Atahuallpas* answere was, with great griefe for those last words, of *Pharao* and destruction, saying, *Atac* (an interiection of sorrow) and first complained of his Interpreter, and that this minacing message was contrary to the former which they had sent him; that their Prince and they might seeme tyrants so to goe about destroying the world, killing and robbing those which had done them no wrong: or else that they might seeme the seruants of *Pachacamac* which had sent them to their destruction; which if it be so, he and his were ready to offer themselues to whatsoeuer pleased them, not for feare of their minaces or armes, but to fulfill his father *Huayna Capacs* command at the houre of his death, that they should serue a bearded Nation more valiant

Atabuallpas answer.

then

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then they, which was to come and bring them a better Law and Customes. But if this bee so, *Pachacamac* is pitifull and mercifull, whom they ought to imitate, and not to beginne with robberies and cruelties as they had done in *Tumpiz*, and the confines. It seemed strange, he said, to him, that the Emperour should bee Lord of the World, and yet the Pope should make him a new grant; and then also is the Pope greater then he, and Lord of the world. Againe hee had shewed no reason why hee should pay tribute onely to *Charles*; which rather hee thought was due to God, as Creator, or to *Adam* the first man, or to *Christ* the best man, or to the Pope which hath power to giue his Kingdome and person to another, of all which he in his speech had discoursed. And if he had any right ouer him, it had beene meet, first to haue signified it to him, before menacing of warre, fire, and slaughter, &c. The *Spaniards* impatient of this long discourse fell to rifling the *Indians*, others to robbing an Idoll Temple of the Siluer plates; and comming forth to fight, the *Indians* raised a great shout. But the *Inca* with a great voice commanded that they should not smite nor hurt the *Spaniards*, though they tooke or killed the King. Frier *Vincent* made a plausible Speech to the *Spaniards*, in fauour of the *Indians*; but they could not heare him for the crie: neither did the King cast the Booke on the ground, or the Frier crie vengeance *; as some haue written, with other things against the Pope, and the death of *Christ*. Fiue thousand *Indians* were slaine, and no *Spaniards* hurt, but the Generall by one of his owne, slightly, in the taking of *Atahuallpa*. When he had agreed on his ransome, which was neuer wholly paid, for want of time to accomplish it *: (460570. Duckers of it came in) *Soto* and *Barco* were sent to *Cozco*, which at *Sausa* in the way had sight of *Huascar*, there kept prisoner; who by signes desired aide of the *Spaniards* to restore him to his Empire, *promising three times as much as* Atahuallpa *had done, better able to performe it, as hauing and knowing where to fetch the treasures of his progenitors: whereas* Atahuallpa *had little treasure but what he tooke from Churches.* They answered, that they must first goe to *Cozco* whither they were sent: and in the meane time *Atahuallpa* had intelligence of these passages. Hee subtilly to sound the *Spaniards*, how they would take the death of his brother, fained himselfe very sorrowfull for that hee had heard one of his Captaines had killed him, and refused to eate, making shew of much griefe. *Pizarro* comforted him, and promised to right and reuenge the euill on him which had done it. He seeing that *Pizarro* tooke it in no worse part, sent a speedy Post to dispatch him so suddenly, that the *Spaniards* could not tell but that it had beene done before. His owne death followed after *(as before is recited, and* Huascar *at his death foretold) by the vniust iustice of the* Spaniards, *many of which protested by word and writing against that cruelty, in vaine.* His corps were carried to *Quito* to be interred, where vnder pretence of more honourable Obsequies, *Ruminnaui* one of his Captaines (following his examples) wrought a great treason; made a feast to *Quilliscacha* brother of *Atahuallpa*, and other great men, whom hauing made drunke vnawares with the drinke Sora, a heady liquour forbidden by Law, hee slue, with *Chalcuchima* the Generall, and the Sonnes and Daughters of *Atahuallpa*, and all that might stand in the way of his ambition. Hee buried aliue the Chosen Virgins, which smiled at his reports of the *Spaniards* (interpreting it to lust, being done rather to please him) causing to vndermine and cut the Hills to execute that dismall fate more terribly. After some bickerings with the *Spaniards*, hee fled to the *Antis*, and there perished miserably.

Easie victorie and cruell *Spaniards* which kill so many not resisting.

* So they which were there, and *Gomara*, *Benzo*, *Herera*, &c. but the later Inquisitors seem ashamed of *Vincents* furie.

* See *contra. cap. vlt.*

Huascars promises to the *Spaniards.*

Huascar slaine.

Atahuallpa slaine.

Ruminnauis cruelties.

Manco Inca. The *Incas* began and ended with *Manco*; as the Empire of *Rome* with *Augustus* and *Augustulus*, and of *Constantinople* with two *Constantines.*

Manco Inca Brother of *Huascar*, came to the *Spaniards* at *Cozco*, to demand the repossession of the Empire, by inheritance due to him. They made him faire semblance: and he offered to promote the Gospell (according to his Fathers testament, as a better Law) and the *Spanish* affaires. Articles were agreed on, and they granted him a Diadem with great solemnitie, but so farre short of the wonted, that the old men cried as fast for the want of that, as the yong boyes shouted for ioy of this. When afterwards he propounded the accomplishment of those Articles which had beene made betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*, that the Naturals might liue in quiet, and knowe what seruice to performe to the *Spaniards*, with the reall restitution of his Empire: the Gouernour *Pizarro*, and his brethren excused themselues by the broyles and stirres which had growne amongst themselues, which hitherto permitted not the accomplishment. They further expected answer from the Emperor their Lord, of whom he might hope for al good, (the Articles being good for both parts) to whom they had giuen account of the capitulations, his brother *Hernando* being shortly to returne with answere. But when he was arriued at *Tumpiz*, the Marquesse tooke occasion to rid himselfe of the *Incas* importunitie, and with many faire words intreated him to returne to his Forresse till things might be perfected: which he doing, they held him there Prisoner, fearing his haughty courage. The *Indians* seeing their *Inca* Prisoner, were much grieued, but he comforted them, saying, that he and they ought to obey the *Spaniards*, for so *Huayna Capac* had commanded in his Testament, and that they should not be weary till they had seene the last issue of these things. Hee hoped that this his imprisonment would turne into greater liberalitie with him, these *Viracochas* being a Nation come from Heauen.

Manco imprisoned.

The Marquesse dismissed himselfe of the *Inca*, whose person and guard hee commended to his brethren *Iuan* and *Gonzalo*, and went to the *Citie of Kings*, to people and enlarge it. The *Inca Manco* with much obsequiousnesse to all the *Spaniards*, and many presents of Gold, Siluer, Gemmes,

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Gemmes, Fruits, &c. making no shew of griefe for his imprisonment, obtayned his libertie; which he had laboured the rather, hearing that *Hernando Pizarro* was comming to gouerne in *Cozco*. Hee gate leaue to goe to *Yucay*, which was the Garden of the Kings, to which place he summoned his Captaines, and complained of the *Spaniards* breach of promise, in not performing the Capitulations which they had made with *Titu Atauchi*, his brother, and that they had laid him in prison with Iron fetters: that he had perceiued their ill mindes from the beginning, but suffered it to iustifie his cause with God and with the world, that none might obiect to him the disturbing of the peace. But now he could no further relie on their vaine promises, well knowing that the *Spaniards* shared the Land amongst themselues in *Cuseo*, *Rimac*, and *Tumpez*, whereby it well appeared that they intended not the restitution of the Empire to him: and that he was loth to make further triall of their fetters, and therefore required their best aduice, intending with Armes to recouer his right, trusting in *Pachacamac*, and his father the Sun, that they would not herein forsake him. They told him, that he might looke for like reward at the hands of those strangers as *Atabuallpa* had found, notwithstanding the payment of his ransome: and it was *Pachacamacs* great grace, they had not dealt with his Royall Person likewise, &c. *Manco* enlargement and taking Armes.

Thus *Manco* raised forces, so that 200000. *Indians* came to *Cozco*, and shot Arrowes with fire on them on all the houses of the Citie generally, without respect of the Royall houses, only they reserued the Temple of the Sunne, with the Chappels within it, and the house of the Virgins: which two they spared (though their wealth was gone) not to commit any sacrilegious act against their Religion. Three Hals also they reserued wherein to make their feasts in time of raine, one of which was in the house that had belonged to the first *Inca*, *Manco Capac*. (*The author proceedes in the particular fights and seege of the* Spaniards, *too long here to rehearse.*) In diuers places they killed seuen hundred *Spaniards*. But at last *Manco* was driuen to forsake the Countrey [b] by the inequality of the *Spaniards* horses, Guns and other offensiue and defensiue armes, against which they had no experiments to make resistance. In the quill-vnquill broiles and warres of the *Spaniards* in *Peru*, some of them fled to *Manco Inca* to auoide the Vice-roies seuerity, one of which was *Gomez Perez* a cholericke man, which playing at Bowles with the *Inca*, would stand so stiffely on measuring of his cast, and the earnest folly of play, that forgetting all good manners, he one day vsed the *Inca* as if he had beene an *Indian* slaue; wherewith the *Inca* prouoked giue him a blow with his fist on the breast, whereupon *Gomez* with his Bowle strooke the *Inca* on the head so great a blowe, that hee fell downe dead. Whereupon the *Indians* set on the *Spaniards*, which first fled into the house to defend themselues there, but were fired out; and the *Indians* hauing killed them with enraged furie, had purposed to eate vp their flesh raw: but after left them to the birds and wilde beasts, for foode. Thus died *Manco* by the hands of those whom hee had preserued from death, and had kindly vsed in those wilde Mountaines of *Villa ca campa*, which hee had chosen for his securitie. I was present, when some *Incas* present at the act, with teares recounted this to my Mother, which came afterwards from these Mountaines with the *Inca Sayri Tupac*, the sonne of that vnfortunate Prince, by order of the Vice-roy *Mendoza*, Marquesse of *Canete*. This Vice-roy vsed (to perswade that comming in of the *Inca*) the Ladie *Beatriz* his Fathers Sister, which so wrought with his Guard, hee being then too young to take the Diademe, that vpon promise of certaine conditions hee came and rendred himselfe to the Vice-roy, and after went to *Cusco*, and was baptised by the name of *Don Diego*, together with his wife *Cusci Huarcay*, grandchilde to *Huascar Inca*, *Anno* 1558. Shee was a faire woman, but somewhat pale, as are all the women of that Countrie, about sixteene yeeres olde. I went in my mothers name to visite the *Inca*, and to kisse his hand, which vsed mee courteously, and two small vessels of gilt Plate were brought forth, of which he dranke one, I the other. He spent his time, one day visiting one part, and another, another part of the Citie. Hee adored the Sacrament, calling it *Pachacamac*, *Pachacamac*. He went thence to the Valley of *Yucay*, and there remayned till his death, which was about three yeeres after, leauing no issue but a daughter, which was married to *Martin Garcia de Loyola*. His brother *Tupac Amaru* tooke the Mountaines.

An Armie of 200000. *Indians* *Cozco* burnt.

[b] When *Almagro* returned out of *Chili* and *Aluarado* with other *Spaniards* came in.

Gomez an vngratefull proud *Spaniard*.

Manco slaine.

Sayri Tupac his sonne.

Francisco de Toledo second sonne to the Earle of *Oropesa*, being Vice-roy, determined to bring from the Mountaines of *Villca campa* the Prince *Tupac Amaru*, the lawfull Heire of that Empire, after his said brothers death without issue male. Hee sought to doe it by faire and gentle perswasions sending Messengers to that purpose, promising him maintenance from his Maiestie for his person and familie. His kindred and friends told him that his brother had receiued small recompense from them, or society with them, and therefore counselled him not to goe, it being better for him to liue there, then to die with his enemies. The *Spaniards* counselled the Vice-roy to force him, alledging that his *Indians* robbed the Merchants, hoping also by his imprisonment to recouer the treasures * which his progenitours had hidden. Such robberies were indeed committed in his father *Mancos* time, but seldome, they being forced thereto of necessitie for want of victuals, which the Mountaines yeeld not. But after his death there was no such matter. The Vice-roy sent *Martin Garcia Loyola*, with two hundred and fiftie Souldiers well prouided against the *Inca*. The strength of those passages was abated, and the wayes

Tupac Amaru his tragedie.

* *Hinc ille lachrymæ.*

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plained after the issue of *Sayri Tupac*, so that the Prince *Tupac Amaro* fled, and the *Spaniards* pursued, and hee being guilty to himselfe of no crime, yeelded himselfe with his wife, two sonnes and a daughter, and all his *Indians*, looking for no ill measure, but maintenance at their hands.

Bloudy Vice-roy.

The Vice-roy framed a processe against the Prince, and against all the *Incas* of his kindred, and against the Mestizos begotten of that stocke by the *Spaniards*, some of which were condemned to be tortured, that so they might finde some cleater matter against them. One of their mothers came to the prison, and cried out that they had got that reward, for that their Fathers had conquered the Countrey, for which their Children should be all hanged. Why did they not as well kill their Mothers, for whose sinne *Pachacamac* had suffered this, which had beene traytors to the *Inca* for loue of the *Spaniards*; with other outcries of vengeance in this world, and the next from Gods hand. Thus went shee crying in the street, which made the Vice-roy surcease his purpose, & he proceeded not to put any to death: but banished them to liue a lingring death in diuers parts of the world, out of that, which their Fathers had conquered. Some he sent to *Chili* (one of which was the sonne of *Barco* aforesaid, which had beene with *Huascar*) others to the new Kingdome of *Granada*, to the Iles of *Barlouent*, to *Panama*, to *Nicaragua*, and some hee sent to *Spaine*, one of which was *Iuan Arias Maldonado*, who liued there an exile ten yeeres, and recounted these things to mee; hee after got leaue of the supreme Councell of the *Indies* to returne to *Peru*, for three yeeres to recouer his goods, and then to returne to *Spaine*, there to end his dayes. All the rest perished in banishment. The *Indians* of the bloud Royall, which were sixe and thirtie of the principall of the bloud Royall, he exiled and confined to the Citie of Kings, and with them the two sonnes and daughter of the poore Prince, the eldest not ten yeeres old; the Archbishop of *Rimac* or *The Kings*, pitied the young girle, and brought her vp: the two sonnes with three and thirtie more died in little aboue two yeeres, comming out of a cold hilly Countrie to the hot Plaines by the Sea. The three remayning were *Don Carlos* my School-fellow, sonne of *Don Christouall Paullu*, and two others, which were sent home to their houses, but died all in a yeere and halfe after. Of *Don Carlos* sonne we haue said before, that hee came into *Spaine* in hope of great rewards which in *Peru* were promised him. He died *Anno* 1610. at *Alcala de Henares* of griefe to see himselfe shut vp in a Monastery, and left one sonne with three daughters. The sonne died being a childe of little more then a yeere old, and so the Rent granted by the Contractation house at *Siuill* to his father ceassed.

What became of the *Incas* race.

Don Melchiors the last *Incas* death.

Now for the Prince *Tupac* aforesaid (to returne to him) they sentenced him to lose his head, which was executed, the Crier proclayming his treason and tyrannies against the *Catholike* Maiestie of King *Philip* the second, King of *Spaine* and Emperour of the New Word. They told the *Inca* that he was sentenced to lose his head, without any particular cause mentioned: hee answered, hee had done nothing worthie of death, that the Vice-roy might send him prisoner to *Spaine*, to kisse the hands of his Soueraigne King *Philip*, which would be securitie enough. And if his father were not able with 200000. *Indians*, to subiect 200. *Spaniards* in *Cozco*, what needed the Vice-roy now feare any new commotion? The religious hastened to instruct him for baptisme, to which he was willing, he said, his Grandfather *Huayna Capac* hauing commended the *Christian* Law, as better then theirs: He was Christened by the name of *Don Philip*, with as much griefe of those which were present, as was ioy made at the baptising of *Sairi Tupac*. The *Spaniards* did not imagine that the sentence should be executed, being so contrarie to humanitie, and disagreeable to the Maiestie of King *Philip*. It was performed on a Scaffold in the chiefe Street of *Cozco*. Many sought to petition the Vice-roy, which knowing their errand, would admit none to audience. They set the Prince on a Mule, with a rope about his necke, his hands tied, one going before, to proclaime his treason. He not vnderstanding *Spanish*, asked the Friers, and hearing that he proclaimed him *Auca*, called him to him, and said to him, *Say not so, for thou knowest it is a lye, and I neuer did or thought treason, as all the world knoweth; but say, that I must die for the Vice-roys pleasure, and not for my faults against him or the King; I appeale to* Pachacamac, *that this is true.* The multitude crying and lamenting, they feared some stirre, there being 300000. soules assembled in the streets, they hasted to set him on the Scaffold. The Priests prayed him to still the clamours and out-cries of the people. Hee stretched out his arme with his hand open, which hee layd on his eare, thence letting it fall by degrees to his thigh; whereupon followed a sudden silence, as if there had not beene a man left in the Citie. Which made the *Spaniards* to wonder, and the Vice-roy amongst others which stood at a window to see the execution. Thus died the *Inca* with great magnanimitie, as the *Incas* haue beene in such cases accustomed, he worshipping the Images of our Sauiour, and of the Virgin, as the Priests taught him.

Tupac Amaro executed.

He is baptised *Philip.*

The Vice-roy returned with great wealth, and with 500000. Pezos in gold and siluer, and going to kisse the Kings hand, he bad him *get him to his house; he had not sent him to* Peru, *to kill Kings, but to serue Kings.* The Councell of *Indies* receiuing information against him arrested all his treasure aforesaid, which filled him with such griefe that hee died within few dayes after.

Vice-roys iust reward.

Loyolas death.

Loyola, which had taken him, and was husband to his brothers daughter, was sent generall to *Chili*, where the *Araucans* hauing spies on him, when hee had sent most of his Souldiers to garrisons,

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risons, with voices of birds and beasts gaue signes to their fellowes, which came in with a great power of *Indians*, and killed him and all his *Spaniards*. *Anno* 1603. *Araucans* policy

Thus haue wee fleeted the creame of the Incas *Historie of the* Incas; *the* Spaniards *(whose acts hee principally handleth in his second part) haue enough of their owne to relate their acts, some of which also follow, and others haue gone before, to shew how they conquered and vsed their conquests of and in the New World. The greatnesse of that State, and strangenesse of the rising, proceeding, and ruine of the* Incas, *made mee the larger, though all this be not so much in words, as one of the seuenteene Bookes, out of which it is gathered. It may bee of good vse, both to vnderstand the* Spanish Indian *Historians, as* Acosta, *&c. and in many things in which for want of Language, and acquaintance with the* Incas, *they haue receiued and deliuered errours, to amend them: and in this kinde, for antiquities, is a iewell, such as no other* Peru *Merchant hath set to sale. If I haue seemed confused, and without exact method, I haue followed my Author, who setting forth the former part, Anno* 1608. *published the other,* 1617. *hauing receiued of some later occurrents better intelligence. Wee will now leaue this* Inca-Spaniard, *and briefly recount from the* Spanish *Actors and Authors, what passed in these first and great mutations.* Ramusio *published these three following Discourses at large, which wee haue thus contracted.*

CHAP. XV.

Briefe Notes of FRANCIS PIZARRO *his conquest of* Peru, *written by a* Spanish *Captaine therein employed.*

A Certaine *Spanish* Captaine, whose name is not added to his Tractate writeth, that in Februarie 1531. he went with *Pizarro* from *Panama*, who arriued, and slayed three monechs at *Tumbez*, and thence went to *Tangarara*, and founded Saint *Michaels*, where he heard of *Atabalipa* or *Atahualpa*, and his warres with his brother *Cusco*: who sent a Spie thither, and as hee marched, presents, to *Pizarro*. Hee with tortures learned of two *Indians* what and where *Atabalipa* was. They marched on (he sayth) to *Caxamalca*, a Citie foure miles in circuit, entred with two Gates. On one side of the Citie is a great Palace walled about, with a great Court planted with trees. This they call the *House of the Sunne*, whom they worship, putting off their Shoes when they enter. And such there are in euery great Towne. There were two thousand Houses, in streets straight as a Line, the walls of strong stone, three paces (or fathoms) high; within are faire Fountaines of water, and in the midst a greater street then any in *Spaine*, walled about; before which is a Fortresse of stone, with staires from the Street to the Port. On one side of this Street is the Palace of *Atabalipa* with Gardens and Lodgings, the houses all painted with diuers colours: in one roome were two great Fountaines adorned with plates of Gold, in one of which runnes water so hote that a man cannot indure his hand therein, the other being very cold. The people are neate, the women are honest, weare a wroughe Girdle on their long garments, aboue that a Mantle which coureth them from the head to the midst of the thigh. The men weare white Frockes without sleeues. The women in a Palace made Chicha for the Armie. After the Armies approached, a Frier of the Order of Saint *Dominike*, went and told him that the *Christians* were his friends. The *Cacique* (*Atabalipa* or *Atahualpa*) answered, that first hee would haue them restore all that they had taken in his Land, and after hee would doe as hee should see cause. The Frier with a Booke in his hand, beganne to speake to him the things of God; hee demanded the booke, and the Father gaue it him, and he threw it downe about his people. The *Indian* Interpreter ranne and tooke it vp and gaue it the Father, who suddenly returned, crying, *Come forth Christians, come forth, and set on these Enemies, Dogs, which will not accept the things of God, whose Prince hath throwne on the ground the Booke of our holy Law.* Thereupon the Gouernour sounded the Trumpets, and gaue a token to the Gunner to discharge the Ordnance, and the *Spaniards* on foot and horsebacke rushed on with such furie, that the *Indians* hearing the dreadfull thunders of the Artilerie, and seeing the force of the Horses, fled: the Gouernour went directly to the Litter in which *Atabalipa* was whom hee tooke, many *Indians* whose hands were cut off bearing the same Litter on their shoulders. Sixe or seuen thousand were slaine besides many which had their Armes cut off, and other wounded.

Caxamalca or *Cassamarca* described.

Chicha is a kind of Drinke made of Maiz. Frier *Vincent.* This is denied by *Inca Vega*, because (it seemes) the thing seemes odious, rather then false: and he might not tell tales offensiue to *Spanish* eares: especially to the Friers which authorized his Bookes to the presse.

Atabalipa, by an *Indian*, sent to the other *Indians*, that they should not fire, for hee was still aliue in the *Christians* hands, whom hee commended for a good Nation, and commanded his to serue them. Hee was about thirtie yeeres old, a personable man, somewhat grosse, with thicke lips, and eyes incarnate with bloud; his speech graue. The next day the *Spaniards* got fiftie thousand Pezos of Gold (each worth one Ducket and two Carolines) and seuen thousand Markes of Siluer, and many Emeralds, wherewith the *Cacique* seemed content: and said, that he would giue him as much Gold as would fill a roome to such a marke, higher then a tall man could reach by a spanne, the roome being twenty fiue foot long, and fifteene broad. The Gouernour asked how much Siluer hee would giue? he said, that hee would giue eight thousand *Indians*, which should

Atabalipa taken; description of his person.

A Marke is in these discourses 8. ounces.

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should make a partition in the midst of the Palace, and fill it with vessels of Siluer of diuers sorts, all which he would giue for his ransome. The Gouernour promised him his libertie on this condition, and to worke no treason against the *Christians*. Fortie dayes were set, and twentie passed in which came no Gold. Then we learned that he had taken his brother *Cusco* * his brother by the father, a greater man then himselfe. He had told some, that *Atabalipa* promised the Gold which he had, and hee would giue the *Christians* foure times as much as the other had promised: which being told to *Atabalipa*, he caused him suddenly to bee dispatched. Hee killed another of his brothers, which had said he would drinke in *Atabalipas* skull, but contrariwise he drunke in his; which I my selfe saw, and all that were with *Hernando Pizarro*. I saw the head with the skinne, the flesh drie, and the haires on, and his teeth closed, and betwixt them a Pipe of Siluer, and on the top a Cup of Gold fastned to the head, with a hole going into it. His Slaues put Chicha into the Cup, which ranne by the mouth into that pipe, whence *Atabalipa* drunke.

* These first entrers of *Peru* call both *Huayna Capac* and *Huascar* by the name of their chiefe Citie *Cusco*.

Anno 1533. the Gouernour gaue his brother *Hernando* leaue to goe with a Companie of *Spaniards* to *Guamachuco*, and there he found an hundred thousand Castellians of Gold, which they brought for *Atabalipas* ransome. *Diego Almagro* came with an hundred and fiftie men to our succour. Because the Gold came so slowly, *Atabalipa* willed the Gouernour to send three men to *Cusco*, laying the blame on his imprisonment, which made the *Indians* not to obey him. These *Christians* were carried by *Indians* in Hamacas, a kinde of Litters, and were serued. They arriued at *Xauxa*, where was *Chilicuchima*, a great Captaine of *Atabalipa*, the same which had taken *Cusco*, which had all the Gold at his command. He gaue the *Christians* thirty burthens of Gold, of which each weighed an hundred pounds. They said it was little, and he gaue them fiue burthens more, which they sent to the Gouernour by a *Negro*, whom they had brought with them.

Iourney to *Cusco*, and gold there.

They went on to *Cusco*, where they found *Quizquiz*, a Captaine of *Atabalipas*, which made little account of the *Christians*. He said that if they would not restore his Master for that Gold he would giue, he would take him out of their hands: and sent them presently to a Temple of the Sunne, couered with plates of Gold. The *Christians* without the helpe of any *Indian* (for they refused, saying they should die, it being the Temple of the Sunne) with Pickaxes of Brasse disfurnished the same, as they told vs afterwards, and spoyled the Temple. Many Pots and vessels of Gold were also brought (which there they vsed for their cookery) for ransome of their Lord *Atabalipa*. In all the house, there was such store of Gold, that it amased them. They were amazed to see one seat in their house of Sacrifices which weighed nineteene thousand Pezos of Gold: in another where old *Cusco* lay buried, the pauement and the walls were couered with plates of Gold and Siluer, which they did not breake, for feare of the *Indians* displeasure, nor many great earthen Pots there, couered with Gold likewise. In that House were two dead and embalmed, neere to whom stood a woman with a Maske of Gold on her face, which fanned away the winde and Flies. She would not let them enter with their shooes on: they went in and tooke much Gold, but not all, for *Atabalipa* had interested them, because there lay his Father. They found there a great house full of Pots and Tubs, and vessels of Siluer. They would haue brought much more then they did, but that they were alone, and aboue two hundred and fiftie leagues from other *Christians*: but they shut it vp, and sealed it for his Maiestie, and the Gouernour *Francis Pizarro*, and set a guard on it.

* In the inside, &c. See *sup.* in the *Inca Vegas* relation.

Huayna Capacs Sepulchre.

Peers shiftes for horse shooes.

Ouer the Riuers as they passed, they found two Bridges together, one open for the vulgar, the other shut for the passage of great men. *Hernando Pizarro* trauelling ouer the Mountaines with his Horse, where the way was made with hands in many places as a Scale or Staires, which wore off his Horse shooes, commanded the *Indians* to shooe his Horses with Gold and Siluer, and so came to the Citie, bigger then *Rome*, called *Pachalchama* *, where in one faire chamber was an Idoll of wood, which they said, was their God which giues life to all things, at whose feete were many Emeralds fastned in Gold. They haue him in such veneration, that none may serue nor touch him, nor the walls of the house, but such, as they say, are called by him. It is certaine, that the Deuill there speakes to them, and tells them what they should doe. They come 500. leagues off to him, and offer him gold, siluer, and iewels, giuing it to the Porter which goeth in and returnes them an answer. They which serue him must be pure and chaste, abstaining from eating, and women. All the Countrie of *Catamez* payeth him tribute. The *Indians* feared that the Idoll would haue destroyed the *Spaniards*: which neuertheless entred without feare, and brought very little Gold thence, for the *Indians* had hidden it all; they found the places whence they had carried great store, so that they goe not aboue 30000. Pezos, & of a *Cuzco* 10000. more. *Chilicuchima* sent them word, that he had store of Gold for them at *Xauxa*, but deceiued them.

* This was the Temple of *Pachacamac*, in the former relation. This Idoll perhaps was that which the Natiues had kept from before the *Incas* conquest, for then they worshipped none. *Estetes* treatise of this Voyage is in *Ramusio*.

They brought him and other great men to *Atabalipa*, which put coarse Cloth on them before their entrance, and did him great reuerence, lifting vp their hands to the Sunne, with thanks that they had seene their Lord, and came by little and little neerer him, and kissed his hands and feet, who shewed great signes of Maiestie, and would not looke any of them in the face. They tied *Chilicuchima* to a stake, and set fire to him, to extort a confession of old *Cuscos* Gold from him, which (much burned first) said that *Quizquiz* had it in keeping: and that old *Cusco*, though dead, was still obserued, and had victuals set before him; and told of another Pauilion,

uilion, where were great vessels, from whence the Gouernour sent and fetched much Gold. The *Christians* came from *Cusco* with aboue an hundred and ninety *Indians* laden with Gold. Some vessels were so great, that twelue *Indians* had much adoe to bring them. The Gouernour melted all the small pieces, which I can well tell, for I was keeper of the house of Gold, and saw it melted, and there were aboue nintie Plates of Gold: there were in that roome two hundred great tankards * of Siluer and many small, with pots and other peeces very faire. I thinke I saw weighed of the Siluer 50000. Markes. There were also in the same roome eighty tankards of Gold, and other great peeces: there was also a heape higher then a man of those plates of very fine Gold; and to say truth, in all the roomes of the house were great hils or heapes of Gold and Siluer. The Gouernour put them together and weighed them before the Officers, and then chose some to make the shares for the company. The Gouernour sent the Emperour a present of 100000. pesoes in fifteene tankards, and foure pots, and other rich peeces. Euery footman had 4800. pesoes of gold, which made 7208. Duckets, and the Horsemen twice as much, besides other aduantages. Before the sharing he gaue *Almagro* company 25000. * pesoes, and 2000. pesoes of Gold to those which had staid at Saint *Michaels*: and much gold to all that came with the Captaine, two or three great Cups of gold a peece to the Merchants, and to many which had gotten it, lesse then they deserued. I say it, for so it fared with me. Many presently, amongst which I was, demanded leaue to returne to *Spaine*, and fiue and twenty obtained it. When *Atabalipa* heard they would carry the gold out of the Countrey, he sent for men to come and assaule the Gouernour. A few dayes before two Sonnes of old *Cusco* came thither and lodged with the Gouernour, one * of them was naturall Lord of the Countrey. Vpon newes of forces comming, they brought *Atabalipa* by night to a stake to burne him aliue, by the command of the Gouernour; but he said he would be a *Christian*; whereupon after Baptisme they strangled him that night, and the Countrey was quiet. The Gouernour made the eldest Sonne of old *Cusco* Lord of the Countrey, which caused great ioy to the Natiues. Wee arriued in *Siuil*, Ianuary the fifteenth 1534.

* *Cantari.*

* Others say 100000.

Atabalipa pretended treason.

* *Manco.*

CHAP. XVI.

The Conquest of Peru *and* Cusco, *called* New Castile, *and directed to the Emperour by* FRANCISCO de XEREZ, *Secretary to Captaine* FRANCIS PIZARRO *which conquered them.*

FRancis *Pizarro* liued in *Panama* which the Gouernor *Pedrarias de Auila* had peopled. He was Sonne of Captaine *Gonzalo Pizarro* of *Trugillo*: hee obtained licence of *Pedrarias* to goe vpon new discoueries; and hauing bestowed a good part of his estate in a Ship and necessaries, he departed from *Panama* Nouember the foureteenth 1524. with one hundred and twelue *Spaniards*, and some *Indians*: seuentie daies after they went on land, which after they named *Of Hunger*, with eightie men, the rest being dead, and sent the Ship to the *Iland of Pearles* neere *Panama* for victuals, hoping of their returne in twelue dayes, which continued forty seuen, they liuing on the Seas wilde prouisions meane whiles, whereby twenty dyed, and the rest were very weake. A Cow hide which they had for seruice of the Ship, they had shared amongst them and eaten before the Ship returned. Then did they proceede on the Voyage, and came to a Towne which the inhabitants had forsaken, where they found store of prouisions: and the next day the Countrie people set on them, easily ouerthrew ours being weake, gaue the Captaine seuen wounds very dangerous, and left him for dead; slew fiue, and wounded seuenteene of the rest: whereupon they returned for *Panama*, and he staied at *Chuchama* to refresh and cure himselfe. A little before *Diego de Almagro* his companion was gone for his succour with a Ship and seuenty men; and landing at the place where *Pizarro* was beaten, was there assaulted and lost one of his eyes; many Christians were wounded, but for all that they fired the towne, and put the enemy to flight: sailing thence, they came to a great Riuer which they called Saint *Iohns*, and found there some shew of Gold, and returned, and found *Pizarro* in *Chuchama*.

Pizarros beginning.

Land of *Hunger.*

Pizarro wounded.

Almagro wounded.

Almagro was sent to *Panama*, where *Pedrarias* misliked and crossed this designe which had proued hitherto so vaine; but he with much adoe returned with one hundred and ten men to *Pizarro*, with whom fiftie of the former remained of both companies, one hundred & thirty being dead. In two Ships they set forth and spent three yeares in great trauell; hunger killed the most of them, that fiftie onely remained: not finding neuertheless any good Countrie. Then it was their hap to finde great hopes of Gold and riches, comming to *Cancebi*, and tooke six men to learne their language. *Almagro* was sent for more men to *Panama*, whiles *Pizarro* staied at *Cock-Iland*. But some had written to the Gouernour to be freed from thence. The Gouernour sent

Three yeares troubles.

Cock Iland.

sent licence to those which would; onely sixteene staied there with *Pizarro* fiue moneths till the Ship returned, and then on the last day of the time granted them, hauing made better discouery ariued at *Panama*.

Pizarro was sent into *Spaine* to get graunt of the Countrey, which in large Commission hee obtained, and after his returne departed from *Panama* with three Ships, and 180. men, and 37. Horse. In thirteene dayes he arriued at the Port of Saint *Matthew*, which was as much as before he could doe in two yeares, and landing there, found all the Country in armes. They marched till they came to a great towne called *Coache*, which they suddenly assaulted, and there got in Gold, to the value of 15000. Castellines, and 750. pounds * of Siluer, and many Emeralds, which they then knew not, and therefore for small trifles exchanged them with the *Indians*. Thence the Gouernour sent backe for men and horse to *Panama* and *Nicaragua*. He went with his *Spaniards* to the Isle *Puna*, rich and populous, which subiected themselues, and because it was winter, staid there. Those *Indians* rebelled and raised forces. Hee tooke the *Cacique* (hauing vnderstanding hereof) and made great slaughter of the Ilanders, and hauing beheaded ten principall men, he set free the *Cacique* to call together the Ilanders, which had fled to *Tumbez*. *Pizarro* went thence to *Tumbez*, where he found the *Indians* in armes. Three which had gone in the Boates were robbed and slaine, but *Tumbez* and many other places rued it.

Vnderstand of pounds by weight, as by markes eight ounces, by Castellines Pezos. *Puna.*

May 16. 1532. he departed from *Tumbez* and was well receiued in many places, to which he gaue notice that he came to bring them in subiection to the Emperor, and to the knowledge of the holy Catholik faith; to which many of the *Caciques* yeelded. Comming to a good Riuer, which he found to haue a good Port, he planted a Colonie sixe leagues from the Sea, and called it Saint *Michaels*. At *Chira* he found that the *Cacique* of that Towne, and another of *Almotaxe* had conspired to kill certaine *Christians*; hee tooke them both with their chiefe men and burned them aliue, sparing the *Cacique* himselfe of *Chira*, whose fault was lest, and giuing him *Almotaxe* also. This execution was dreadfull to the whole Country. There he shared the Gold which the *Caciques*, and the men of *Tumbez* had giuen them, and paid the Marriners their fraight. He departed thence the foure and twentieth of September 1532. hauing newes of *Atabalipa* at *Caxamalca*: 55. abode at Saint *Michaels*, and with the Gouernor remained 62. horsemen and 102. footmen.

Saint *Michaels* founded. *Cacike* and others burned.

Pizarres army.

As he marched he receiued better intelligence of *Atabalipa*, and of *Cusco*, in which old *Cusco* lay interred in a place which had the roofe and wals couered with Gold and Siluer. Hee sent a Captaine to *Caxas* and *Guacamba*, with certaine horse and foote. He learned of the way (which he passed betwixt these two townes, the latter of which had a faire stone Castle) that it reacheth from *Cusco* to *Quito* aboue 300 leagues, so broad that six horsemen may ride abreast, with water passages all alongst for trauellers to drinke, and houses for their lodging euery dayes iournie; with this Captaine returned an *Indian* with a present from *Atabalipa*, of two Fountaines of stone and two burthens of dried Ducks (which is the fashion of that Country) signifying his great desire to see the Gouernour at *Caxamalca*. All the way from the Riuer of Saint *Michaels* to *Chimcha* is a Vallie well peopled, hath the way made by hands, walled on both sides with trees in many places set for shadow, made by old *Cusco*. The people liue much after one manner. They * sacrifice their children, and sprinkle the bloud on their Sepulchers, and daube their Idols faces therewith. Their sacrifices goe dancing and singing to their death. The Temples are compassed with stone wals and seated in the highest part of the Citie. He sent an *Indian* messenger to *Atabalipa* with words of greatest kindenesse. Leauing the *Chincha* way, he tooke that which goeth to *Cassamalca*, and ascended a great Mountaine, the horsemen leading vp their horses, sometimes mounting as it were by staires, there being no other way; till they came to a fortresse of Stone, walled with and founded on the rocks. As they proceeded in this Mountaine, they found it very cold. The waters on the top were very cold that without heating they could not drinke them, and they set vp their tents and made fires when they staid, because of the cold.

Long highway. *Atabalipas* presents.

* Perhaps they had done this before the *Incas* conquest. But our *Inca* author denieth this and *Casas* tels that the *Spaniards* deuised such imputations of sodomy and humane sacrifices &c. to couer and colour their cruelties in all places.

Here came messengers with ten Sheep for a present from *Atabalipa*, which told *Pizarro* of the great victories which he had had against his brother. But hee answered that his Emperour was *King of* Spaine, *and of the* Indies, *and Lord of the whole world, & had many seruants which were greater Lords then* Atabalipa; *and he had sent him into these Countries to draw the people to the knowledge of God & to his subiection: and with these few* Christians, said he, *I haue ouercome greater Lords then is* Atabalipa. *If he will haue friendship I will helpe him in his wars, & leaue him in his estate, but if he choose warre, I will doe to him as to the* Cacikes *of* Puna *and* Tumbez. The *Indian* which *Pizarro* had sent returned from *Caxamalca* and related that *Atabalipa* there abode with an armie, and would haue slaine him, had hee not said that the like should be done to his Messengers, then being with the *Spaniards*: that he could not speake with him, but an Vncle of his, which had enquired of the *Christians* and their armes, all which he extolled to the vtmost.

Caxamalca. *Ferdinand Pizarro* and *Soto* sent to *Atabalipa.*

The Gouernor came to *Caxamalca* the fifteenth of Nouember 1532. *Atabalipa* sent other messengers with presents. *Fernando Pizarro* was sent to his campe with another Captain, which did his message to him, but he did not once looke on him, but was answered by a principall man; till the other Captain signified that he was brother to the Gouernor; & then the tyrant lifted vp his eyes and obiected the reports of their ill vsage of his *Caciques*, but for his part he would be friend

to

to the *Christians*, taking them to be good men. They promised helpe against his enemies: He said, he would employ them against a *Cacique* which had rebelled, together with his Soldiers. *Pizarro* answered, ten of their horsemen would be enough to destroy him without helpe of your *Indians*. *Atabalipa* laughed and bad they should drinke, saying he would the next day see his Brother. They to excuse drinking, said they fasted, but he importuned them, and women came forth with vessels of gold full of drinke of Mayz. Hee looked on them without speaking a word, and they went againe and brought greater vessels of gold, whereof they dranke, and were licenced to depart. There seemed to be 30000. men in the Campe; they stood without their tents with lances in their hands, like to Pikes. The next morning, being Saturday, came a Messenger from *Atabalipa*, saying that he would come to see him with his people armed. He answered, that he should vse his pleasure. The Gouernour had placed his horse and foote covertly in great houses that they should not stirre forth till opportunity serued (the signe being giuen, and the Ordnance thereupon discharged) then to rush out suddenly from diuers parts & assault the *Indians*. And seeing *Atabalipa* staid so long, till neere night, he sent a Messenger to him, signifying his desire to see him. Hereupon he moued to the town with his armie in squadrons, singing & dancing, richly adorned with gold and siluer. The Gouernors purpose was to take him aliue, & therefore expected his entrance into that walled or closed street of *Caxamalca*, which the *Indians* had forsaken with the fortresse, & left to him. It was late before he came into the town, and being come into the streete he made a stand.

The Gouernor sent Frier *Vincent* to him with a Crosse in one hand, and a Bible in the other, being entred where *Atabalipa* was, he said by an Interpreter, I am a Priest of God, and teach the *Christians* things diuine, and come likewise to instruct you that which the great God hath taught vs, and is written in this Booke. And therefore on Gods behalfe, and of the *Christians*, I pray you to become their friend; for God commands it, and it shall be well for you; and come to speake with the Gouernor which expects you. *Atabalipa* asked for his Booke, which he gaue him shut. He not knowing which way to open it, the Frier stretched forth his hand to doe it, and he with great disdaine hut him on the arme, and at last opened it himselfe. And without wondring at the letters or paper, as other *Indians* vse, cast it away fiue or six paces from him: and to the words which the Frier had said to him, he answered with great pride: I well wot what thou hast done in this voiage, and how thou hast handled my *Caciques*, and taken away their goods. The Frier answered, the *Christians* haue not done this, but some *Indians* without the Gouernours knowledge, who knowing it caused them to make restitution. *Atabalipa* replied, I will not depart hence till they bring it all to me. The Frier carried this answer to the Gouernor, and that he had throwne the holy Scripture on the ground; who presently set on the *Indians*, and came to the litter where *Atabalipa* was, and tooke him by the left arme, crying Saint *Iames*, S. *Iames*. The Ordnance plaied the trumpets sounded; the horse and foot set forth; the *Indians* fled, the horsemen pursuing & slaying, the footmen killing all in the streete, the Gouernour got a wound on the hand in sauing his prisoner. In all this hurliburly there was not an *Indian* which lifted vp his armes against the *Christians*. *Pizarro* bid his prisoner not be amased at his captiuity, for with these *Christians*, though few, I haue subiected greater Lords then thou art to the Emperor, whose vassall I am, who is Lord of *Spaine*, and of all the world; and by his order I am come to conquer these lands that you may come to the knowledge of God, &c. adding many words of their pitie to the conquered and his good parts and acts. The *Spaniards* had no harme, onely one horse had a small wound: whereupon the Gouernor thanked God for the [b]miracle. The Sun was down before they began, and the battell lasted halfe an houre. 2000. *Indians* were killed, besides those which were wounded, and 3000. taken. In the stree of *Caxamalca*, *Pizarro* caused to build a Church for the Masse, and fortified the place against all occurrents.

Atabalipa promised for his ransome to fill a roome 22. foot long, and 17. wide, with gold vp as high as the middle of the roome, higher by one halfe then a mans height, in pots and other vessels, plates & peeces: and the same roome twice filled with siluer, in two moneths space. But so much not comming in so soone, the Gouernor sent three men to *Cusco*, February 15. 1533. commanding one of them in the name of his Maiesty, & presence of a Notary, to take possession thereof. A *Negro* which went with them returned, Aprill 28. with 107. burthens of gold, and seuen of siluer, May 25. *Fernand Pizarro* came to [c] *Caxamalca* with *Chilicuchima*, May the thirteenth, the Notary returned from *Cusco* with relation that they had taken possession, & had found 30. great Cities in the way besides small. He said that there was a Pallace with plates of gold, foure square, each square containing 350. paces from corner to corner, 700. of which they had taken away, each of which waighed 500. Castilians: from another house the *Indians* had taken as much as 200000. Castilians, which they reiected [d] because the gold was base. He said that *Chiscbis* was there with 30000. men for guard of the Citie. They brought 178. burthens of gold, each as much as foure *Indians* bare on their necks, so that it could not come thither in a moneth by reason of requiring so many *Indians* to carry it. It was the thirteenth of Iune before the gold came from *Cusco*, which was two hundred burthens & twenty fiue of Siluer. After this came sixtie burthens of base gold, taken from wals of houses. It was shared on S. *Iames* his day. The fifth being taken out for his Maiesty, euery horseman had 8880. Castilians in gold, and 362. markes in siluer, each marke being eight ounces. The footemen had halfe so much, some more and some lesse, as the Gouernour valued

Atabalipa taken without fight of the *Indians*. Braue bragge. [b] *Spanish* miracle; none would'd where non striketh, as he saith before. *Atabalipas* ransom, which was paid and he acquitted, as *Pizarro* himselfe writes in the next chap. yet was he murthered, & that after they had made him a *Christian* Cieza c. 119. saith, that God punished the *Spaniards* for their cruelties to the *Indians*, and few died naturall deaths; all that had hand in *Atabalipas* death died miserably. For this God suffered the wars, &c. he nameth also *Carnaian*, *Robledo*, *Belalcazer*, *Tovar*, *Martin*, &c. whom God plaged for tyrannies to the *Indians*.

[c] He had been at *Pachacamac*, Estetes discourse of that Voiage is at large in *Ramusio*, here omitted.

Herera saith, that in their sharings, the *Spaniards* valued gold of 14. carats at 7. and by the abundance thereof grew to great excesses in gaming, pride & other vices: he saith that the three sent to *Cusco* were fooles & their behauior caused the *Indians* to vnderualue the *Spaniards*.

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valued their merits. The Emperours fifth was 262259. *Caſtilians* * of Gold and 51610. Markes of Siluer.

He ſet apart a quantity for thoſe of Saint *Michaels*, and for thoſe which came with *Almagro*, and the Merchants, and all the Marriners, Prices of things were according: a Horſe was commonly ſold for 1500. Caſtilians of Gold; a veſſell of ſix quarts (*Becali*) of wine for ſixtie Caſtilians, I paid fortie for foure quarts: a paire of ſhooes for forty; as much, or fiftie for a ſword. I paid twelue for halfe an ounce of bad Saffron: ten for a ſheet of Paper to write; nothing ſeemed cheape but Gold and Siluer, inſomuch that they would not ſtand to weigh their Gold, but gaue it in maſſe; and if hee gaue not twice the quantitie, hee cared not. Debtors * went from houſe to houſe with *Indians* laden with Gold to pay their debts. *Atabalipa* being accuſed of Treaſon by another *Cacique*, that he ſought to rayſe forces in *Quito*, was therefore ſentenced to be burned, and brought forth to execution, where he ſaid he would be a Chriſtian, and Frier *Vincent* baptized him and comforted him at his death; the Gouernour commanded he ſhould not be burnt but ſtrangled, which was executed on a Saturday, about the ſame houre that he was taken. One of his Brothers was made Lord by the Gouernour in preſence of the *Caciques*, with great ſolemnitie, they lifting vp their eyes to the Sunne with thankes for giuing them a naturall Lord. *Fernando Pizarro* was ſent to *Spaine*, and ſome others had licenſe, many flocking thither, hearing of the Riches there gotten.

* A Marke is 8. ounces and a *Caſtilian* is a Pezo which containeth in this *Peru* account after *Inca Vega* 450. Maraueadiz; enery 5. Pezos or *Caſtellanos* being ſix Duckets: about ſeuen ſhillings *Engliſh*.

Golden Age. *Miſerable comforters.*

Herera *Dec.* 5. *l.* 3. *ſaith that* Atahuallpa *had deſired his libertie becauſe his ranſome was paid, and his promiſe fulfilled (as* Pizarro *himſelfe by ſound of Trumpet acknowledged) which being deferred, his Captaines offered him to free him by force.* Atahualpa *refuſed and commanded them to ſerue the Chriſtians. The* Yanaconas *a ſlauiſh kind of people, deſiring to free themſelues from the* Orejones *and* Incas *in theſe broyles rayſed falſe newes that Armies were rayſed to aſſault the* Spaniards. Pizarro *ſeeing that* Atahualpa *ſtood in his way, and hindered his foundation of a* Spaniſh *Empire in theſe parts, which could not be without the diſſipation of that of the* Incas, *nor that without* Atahualpas *death*, Y eſto tenia por iuſto, pues era prouechioſo, *He held it iuſt becauſe it was profitable: Hee ſpake to the* Inca *complaining of inſurrection which he anſwered was but the rumour of his enemies, that he had paid his ranſome, &c.* Pizarro *made ſhew (diſſembling his purpoſe) of great feare of the enemies (which cauſed the* Spaniards *to vrge and importune* Atabalipas *death* (and to ſpeake as you haue read in them) *whereupon* Pizarro *had ſufficient colour for his Deſigne, making ſhew that the Treaſure paid in name of a ranſome was not for the* Incas *libertie, but leſt the* Indians *ſhould hide it. Frier* Vincent *conſented alſo, and ſo he was ſentenced to be burned, &c. Hee addeth out of* Seneca, Proſperum ac fœlix ſcelus virtus vocatur. *Thus the Kings Chronicler, ſaying alſo that* Fernand Pizarro *was* Atahualpas *friend, and his brother did it after his departure. He died in Priſon, and all the reſt (of whoſe names* Herera *giueth a Catalogue) were ſlaine and murthered in ciuill warres, or came to ill ends. Yea, ſtill the warres continue in* Arauco, *to the death of many* Spaniards, *beſides the ciuill warres of* Giron, *&c. in* Peru *after that of the* Pizarriſts. *God is iuſt, and therefore* Pizarro *the Murtherer of* Atahualpa *(a cruell Murtherer alſo) was murthered, and ſo hee that murthered* Pizarro, *and ſo forwards; the Serpents Iſſue and Generation of Hell proceeds from murther to murther, the Deuill himſelfe being a Murtherer from the beginning. Once;* Peru *alone with* Chili *(both ſubiects to the* Incas *Empire) hath more aduanced the* Spaniſh *Treaſures then all the* New World *beſides: neither is there any ſo likely way to ſupplant that* Caſtilian-American *greatneſſe, as by the* Araucos.

CHAP. XVII.

Relations of Occurrents in the Conqueſt of Peru *after* FERNAND PIZARROS *departure written at* XAVXA, *July* 15. 1534. *by* PEDRO SANCHO, *Notary Generall in the Kingdomes of New* Caſtile, *and Secretary to the Gouernour* FR. PIZARRO, *ſubſcribed by the ſaid Gouernour himſelfe and others, and ſent to his Maieſtie.*

THen or twelue dayes after *Fernand Pizarros* departure, two *Spaniards* came from *Cuzco* with Gold, part whereof was melted being ſmall and fine pieces, taken out of the wals of a certaine houſe in *Cuſco*, being aboue fiue hundred wedges or plates of Gold, the ſmall weighing foure or fiue pounds a piece, the greater ten or twelue. All the wals of that Temple had beene couered with them. They brought a chaire or throne of moſt fine Gold, weighing eighteene thouſand Pezos, and a Fountayne of Gold of excellent workmanſhip, and the mould in which it was caſt; and many other pieces, pots and veſſels: which all mounted to two Millions and a halfe, and beeing melted into moſt fine Gold came to be one Million 320000. Pezos and vpwards: out of which his Maieſties fifth was taken, aboue 260000. Pezos, they made it vp 270000. Of Siluer there was 50000. Markes, his Maieſties

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ieſties part 500 e. the reſt was ſhared amongſt the company according to their qualities and merits. After this, the Gouernour made an act before a Notary, in which he acquitted *Atabalipa* of his promiſe to the *Spaniards*, for ſo much as the houſe would hold, and cauſed it to bee publiſhed in *Caxamalca* by the ſound of a Trumpet, acquainting *Atapalipa* himſelfe therewith by an Interpreter, declaring withall that for his Maieſties ſeruice and ſecurity of the Countrey, he would ſtill detayne him with a guard, till more *Spaniards* came for his ſecurity: ſpecially conſidering that hee had taken order for leuying of men of warre to aſſault the *Spaniards*, which hee had no meanes to auoid but by keeping him faſt, and his Captayne Generall *Chilichuchima*. A few dayes after the *Indians* reuealed the Treaſons of that Tyrant, notwithſtanding all his good vſage by the Gouernour and *Spaniards*, which was preuented by his death: his ſentence of burning by reaſon of his Baptiſme being executed with ſtrangling, and after his death ſome part of his clothes and fleſh were burned. It was late in the Euening, and the next morning he was ſolemnely buried in the Church, as if he had beene the chiefe *Spaniard* in the Campe: which gaue much ſatisfaction to his principall *Caciques* and Captaines.

This done, in preſence of many Commanders and *Curikes* he gaue them a Lord in the name of the Empetour, a Sonne of *Guaynacaba* (*Huayna Capac*, or as the *Spaniards* vſe to call him *Guainacapac*) called *Atabalipa*, [b] to whom the Empire was due, and placed him in his Seat, they all offering the Rites of vaſſallage to him, to wit, a white feather, according to their cuſtome. The new *Inca* faſted three dayes for the deceaſſed, ſhut vp from all ſocietie but his Pages, and after came forth honourably attired and attended with about fifty *Curikes* and Captaines there preſent, and did eat together on the ground (for they vſe no Tables) after which, he offered a white Feather in token of his vaſſallage to the Emperour. The Gouernour receiued it and embraced him with much loue, and concluded a peace, taking the names of the *Curikes*, and the Countries vnder their command, and intimated that he was ſent by his Emperour to giue them knowledge of the true God, Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghoſt, and what they ſhould obſerue for their ſaluation; and that that God and his Vicars left on earth (for he aſcended to Heauen there to remayne in glorie) had giuen thoſe Prouinces to the Emperour to take charge thereof, who had ſent him to inſtruct them in the Chriſtian Faith, and to bring them vnder his obedience: and cauſed his Commiſſion to bee read and interpreted to them. They all acknowledged the Emperour for their ſupreme Lord, and next vnder him their Lord *Atabalipa*, and in ſigne thereof liſted vp (each of them twice) the Royall Banner. All this act was entred into writing with teſtimonies, and great Feaſts were made by them.

At this time the Gouernour ceaſed the partition of the Gold and Siluer amongſt the *Spaniards*, and *Atabalipa* gaue the Gold of the Fifths Royal to the Treaſurer of his Maieſty, which was carried to *Xauxa* where the Gouernour intended to plant a Colonie of *Spaniards*, hauing intelligence of the good Countrey thereabouts. He prouided him of *Indians* for carriages, and ſent a Captaine with ten Horſemen to inhabit Saint *Michaels* till ſhips came, and after that to returne to *Xauxa*. He heard that ſome of *Atabalipas* Captaines had ſlaine *Garitiens* his Brother, which grieued much both the Gouernour and the preſent *Atabalipa*. Hence he marched heard of diuers which were vp in Armes againſt him, fiue leagues from *Xauxa*, whereupon he put *Chilichuchima* in chaines, by whoſe meanes the report was that they had done it. They went and adioyned themſelues to *Quizquiz*. When he came to *Xauxa*, none of his *Spaniards* were willing to abide there becauſe the Countrey was in Armes, yet he left a Colony of eighty men with Officers. About this time died *Atabalipa* of ſickneſſe, of poyſon giuen by *Chilichuchima*, as was reported, who ſought to haue the rule remain in *Quito*, and not in *Cuſco*. The Gouernour bad them prouide a Succeſſor. *Calichuchima* would haue *Atiros* Sonne of *Atabilipa*, but others and the Gouernour liked better of a Brother of *Atabalipa* (*Sonne of Guanacapa.*) He came to a Towne where he found much Siluer in great ſheets of twentie foot long and one broad, a finger thicke. They receiued intelligence of a skirmiſh with the enemy by another band of *Spaniards*, in which eighteene horſes were hurt and one ſlaine; in another the *Spaniards* had the victory. The Gouernour cauſed *Chilichuchima* to be burned, who refuſed to become a Chriſtian, and called vpon *Pachacamac*. After this he marched to *Cuſco*, which hee entred on Friday the fifteenth of November 1533. And the next day made that Sonne of *Guaynacapas* their Lord, being the right heire, and commanded the *Curikes* to obey him.

Incontinently the New *Curike* (or *Inca*) gaue order to aſſemble forces againſt *Quizquiz*; in foure dayes fiue thouſand were come together well armed, With whom the Gouernour ſent a Captaine with fiftie Horſe, remayning himſelfe for the guard of the Citie. Theſe hauing done ſomewhat againſt the enemy, were forced to returne by the ill mountanous paſſages. The *Cacique* hauing faſted three dayes, and performed and receiued the Rites of vaſſallage (*before mentioned in his Predeceſſor*) at the Gouernours requeſt leuied greater forces, ſo that about fiue and twentie thouſand went with the *Spaniards*, which made a Bridge of three hundred and ſixtie foote long, broad enough for two Horſemen to paſſe abreaſt, and paſſed to *Bilcas*. Some of them went to the ſuccour of *Xauxa* which had obtayned good ſucceſſe againſt their enemies.

The Gouernour after this cauſed all the Gold to bee melted by experienced *Indians*, which amoun-

b Other *Incas* made; one called *Atabalipa*, to ſerue the *Spaniards* turn. Without them (as in the concluſion they confeſſe) they could, being ſo few, neuer haue perfected their conqueſt. But firſt they vſed the *Cuſcoans* againſt thoſe of *Quito*, and laſtly to pacifie all to the *Spaniſh* ſubiection. After which they performe nothing but faithood and cruelty, *Pizarros* purpoſe being alway by any way to erect the *Spaniſh* Empire. Second ſhiring. *Garitis* ſlaine: for as the war had bin begun by *Atabalipa* the firſt, againſt *Cuſco*: ſo after his death, it was by his Captaines continued againſt the *Incas* theirs ſeeking to aduance *Quito* aboue *Cuſco*, & the ſeed of *Atabalipa* to the Soueraignetie. *Chilichuchima* burned. *Manco Inca* made Lord. Third ſharing of gold and ſiluer at *Cuſco*: Images of beaſts & men in gold.

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mounted to 580200. Pezos and vpwards of good Gold. The Emperours fifth was 116460. Pezos and vpwards. The Siluer was melted, and weighed 215000. Markes, of which 170000. and vpwards was good, in Vessels and Barres, the rest alayed with other Metals. The fifth was deducted thence for his Maiestie. Amongst other things there were sheepe of fine Gold very great, and ten or twelue Statues of women in their iust bigneſſe and proportion, artificially composed of fine Gold. They performed like veneration to them as if they had beene aliue, clothing, adoring, giuing them to eate and talking with them. There were others of Siluer in the same stature. All this Treasure was shared betwixt those of *Cuſco* and the *Spaniards* of *Xauxa*.

Cuſco a *Spaniſh* Colonie.

In March 1534. the Gouernor assembled all the *Spaniards*, and made a solemne act of the foundation of a Towne and possession taken in the midst of the chiefe street, by the name of the *noble and great Citie of Cuſco:* bounds were set out for a Church, and priuiledges allotted to such as within three yeeres should come thither to dwell. Aboue twelue thousand married *Indians* were designed to the Prouince of *Collao*, to his Maiesties Mynes of Gold in those parts.

Other *Spaniards* enter *Peru*.

After this he departed with the *Cacique* towards *Xauxa*. There he had newes of two hundred and fiftie comne from *Panama* to Saint *Michaels*, seuenty of them horsemen, and of *Almarados* landing with foure hundred men, and one hundred and fiftie horsemen. Hauing ouerthrowne his enemies, he tooke order for founding a Church in *Xauxa*, and sent some *Spaniards* with an Army of *Indians* to pursue the enemies. There is a Mountayne of Snow which continueth from *Caxamalca* to *Xauxa*, where Snow lyeth all the yeere. The people are more ciuill and better Souldiers. On the other side the Mountayne *(Eastward)* they are Sauage people feeding on fruites, hauing small store of Maiz. All their Tribute was Feathers. From *Xauxa* to *Cuſco* the Countrey enlargeth it selfe from the Sea. *Collao* is a plaine Countrey and cold, and hath many Riuers where gold is taken. The Mountaynes continue from *Tumbez* to *Xauxa*, and thence to *Cuſco*, if the way bee not made by hands, footmen could not passe, much lesse horsemen: and they haue many houses full of Brasse to worke [c] vp the same. All the rough Mountaynes are wrought like staires [d] of stone. There are some places where foure or fiue mens heights, the way is wrought and made vp with stone worke; in others it is cut out of the stone. There are plates of entertainment in euery Countrey, and by the way one within two or three leagues of another, made for the Lords which visit the Countrey: and euery twenty leagues principall Prouinciall Cities where the tributes of smaller places are kept. All those great Townes haue store-houses full of the Countrey Commodities. There are store of cattle and pastures with their Pastors.

Countrey described.

c *Immatonare.*

d *Scalini.*

Description of *Cuſco*, as it was when the *Spaniards* first came thither. For after the *Indians* burnt the most part of it in *Manco's* wars with *Pizarro*.

The Citie of *Cuſco* might be worthy the sight if it were in *Spaine*, full of great mens houses, all Lords and *Caciques*, hauing houses there. The most of those houses are of stone, and some are halfe of stone: the streets are straight in right crosses, and narrow; in the midst runneth a Conduit of water inclosed with stone on each side of which a horseman may passe and no more. The Citie is situate on the top of a Hill, and many houses are built on the side of it, and others below on the Plaine. The Market place is square, paued with small stones. About it are foure houses of Lords of stone painted and wrought; the best of which was *Guainacabas*: the gate is of white and red Marble, and of other colours, and hath faire Terrasses. On the sides of the City ranne two Riuers, which rise a league higher, ouer which are Bridges. Vpon a Hill hard and rough is a very faire Fortresse of earth and stone, with great windowes towards the City. Within it are many Roomes, and one principall Towre in the midst of foure or fiue circuits [e] one higher then another; the Lodgings within are small, the stone very fairely wrought and so close ioyned that there is no shew of morter, and as smooth as planed boords. It hath so many Roomes and Towres that a man is not able to view them all in a day. Many *Spaniards* which haue beene in *Lumbardie* and other strange Kingdomes, say that they haue neuer seene such a building as this Fortresse, nor Castle more strong. There may abide within fiue thousand *Spaniards*. It cannot be vndermined being seated on a Rocke. On the City side which is a ragged Hill, is but one wall, on the other side three, one higher then another, the inmost being highest. The goodliest spectacle are these encompassing circuits, being of stones so great, that no man would imagine them layd there by the hands of men, as great as pieces of stonie Mountaynes and Rockes; some being of the height of thirty [f] spannes, and and as much in length, and none is so little but it is more then three Cart-lodes. The *Spaniards* preferre them before the buildings of *Hercules* or of the *Romanes*. They are reuersed [g] that they cannot be battered in plano, but in the slipping [h] turnagaines which goe outwards, made of the selfe-same stone. Betwixt wall and wall is earth laid so broad that three Carts may goe abreast. They are made like three steps, the second beginning on the height of the first, and the third on that of the second. All this Fortresse was a Store-house of Armes, Clubs, Launces, Bowes, Arrowes, Axes, Shields, Cotton Mandilions quilted, and other armes and garments for Souldiers, gathered from all parts of the Empire, colours of diuers sorts and Metals. From this Fortresse may bee seene many houses. In the Val- which is compassed about with Hils are aboue 100000. houses; many of them houses of pleasure of the Soueraignes Lords and *Caciques*, others are Store-houses full of Wooll, Armes, Metrals, Clothes and such things as the Countrey yeeldeth; there are Horses where the Tributes are kept, and there is one, where are aboue 100000. dried Birds, of whose Feathers they make gar-

The Fortresse e *Giroui*.

f See *sup. pag.* 1056. *Acosta* saith he measured some aboue 38. foot long, &c.

g *Voltati.*

h *Sguincio de i giroui.*

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garments. And there are many houſes for that purpoſe. There are Shields, Targets, Plates of Braſſe to couer houſes, and incredible ſtore of prouiſions for Warre. Euery Souereigne Lord deceaſſed hath his owne houſe of theſe goods and Tributes which they had in their life (for by their Law the Succeſſor may not inherit it) their Gold, Siluer, and Clothes apart. They worſhip the Sunne and haue made him many Temples, and of all things they offer ſomewhat to the Sunne.

Two *Spaniards* were ſent to *Colao*, and were forty dayes in the iourney. They ſay it is well peopled, mountaynous, and out of meaſure cold: ſo ſubiect, that hauing many cattle, no man dares kill any without licenſe, though neuer ſo great. There is a great Lake *(Titicaca)* in the midſt of the Prouince, in which are two Ilands, in one of which is a Temple of the Sun in great veneration, where they offer Gold and Siluer and other things. There are aboue ſixe hundred *Indians* which ſerue there, and a thouſand women. The Mynes of Gold are beyond this place, ſome of ten, ſome twenty, and that of *Guarnacabo* is forty fathome deepe, darke and narrow, in which one alone at once, entreth, none following till he be comne forth. Other Mynes they purſue no further then a mans height, that he may reach the earth to another: which made ſome ſay that all the fields were Gold Mynes. *Guainacapa* is honoured as if hee were aliue, and his bodie is brought forth into the ſtreet with Muſicke and Dances, and there are ſome day and night attending him to chaſe away the flyes. The Lords that come to the Citie, goe firſt and ſalute him, and then the King. To theſe Feaſts 100000. ſoules aſſembled. Had it not beene for the quarrels betwixt thoſe of *Quito* and thoſe of *Cuſco*, the *Spaniards* could not haue entred into *Cuſco*, nor haue it. And the Mountaynes are ſuch that ten men may defend ten thouſand: Many Horſes fell downe and brake their neckes. The *Spaniards* themſelues maruell at what they haue done, and how they are ſtill aliue. It hath falne out well that this Sonne of *Guainacaba* was made their Lord, for whoſe loue other Lords haue giuen their obedience to the Emperour. He is very friendly to the Chriſtians. Iuly 15. 1534. in *Xauxa*

Subſcribed *Franciſco Piçarro*, &c.

Note this!

The end of the ſeuenth Booke.

VOY-

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VOYAGES TO AND LAND-TRAVELS IN FLORIDA, VIRGINIA, AND OTHER PARTS OF THE NORTHERNE AMERICA. FRENCH Plantings, *Spaniſh* Supplantings; *Engliſh* VIRGINIAN Colonies, and to the *Ilands* Azores.

THE EIGHTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

A Relation of ALVARO NVNEZ *called* Capo di Vaua, *concerning that which happened to the Fleet in* India, *whereof* PAMPHILO NARVAEZ *was Gouernour, from the yeere* 1527. *vntill the yeere* 1536. *who returned vnto* Siuill *with three of his companions only: tranſlated out of* RAMVSIO, *and abbreuiated.*

*See ſup. l. 7. c. 4.

Ramuſ. vol. 3.

§. I.

Their Fleet; and admirable and vnheard of tempeſt: their entrance into Florida: *the Lakes, troubleſome paſſages, incounters, diſaſtrous ſucceſſe, building Boats for returne.*

THE ſixteenth day of June, in the yeare 1527. the Gouernour *Pamphilo di Narnaez* departed from the hauen of Saint *Lucar* of *Barrameda*, with power and commandement from your Maieſtie to conquer and gouerne the Prouinces, which lye from the Riuer of *Palmes* vnto the Cape of *Florida*, all in the firme land. And the Fleete which the Gouernour brought with him were fiue Ships, wherein ſix hundred men went. The Officers, becauſe I am to make particular mention of them in this Booke, were theſe: *Capo di Vaua* Treaſurer, *Agozino Prouoſt* Martiall, *Alonſo Enrriquez* Auditor, and *Alonſo de Solis* Factor, and ouerſeer for his Maieſtie. And beſides, there was for Commiſſary, a Frier of the order of Saint *Francis*, called Frier *Gionanni*, *Iohn Gottierrez*, and with him foure other Friers of the ſame Order.

The Gouernor of the Fleete.

The officers ouer the Fleete.

We arriued firſt at the Iland of *San Dominica*, where we ſtayed but fortie fiue dayes, to prouide our ſelues of certaine neceſſary things, and principally of Horſes. There we left more then an hundred and forty of our men, which would ſtay by promiſe and agreement which they of the Village made with them. Departing thence, we arriued at Saint *Iage* or *Giacome*, which is an hauen in the Iland of *Cuba*, and repoſing our ſelues there certaine dayes, the Captaine furniſhed himſelfe with men, munition, and horſes. It hapned in that place, that a Gentleman, called

The Iland of S. *Dominick*.

The hauen of S. *Iames*.

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The *Trinitie.*

Vaſques Parcalle, neere vnto the towne of the *Trinitie*, which is in the ſame Iland, offered the Gouernour to giue him certaine victuall, which he had in the ſaid towne of the *Trinitie*, which is an hundred leagues off from the ſaid port of Saint *Iago*. Whereupon the Gouernour departed with all the Fleete, towards that towne. But arriuing halfe the way at an hauen which they call the Cape of *Santa Cruz*, it ſeemed good vnto the Gouernor to abide there, and ſend one Ship onely to receiue thoſe victuals, and ſo he appointed one Captaine *Pantoxa* to goe thither with his Ship, and that for the greater ſecurity, I alſo ſhould goe with him, and he remained ſtill there with the foure Ships: we hauing now gotten another in the Iland of Saint *Domenica*. Being arriued with our fiue Ships at the hauen of the *Trinitie*, the Captaine *Pantoxa* went with *Vaſquez Porcalle* to receiue the victuals at the towne, which was one league diſtant from the hauen. One houre after I was landed, the Sea began to be outragious, and the Northwinde was ſo ſtrong, that the Boates durſt not goe aland, nor could they with the Shippes in any ſort put to the contrary ſide; the winde being in the prowe, whereupon with very great trauaile, with two contrary ſeaſons, and with much raine they continued all that day, and the Sunday. The night approaching, the Sea and tempeſt began ſo much to increaſe, that it no leſſe tormented thoſe on the land then them at Sea; for all the houſes fell downe, and all the Churches, and wee were enforced to goe ſeuen or eight men embracing one another arme in arme together, to be able to reſiſt the winde, that it might not carry vs away, and to auoide the ruine of the houſes, flying vnto the Forreſt, the trees gaue vs no leſſe cauſe of feare, then the houſes had giuen vs: becauſe they falling held vs in continuall feare, that they would kill vs. In this tempeſt and danger wee paſſed all the night, without finding any part or place, where for one halfe houre onely wee might ſtand ſecure: but principally, the midnight before wee heard noyſes and great crying, and the ſound of Belles, Flutes, and Drummes, and other inſtruments, which continued vntill the morning, that the tempeſt ceaſed. In thoſe Countries ſo fearefull a thing had neuer beene ſeene, whereof I cauſed a teſtimoniall and true certificate to be made, which I haue ſent vnto your Maieſtie.

An hauen called the Cape of Saint *Cruz.*

An *Huracano* or tempeſt, notable both at Sea and Land.

Preſages.

On Munday morning we went downe to the hauen, and found not the Ships there, but ſaw ſome of their furniture in the water; whereby we knew that they were caſt away. And ſo we purpoſed to goe along the coaſt, ſearching if we might finde any thing, but finding nothing, we determined to ſearch by the Mountaines, and hauing gone about a quarter of a league of from the water ſide, wee found the Boate of a Ship ſet vpon certaine trees: and further beyond, ten leagues along the coaſt they found two perſons of my Ship, and certaine couerings and rooſes of houſes. And thoſe two men were ſo actually transfigured and changed with weatherbeating, both of the ſhore, and of the Sea, that they could not know who they were. we found alſo a Friers habit, and a Couerlet torne in peeces, and found no other perſon or thing any more. Threeſcore men were left in thoſe two Ships, and twenty horſes, and thoſe that remained aliue were thirty perſons onely, who the ſame day we arriued in that hauen, went aland together with the Captaine *Pantoxa*. Wee remained in ſuch manner for certaine dayes, with much trouble and great neceſſitie, becauſe the ſuſtenance and prouiſion of that people, was all loſt, and deſtroyed, with certaine wilde Beaſts, and the Countrey remained in ſuch ſort that it moued great compaſſion in the beholders, the trees being ſalne, the mountaines burned, and remaining without leaues, or graſſe, and ſo we paſſed vntill the fift day of Nouember, that the Gouernour of our Fleete came thither to vs, with his other foure Ships, who alſo themſelues had paſſed great dangers and torments, and were eſcaped, becauſe in good time they had retired themſelues vnto ſome place of ſafety.

Boate placed vpon trees by the tempeſt.

Fifth of Nouember.

The men which he had brought with him, and thoſe that he found there, were ſo much affrighted, and terrified with the loſſes and dangers paſt, that they reſolued to imbarke themſelues no more in the winter, and beſought the Gouernour that he would ſuffer them to repoſe and reſt themſelues in thoſe places; he perceiuing their mindes, and the deſire of the inhabitants, did ſo, and gaue me the charge of the Ships, and the men, which ſhould goe with me to winter at the hauen of *Xagua*, which is twelue leagues diſtant from that place, and ſo going thither, we ſtaied vntill the twentieth of February following. At this time the Gouernour came thither vnto vs, with a Brigantine which he had gotten at the *Txinitie*, and brought with him a Pilot, called *Miruelo*, who (as they ſaid) was a man very well practiſed, and an excellent Pilot for all the coaſt of the North. Beſides that, the Gouernour left on the coaſt of the *Liſſart* Captaine *Aluaro della Querda*, with a Ship which the Gouernour had procured there, and lett forty men with him, and twelue other with the horſe.

The hauen of *Sagua*, or *Xagua.*

Two dayes after the Gouernour came vnto vs, wee imbarked our ſelues, and were (in the whole) foure hundred men, and foureſcore horſes in foure Ships, and one Brigantine. The Pilot which we had newly taken, brought the Ships through the quicke ſands, which they call *Canerreo*, ſo that the day following we found our ſelues on dry land, and ſo remained fiue dayes, the keele of the Ships oftentimes ſtriking vpon the ground. At the end of thoſe fiue dayes, a ſtorme from the South brought ſo much water vpon the ſands, that wee might come out, although

Sands of *Canarreo.*

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though not without much danger. Departing thence, we arriued at *Guanignanico*, where another tempeſt aſſailed vs ſo fiercely, that we ſtood in great danger to be loſt: at the head of the currents we had another, where we ſtaid three dayes. And theſe being ouerpaſſed, we went about the Cape of Saint *Anthony*, and with a contrary winde, we went till wee came within twelue leagues of the *Hauana*, and ſtanding the day following to put in there, a Southerne gale of winde tooke vs, which droue vs farre from the land, ſo that wee croſſed ouer by the coaſt of *Florida*, and arriued the twelfth of Aprill, at the land of *Martes*; ſo coaſting the way of *Florida*, vpon holy Thurſday in the ſame coaſt, we ancored in the mouth of an open roade, at the head whereof we ſaw certaine houſes, and habitations of the *Indians*.

Guaniguanico.

The Cape of S. Anthony.
The Hauana.
Martes.

The ſame day *Alonſo Enriquez* the Auditor went out of the Ship, and landed vpon an Iland which is in the ſame open roade, and called to thoſe *Indians*, who came and abode with vs a good ſpace, and by way of ranſome gaue him fiſh, and certaine peeces of Deeres fleſh. The day following, which was good Friday, the Gouernour imbarked himſelfe with as many men as the Boates could carry, and we went to the Villages or houſes of the *Indians*, which wee had ſeene, which we found all emptie and deſolate, becauſe that night the people were gone in their Canoes. One of thoſe houſes was very great, and able to containe more then three hundred perſons, the other were much leſſer, and there we found a little Bell of Gold within the Nets. The next day, the Gouernour aduanced the Enſigne for your Maieſty, and tooke poſſeſſion of the Village in your royall name, and preſented the Commiſſions and was receiued, and obayed as Gouernour, according to your Maieſties appointment. And ſo in like manner, we preſented our other prouiſoes vnto him, which he accepted, and obeyed according to the contents thereof, and preſently cauſed the reſt of the men to be ſhipped, and the horſes, which were not aboue two and fortie, becauſe the other, through the many tempeſts, and beating of the Sea, and length of time, were dead. And theſe few that remained, were ſo weake and wearied, as at that time we could doe little ſeruice. The day following, the *Indians* of thoſe places came vnto vs, and although they ſpoke vnto vs, yet notwithſtanding we vnderſtood them not.

Great houſes without houſe keepers.
Golden Bell.
The firſt towne taken in Florida, in the Emperors name.

The Gouernour commanded that the Brigantine ſhould goe coaſting the way of *Florida*, and ſearch for the hauen, which the Pilot *Miruelo* ſaid he knew, but was now aſtoniſhed, and knew not in what part we were, nor where the hauen was; and the Brigantine was appointed, that if they found not the hauen, to croſſe ouer to the *Hauana*, and finde the Ship wherein *Aluaro della Querda* was, and hauing taken in ſome victuall, to returne to finde it. The Brigantine being deing departed, we returned to enter into the Village of the ſame people where we had bin before, with ſome other more, and we coaſted the gulfe which wee had found, and hauing gone about foure leagues, we tooke foure *Indians*, and ſhewed them Maiz, becauſe vntill that day wee had not yet ſeene any token thereof: they ſaid, they would bring vs where it grew, and ſo they brought vs to their Village, which was not farre from thence, at the head of the gulfe, and there they ſhewed vs a little Maiz, which was not yet ripe to be gathered. There wee found many cheſts of the Merchants of *Caſtile*, and in euery one of them was the body of a dead man, all which were couered with Deeres skins painted. The Commiſſary thought, that it was a kinde of Idolatry, ſo he burned the cheſts with all the bodies. We alſo found peeces of webs of cloath, and Pennacchi, which they had gotten out of *Noua Hiſpaniola*, and certaine * moſters of Gold. Whereupon we demanded of thoſe *Indians* by ſignes, from whence they had ſuch things. They by ſignes, ſhewed vs: that very farre from thence there was a Prouince, called *Apalachen*, wherein there was great quantity of Gold. Departing from thence, wee went further, carrying for guides thoſe foure *Indians* which we had firſt taken, and ſo ten or twelue leagues off from that place, wee found another people of fifteene houſes, where was a goodly Plaine ſowed with Maiz, which now was ready to be gathered, and we found ſome alſo dry. There we abode two dayes, and after returned.

Samples.
The Prouince Apalachen.

May the firſt, the Gouernour cauſed two pound of Biſcuit, and halfe a pound of Porke to be giuen to euery one of them who were to goe with vs, and ſo we departed, to enter within the land. The ſumme of all them who went, was three hundred men in all, among whom was the Commiſſary Frier *Iohn Sciuarez*, and another Frier, called Frier *Iohn de Palis*, and three Clarkes, and the Officers. Forty of vs were on horſebacke, and ſo with that prouiſion which wee had brought, wee went fifteene dayes without finding any other things to eate, except Dates, like thoſe of *Andaluzia*. In all this time we found not any *Indian*, nor ſaw any houſe, nor place inhabited: and in the end we found a Riuer, which wee paſſed with much danger and trouble, by ſwimming, and vpon rafts, and ſtaied a day to paſſe ouer it, becauſe it ranne with much fury. Hauing paſſed to the other ſide of the Riuer, two hundred *Indians* came againſt vs, and the Gouernour went before, and after he had ſpoken to them by ſignes, they made much ſignes againe vnto vs, that we ſhould ioyne our ſelues with them, taking fiue or ſixe, who brought vs vnto their houſes which were about halfe a league off, and there wee found great quantity of Maiz, which ſtood now ready to be gathered. After ſome ſearch of the Countrey to the Sea, wee departed from that place, alwayes (as we went) inquiring for that Prouince, which (the *Indians* ſaid) was called *Apalachen*, and brought for guides, them that we had taken, and ſo went forward

y Caziqueſignifieth a Lord among the Indians.

vntill the ſeuenteenth of Iune, and found no *Indians* that durſt abide our comming. There, a *y Caeique* came vnto vs, whom an *Indian* carried vpon his necke, and hee was couered with a Deeres skinne painted, and brought with him many people, who went before him playing vpon certaine Flutes made of canes, and ſo came vnto the Gouernour, and abode with him an houre, and we gaue him to vnderſtand (by ſignes) how that we went to *Apalachen*, and by thoſe ſignes which he made vs, it ſeemed he ment to ſignifie that hee was an enemy to them of *Apalachen*, and would aide vs againſt them. We gaue him Crownes, Bels, and ſuch other things, and he gaue the Gouernour the skin which he wore vpon him, and ſo turned backe againe, and we followed preſently after him. That euening we came vnto a Riuer, which was very deepe and very broad, and ran very furiouſly, and not preſuming to paſſe ouer it vpon rafts, we made a Canoa, and ſtaied one whole day to paſſe ouer it: ſo that if the *Indians* would haue iniured vs, they might eaſily haue diſturbed our paſſage, and yet although they holped vs the beſt they could, wee had much trouble. One of our Horſemen, called *Iohn Velaſquez*, a natiue of *Cuellar*, becauſe he would not ſtay, tooke the Riuer with his Horſe, and the current of the Riuer being very ſtrong, caſt him from his Horſe, who catching hold on the raines of the bridle, drowned himſelfe, together with the Horſe. And thoſe *Indians* of that Lord, called *Dulcancellin*, found the Horſe, and told vs where we ſhould finde him in the Riuer below: and ſo they went to ſearch for him, whoſe death much diſcontented vs, becauſe vntill that time there was not one man of our company wanting. The Horſe gaue many their ſuppers that night. And ſo hauing paſſed that Riuer, the day following we came vnto the people of that Lord, who ſent vs ſome of their Maiz. The next day we departed, the *Indians* being fled. The Gouernour left by the way an ambuſcado of certaine Horſemen, which as thoſe *Indians* paſſed by, iſſued out vpon them, and tooke three or foure, who before ſerued vs for guides, and they brought vs through a very troubleſome Countrey to trauaile, and maruelous to behold, where were huge Mountaines, and very high Trees, whereof ſo many were fallen to the ground, that they intangled and ſtopped the way, in ſuch ſort that we could not paſſe without going farre about, to our great trouble; and of thoſe trees that were fallen, the greater part were cleft from one end to the other, through the thunderbolts that fall there, great tempeſts being alwayes in that place: with this trouble wee marched vntill the ſix and twentieth day of Iune, at which day we came within the ſight of *Apalachen* before they of the Towne perceiued vs. We rendered great thankes vnto God, ſeeing our ſelues ſo neere vnto that place, and ſuppoſing that to be true which had been ſpoken, and hoping we ſhould there end our great trauailes which wee had paſſed, as well for the long and euill iourney, as for the great famine which we had ſuſtained. Becauſe, although we ſometimes found Maiz, yet for the moſt part we went ſix or eight leagues without finding any. And there were many amongſt vs, that through hunger and wearineſſe had wounded their ſhoulders with continuall wearing of their armes, beſides the other calamities they daily incountered.

Dulcancellin a King or Cazique among them.

Troubleſome Countrey.

Trees cleft with thunderbolts.

Apalachen.

Cacciagioni.

The Gouernour commanded me to take with me nine horſe, and fiftie foote, and enter the towne, which the Controler and I did, and found none but little children, and women, becauſe at that time the men were not there, but going a little way from thoſe places, the *Indians* came, and began to fight, and ſhoot at vs, and ſlew the Controulers horſe; but in the end they fled, and left vs. There we found great quantity of Maiz which ſtood ready to be gathered, and had ſufficient, of which was dry, remaining. We found there many skinnes of wilde beaſts taken by hunting, and ſome garments of thred, little and nought worth, wherewith the women couer ſome parts of their perſon.

They had many Mils to grinde Maiz. Among theſe people there were forty little houſes, low built, and in cloſe places, for feare of the great tempeſts to which that Countrey continually is accuſtomed. The houſes are made of ſtraw of ſtubble, and compaſſed about with Mountaynes ſtanding thicke together, and great Trees, and many Seas of water, where ſo many and ſo great Trees are ſalne, that they trouble euery thing, and cauſe that no man is able to trauell there without great incumberance.

Great tempeſts in thoſe parts.

The land from the place where we diſbarked vnto this people of *Apalachen*, for the moſt part is plaine, and the ſoyle conſiſteth of hard and ſolid ſand, and throughout all the ſame many great Trees, and famous Mountaines are found, where Nut trees are, and *Labrani*, and other, which they call *Laquidambares*: there are alſo Cedars, Sauine-trees, Holme-trees, Pines, Okes, and low Palme-trees like thoſe of *Caſtile*. Throughout all that Countrey there are many great and little Lakes, and ſome are very troubleſome to paſſe, aſwell for the great depth thereof, as alſo by reaſon of the many trees, which are fallen there. The ground or bottome of them is ſand: and thoſe Lakes which we found in the Prouince of *Apalachen*, are much greater then all the other which we had found vntill then. There are many fields of their Maiz in this Prouince: and the houſes are ſcattered through the Plaine, like thoſe of *Gerbe*. The beaſts which we ſaw there are Deere of three ſorts, Conies, Hares, Beares, and Lions, and other, among which we ſaw one, that carrieth her young in a bagge, which ſhee hath in her belly, where ſhee carrieth them all the time that they are little, vntill they be able to goe, and ſeeke their meate themſelues. And if by chance the young ſtand ſeeking food without the damme, and people come vpon them, ſhee flyeth not before

Lakes.

Beaſts.

Beaſt which carrieth her young in a bagge.

before ſhe haue gathered them into her bagge. The Countrey is very cold there, and there are many good paſtures for flockes.

There are alſo many ſorts of Fowle, Goſlings in great abundance, Geeſe, Duckes, Herons, Black-birds, and others of diuers ſorts, and there we ſaw many Falcons, Ger-falcons, Sparrow-hawkes, and many other ſorts of Birds. Fowles.

Two dayes after we came to *Apalachen*, the *Indians* that were fled returned vnto vs in peace, demanding their children, and we gaue them all, except one *Cazique* of theirs, whom the Gouernour retayned, which was the occaſion to cauſe them to depart offended, who the day following returned as enemies, and aſſailed vs with ſuch fury and ſuddenneſſe, that they came to ſet fire to the houſe where we were: but ſo ſoone as wee came forth, they fled and retired themſelues vnto the Lakes, which were very neere thereunto. Whereupon by reaſon of them, and the Corne which was very thicke there, we could not doe them any hurt, ſaue that we killed one man only. The day following, other *Indians* of another people, which was on the other ſide, came to vs and aſſailed vs after the ſame manner, that the other had done before, and fled likewiſe: and one of them alſo was ſlaine. We abode there fiue and twentie dayes, in the which we cauſed three to enter within the Land, and found it very poorely peopled, and hard trauelling, in reſpect of the troubleſome paſſages, Mountaynes and Lakes which are there. Wee demanded of the *Cazique* whom wee had retayned, and of the other *Indians* whom wee had brought with vs, who were borderers and enemies to them of *Apalachen*, the qualitie and condition of that Countrey, of the people, the victuall, and other things about it, who all plainly anſwered vs, that the greateſt people of all that Countrey, were they of *Apalachen*, and that further beyond it was without people, and very poore, that all that Countrey, and theirs were ill peopled, and that the Inhabitants were much diſperſed, and that going further forth, exceeding great Lakes are found, Mountaynes ſtanding thicke together, and mighty Deſarts, and without Inhabitants. Wee asked them of the Countrey which lay toward the South, what people and ſuſtenance it had, who anſwered vs, that going from thence towards the Sea nine dayes iourney, were a people called *Aute*, and that the *Indians* of that place had much Maiz, and that there were ſmall Pulſe, which are like to our Ciches and Gourds, and that being ſo neere to the Sea, fiſh was there to be found: and that they were their friends.

Seeing the pouerty of the Countrey, we agreed to depart from them, and goe to ſeeke out the Sea, and that people of *Aute*, whereof they told vs. And ſo at the end of fiue and twenty dayes after we came thither, we departed. The firſt day we paſſed thoſe Lakes and troubleſome paſſages, without ſeeing any *Indian*. But the ſecond day they came vpon vs, at a Lake which was very ill to paſſe: ſo that the water tooke vs vp to the breaſt, and many Trees were falne there, ſo that we being in the middeſt thereof, the *Indians* aſſayled vs, they being hid behind the trees that we might not ſee them: and others were vpon the trees that were falne, and beganne to ſhoote at vs in ſuch ſort, that they wounded many men and horſes, and tooke the guide from vs which we had brought, they ſuddenly caſt themſelues into the Lakes and wounded fifteene men and horſes. The Gouernour ſeeing this, commanded them on horſebacke to diſmount, and aſſaile them on foot, and ſo they did, and the Auditor diſmounted with them, and aſſayling them put them all to flight, ſo that they entred into a Lake, and thus wee gained the paſſage of them. In that skirmiſh ſome of our men (whoſe good armes they carried preuayled not) remayned wounded: and ſome of them ſwore, that they ſaw two Okes, each of them as great as a mans legge, ſhot through from ſide to ſide with the Arrowes of the *Indians*. Which therefore is not a thing that wee ſhould wonder at, ſeeing the force wherewith they deliuer them, and I my ſelfe haue ſeene an Arrow at the foot of an Elme, which entred an handfull in. Indian fight. Strong archers.

As many *Indians* as we ſaw in *Florida*, vntill wee came to that place, are all Archers, tall of ſtature, and goe naked, and ſeeme to them that ſee them afarre off mighty Giants. They are maruellouſly well ſet, pleaſant, and of much ſtrength and agilitie. The Bowes they vſe are as thicke as a mans arme, of eleuen or twelue ſpannes long, and they ſhoot two hundred paces off, and ſo ſtraight and leuell, that they neuer ſhoote and miſſe. Hauing got ouer that paſſage, about one league from thence, we came to another Lake of the ſame ſort, ſaue that it was halfe a league long, which was much worſer then the former. This we quietly paſſed, and without diſturbance of the *Indians*: becauſe they hauing ſpent all the munition of their Arrowes, in that firſt aſſault, it remayned not in their power to be able to aſſault vs afreſh. The next day following going ouer another ſuch paſſage, I who went in the Vantgard deſcryed the Sauage people, and gaue intelligence to the Gouernour who came in the Rereward, and ſo going well ordered and prouided, they could not offend vs, and as ſoone as we were come forth into the Plaine, they came alwayes following vs. Whereupon turning about and diuiding our ſelues into two parts, we ſlue two of them. *Anellaneda* turning about ranne to helpe his boy, the *Indians* ſmote him with an Arrow on the ſide of the Cuiras, and the ſtroke was ſuch, that the whole Arrow almoſt went through behind the head, ſo that he ſuddenly dyed, and we carried him dead vnto *Aute*. We came to *Aute*, the ninth day after our departure from *Apalachen*: and found all the people of that place fled, hauing burned their houſes. There we found much Maiz and Gourdes, and certaine Pulſe which Men of tall ſtature, good archers.

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were then readie to be gathered. So we repoſed our ſelues two dayes there, and after the Gouernour prayed me, that I would goe to diſcouer the Sea, ſeeing the *Indians* ſaid, it was ſo neere, and we alſo had diſcouered it as we went, by a very great Riuer, which wee found by the way: and
The Riuer *Madalena.* called it the Riuer of *Madalena.* I was ſent to diſcouer the Sea. The day following we departed from *Aute*, and marched all that day vntill wee came where I had beene before: the way was very troubleſome, becauſe the Horſes were neither able to carrie them that were feeble, nor knew we what remedy to take, becauſe they were euery day worſe then other. Hauing prooued many remedies, we all agreed in one iudgement, to put a very hard thing in execution, and that was to make Boats for vs to goe from thence. It ſeemed a thing impoſſible to all, becauſe ſome of vs knew not how to make them, and wee had neither Iron Tooles, nor Forge, nor Ockam, Pitch, nor Ropes, nor finally, any thing of ſo many, which were needfull in ſuch an exerciſe: and aboue all, we had not prouiſion of victuall for ſo long time while they ſhould be made. The day following it pleaſed God, that one of our men came, who ſaid, that hee would make certaine Pipes of wood, and that with the skinnes of wild beaſts, certaine Bellowes ſhould bee made to blow. And finding vs at a time, wherein what thing ſoeuer he would, which had the leaſt colour, or ſhadow of remedie, ſeemed ſufficient: we ſaid, that he ſhould make them, and ſo we agreed, that of the Stirrops, Spurres and Croſſe-bowes, and other things of Iron which were among vs, Nayles, Sawes and Hatchets ſhould be made; and other Tooles of Iron, ſeeing they were ſo needfull. And we tooke for remedie, to haue ſome food while this ſhould be put in execution, that
Hard ſhift. foure entries ſhould be made into *Aute*, with all the Horſe, and others that could goe thither, and that euery third day one Horſe ſhould be killed, to be diuided among them that wrought in the making of the Boates, and them that were ſicke. The entries were made with as many men and horſes, as was poſſible, who brought thence about foure hundred Staras of Maiz, although not without controuerſie and contention, with thoſe *Indians*. We cauſed many Palmiti alſo to be gathered, that with the woolley part and barke thereof, twiſting and drawing them in length we might be able to vſe them in ſtead of Ockam for the Boats.

And we vſed ſo great diligence therein, that beginning the fourth of Auguſt, the twentieth of September next fiue Boates were finiſhed, of two and twenty Cubits apiece, and we ſtopped
Ockam of Palmiti. the chinkes, and calking with Ockam of the Palmiti; and pitched them with a certaine Gumme, which a *Grecian* called *Don Theodoro*, brought from certaine Pine-trees, and with the ſame barke of the Palmiti, and of the traines, and haire of Horſes we made cordage and tackling, and made ſayles of our ſhirts, and of the Sauine trees which were there, we made ſuch Oares as we thought neceſſary: and ſuch was that Countrey, whereinto our ſinnes conducted vs, that no ſtones were
No ſtones. found there, to ballaſt the Boates, nor ſaw wee any throughout all that Countrey. Wee likewiſe flayed the whole legges of horſes, and ſewed the skinne together, to make bottles to carrie water. In this meane time, ſome of our men went to gather *Tamarindi* in the ſtrond of the Sea, where the *Indians* at two ſeuerall times wherein they incountred them, ſlue ten *Chriſtians*, ſo neere to our Tents, that we ſaw them, and could not helpe them, and found them ſhot through from ſide
Strong ſhot. to ſide, with Arrowes, ſo that although our men had excellent Armour, they were not able to reſiſt their ſtrokes, thoſe *Indians* ſhooting with ſuch dexteritie and force, as aforeſaid. And our Pi-
Croſſe ſhoare. lots ſaid and ſwore, that from the flat ſhoare which we called by the name of the *Croſſe*, vnto this place, we had gone about two hundred and foureſcore leagues, little more or leſſe, and in all that
Miſerable ſucceſſe of the *Spaniards* in this Voyage. Countrey we ſaw no Mountaines, nor had any notice by any meanes, that there were any, and before that we imbarked, beſides thoſe which the *Indians* had ſlaine, there were more then forty other men dead through ſickneſſe and famine.

The two and twentieth day of September, they ceaſed to eate horſes, ſo that only one remayned, and on that day wee imbarked in this order. In the Gouernours Boate went nine and fortie men, and in the other which hee gaue to the Auditour and Commiſſary, went as many more. The third, he gaue to Captaine *Alonzo del Caſtiglio*, and *Andrea Durante*, with eight and forty men, and another he gaue vnto two other Captaines, the one called *Telles*, and the other *Pigualoſa*, with ſeuen and forty men, and the fift he gaue to the Controuler and mee, with nine and forty men. And after the victuals and furniture, and other things were ſhipped, they aroſe no more then a fourth part aboue the water, and beſide this we were ſo ſtreighted, that we could not guide nor turne in the Boats. Neceſſitie was ſo powerfull, that it made vs aduenture to goe in this manner, and commit our ſelues vnto ſo dangerous a Sea, without hauing any one among vs, who knew the art of Nauigation.

Spiaggia de Caualli. That flat ſhoare from whence we departed, is called the *ſhoare of the Horſes*, and we went ſeuen dayes through thoſe gulfes with the water vp to the girdle, without ſeeing any ſigne of the Coaſt: and at the end of thoſe ſeuen dayes, we arriued at an Iland which ſtandeth neere vnto the Land. My Boat went before, and we ſaw fiue Canowes of *Indians* comming, who forſooke them all, and left them in our hands ſeeing vs come towards them. Our other Boates went before, and lighted vpon certane houſes in the ſame Iland, where they found many of their Egges and Thorn-back were dry, and greatly releeued vs in the neceſſitie wherein we were.

After this, we went further, and two leagues from thence we paſſed a Strait which that Iland maketh

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maketh with the Land, and called it *the Strait of Saint Michael*, becauſe we paſſed it vpon that holy day. Being gotten out of that Strait, wee arriued at the Coaſt, wherewith the fiue Canowes which I had taken from the *Indians*, we remooued ſome things out of our Boats, making them faſt and ioyning them to ours, ſo that they aroſe two handfuls aboue water, and therewithall we turned to goe along the Coaſt by the way of the Riuer of *Palmes*, thirſt and famine alwayes increaſing: becauſe the victuals were very ſcant, and almoſt at an end, and we wanted water, becauſe the bottles which we had made of the skinnes of horſes, became ſuddenly putrified and muſtie, and were good for nothing, and many times wee entred into certaine gulfes and flat ſhoares, which went farre within the Land, and found them all ſhallow and dangerous. And ſo we went thirty dayes, and ſometimes found ſome *Indian* fiſhers, a poore and miſerable people: and at the end of theſe thirty dayes, when our neceſſitie for want of water, was extreame, going to the Coaſt, one night we perceiued a Canow comming, and ſeeing her wee expected that ſhe would haue arriued; but although we called vnto her ſhe would not come nor behold vs, and becauſe it was night we followed her not, but held on our courſe. When day began to appeare, we ſaw a ſmall Iland, and went thither to ſee if wee could find any water there, but wee laboured in vaine becauſe there was none. While wee ſtayed there, a mightie tempeſt aroſe vpon vs, whereupon we abode there ſixe dayes, not daring to put out to Sea againe, and hauing paſſed fiue dayes without drinking, our thirſt was ſo great, that we were forced to drinke the Sea-water, and ſome dranke ſo largely that fiue of our men dyed ſuddenly. We went out the ſame way, which we had ſeene the Canow goe, the night before we departed thence. This day we ſaw our ſelues many times drowned, and ſo caſt away, that there was none of vs, who did not aſſure himſelfe of death. But it pleaſed our Lord God, who in the greateſt neceſſities vſeth to ſhew his fauour, that about Sunne ſet we weathered a point which the Land maketh, where wee found it very calme and quiet. Heere many Canowes came towards vs, and the *Indians* that were in them, ſpake vnto vs, and without wondring at vs returned. They were a people of a great bodie and well ſet, and carried neither Bowes nor Arrowes. Some of vs followed them vnto their houſes, which ſtood neere vnto the water ſide, and leaped aland, and before the entrance of the houſes, we found many pots of water, and great quantitie of fiſh, and the Lord of that Countrey offered it all vnto the Gouernour, and taking him by the hand, brought him to his houſe (their houſes are of Mats very well made.) And after we entred into the houſe of their *Cazique* or Lord, he gaue vs much fiſh, and we gaue them bread of Corne which we brought, and they eat it in our preſence, and demanded more, which we gaue them, and the Gouernour gaue the *Cazique* many ſmall trifles, and abiding with him in his houſe, about halfe an houre within night, the *Indians* aſſaulted vs, and the reſt of our men, who road very ill, beeing caſt vpon that Coaſt, they aſſaulted alſo the houſe of the *Cazique* where the Gouernour was, and with a ſtone ſmote him on the face: and tooke the *Cazique*. But he hauing his men ſo neere eſcaped away, and left a Mantle of his of the skinnes of the Martinet Sables, which in my iudgement are the beſt of all the World, and haue a ſcent whereunto the ſcent of Ambergriſe, and Muske is not comparable: and the ſcent thereof was ſmelt very farre off. We ſaw alſo other but none like vnto that.

The Strait of Saint *Michael*.

R. of *Palmes*.

Miſerable thirſt.

Rich Furres & ſweete *Martoli* *Zibellines*.

Now ſeeing the Gouernour wounded, we ſet him aboord, and cauſed him to bring with him the greater part of the men vnto the Boats: and fifty of our men only remayned on land, to fight with the *Indians*, who that night aſſaulted vs three times, and with ſo great violence, that euery time they made vs retyre a ſtones caſt, ſo that there was not one of our men, that was not wounded.

After this we returned to imbarke our ſelues, and ſayled three dayes: and hauing taken a little water, as much as the few veſſels we had, were able to carrie, wee returned to fall into the ſame neceſſitie wherein we were firſt. And going on our Voyage, we entred into a Strait, where abiding we ſaw a Canow of the *Indians* comming, and as we called vnto them, they came, and the Gouernour to whoſe Boat they were neereſt, demanded water of them, who offered it him if he would giue them veſſels wherein to carrie it: ſo a *Greeke Chriſtian*, called *Theodoro*, of whom mention is made before, ſaid that he would goe with them. And although the Gouernour, and many other laboured to diſſwade him, yet he would needs goe thither, and carried a *Negro* with him, and the *Indians* left for hoſtages two of their men.

Thoſe *Indians* returned in the Euening, and brought vs our veſſels without water, but brought not our two *Chriſtians* againe: and thoſe two men of theirs, who remayned for pledges, as ſoone as they ſpake vnto them, would haue caſt themſelues into the water, but our men who had them in the Boat held them, and ſo the other *Indians* fled and left vs much confounded and ſorrowful, for the two *Chriſtians* which we had loſt.

The morning following, many other Canoas of the *Indians* came vnto vs, demanding their two companions which they left vs for hoſtages. The Gouernour anſwered, that he would giue them vnto them, ſo that they would reſtore vs our two *Chriſtians*. Fiue, or ſixe Lords came with thoſe people, and it ſeemed to vs, that they were of a very good diſpoſition, and of greater authority, and retinue, then all the reſt wee had found hitherto, although they were not of ſo tall a ſtature as the other before mentioned. They wore their haire looſe, and very long, and were co-

Deſcription of theſe *Indians*.

uered

uered with mantles of Martinets, of the ſame ſort whereof we ſpake before, and ſome of them were made of a very ſtrange faſhion, hauing certaine laces of the worke of Lions skinnes, which ſeemed very faire. They prayed vs, that we would goe with them, and they would giue vs our two *Chriſtians*, and water, and many other things: and many Canoas came continually vpon vs, endeauouring to take the mouth of that paſſage, and ſo therefore, becauſe the place was very dangerous, we went out to Sea, where we ſtayed with them vntill noone. But, not being willing to reſtore our *Chriſtians*, and therefore we alſo would not reſtore their two hoſtages, they began to caſt ſtones at vs with ſlings: making ſhew alſo that they would ſhoot at vs, although we ſaw not aboue three or foure Bowes among them. And while wee continued thus: a freſh gale of winde beganne to blowe, and they went their way. So, we ſayled all that day vntill the euening, at what time my Boat that went before, diſcouered a point which the Land made, and at the other end I ſaw a Riuer: then I anchored at a ſmall Iland, which maketh that point, to ſtay for the other Boats. The Gouernour would not come neere it, but put into a flat ſhoare very neere thereunto, where many ſmall Ilands were, and there wee all met together, and tooke freſh water within the Sea, becauſe the Riuer ranne into the Sea continually, and with great violence. And that wee might bee able to bake a little Maiz which wee brought, becauſe for two dayes before, we had eaten it raw, we went aland on that Iland, but finding no wood there, we agreed to goe vnto the Riuer, which was behind the Point one league from thence. And as wee went, the current of the Riuer was ſo great, that by no meanes it ſuffered vs to arriue, but droue vs backe from the Land.

Current.

§. II.

Miſery purſues them at Sea, and betrayes them to the Indians: *their miſerable liues and death.*

WEe ſayled foure dayes, euery one eating halfe a handfull of raw Maiz a day by ratement. At the end of theſe foure dayes, a tempeſt tooke vs, which made vs recouer the Boat of Captaine *Telles*, and through the great mercy which God ſhewed to ſome of vs, we were not wholly drowned. And being Winter, and exceeding cold, and ſo many dayes wherein we had ſuſtained hunger, with many blowes which wee receiued from the Sea, the day following the men began very much to faint, in ſuch manner, that when the Sunne went downe, all thoſe that were in my Boat, were fallen one vpon the other, ſo neere vnto death, that few of them had any ſenſe, and among all them there were not fiue that could ſtand on their feete, and when night came there remained no more but the Maſter and my ſelfe, that could mannage the Boat, and two houres within night the Maſter ſaid vnto mee, that I ſhould take charge of my Boat, becauſe he was in ſuch caſe, that he held it for certainty, that hee ſhould die that night. And ſo I tooke the rudder, and midnight being paſt, I went to ſee if the Maſter were dead, who ſaid vnto me, that ſuddenly he was better, and that hee would guide the Boat vntill day. Then ſurely I found my ſelfe in ſuch ſtate, that much more willingly I would haue receiued death, then ſee ſo many men before me in that manner wherein they were: and after the Maſter tooke charge of the Boat I reſted my ſelfe a little, but very vnquietly, becauſe at that time nothing was further from me then ſleepe. And about the morning me thought that I heard the noiſe and roaring of the Sea, becauſe being a very lowe Coaſt it raged much, whereupon when I heard this, I called to the Maſter, who anſwered me, that he ſuppoſed we were now neere vnto the Land; and ſounding, we found our ſelues in ſeuen fathome, and he thought it fit, that we ſhould abide at Sea vntill the day appeared. And ſo I tooke an Oare and rowed to the Lands ſide, which we found one league diſtant, and put the ſtearne to the Sea. And being neere to the Land, a waue tooke vs, which caſt the Boat backe againe into the Sea as farre as a man might well fling a ſtone, and with the great blowe which it gaue, almoſt all the men who remained there as dead, receiued their ſenſes againe, and ſeeing vs ſo neere vnto the Land, beganne to ariſe and goe on their hands and feete. And hauing landed, wee made fire in certaine trenches, and boyled ſome of the Maiz which wee had brought, and found raine-water: and with the heate of the fire, the men beganne to recouer and take ſtrength: and the day that we arriued there, was the ſixth of Nouember.

After the men had eaten, I commanded *Lopez de Oniedo*, who was the beſt able, and ſtrongeſt of all the reſt, that he ſhould goe cloſe to any tree of them that were there at hand, and climing vp into one of them, he ſhould diſcouer the Land where we were, and ſee if hee could haue any knowledge thereof. He did ſo, and ſaw that we were in an Iland, and found certaine poore Cottages of the *Indians*, which ſtood ſolitary, becauſe thoſe *Indians* were gone vnto the field. And ſo he tooke a pot, a young whelpe, and a little Thorn-backe, and returned vnto vs. About halfe an houre after, an hundred *Indian* Archers came ſuddenly vpon vs, who though they were great, yet feare made them ſeeme to be Giants: and they ſtood round about vs, where the firſt three were.

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were. It had beene a vaine thing amongst vs to thinke that there were any to defend vs, because there were scarce sixe that were able to rise from the ground. The Controller and I came towards them, and called vnto them, and they came neere vnto vs, and wee endeauoured the best we could, to secure them; so we gaue them Crownes and Bells, and euery one of them gaue mee an Arrow, which is a token of friendship, and they told vs by signes that they would returne vnto vs in the morning, and bring vs somewhat to eate, because at that time they had nothing.

The next morning at the breake of day, which was the houre whereof the *Indians* had spoken, they came vnto vs, and brought vs much fish, and certaine Roots which they eate, and are like vnto Nuts, some bigger, and some lesse, which they digge vnder the water with much trouble. At the euening they returned againe, and brought vs more fish, and some of the same Roots, and brought also their wiues and little children with them that they might see vs: and so they returned rich in Crownes and Bells which we gaue them, and the next day they returned to visite vs with the same things, which they had done before.

Then seeing we were now prouided of fish, of those roots, and water, and other things which we could get, we agreed to embarke our selues, and proceed on our Voyage: so wee digged the Boat out of the sand, where it was fast moored, and were constrained to strippe our selues naked, and indured great labour to launch her into the water. Being embarked, about two Crosbow shots within the Sea, there came such a waue of water that it washed vs all, and being naked, and the cold extreme, wee let goe the Oares, and another blowe which the Sea gaue vs, ouerturned the Boat, whereupon the Controller and two other went out to escape by swimming: but the cleane contrary befell them, because the Boat strucke them vnder water, and drowned them. That Coast being very faire, the Sea cast vs all aland on the same Coast, all tumbled in the water, and halfe drowned, so that we lost not a man, but those three, whom the Boat smote vnder water. Wee which remained aliue were all naked, hauing lost all that which wee had, which although it were but a little, yet was it much for vs at that time: and being then Nouember, and the cold very extreme, and being in such case, that a man might easily tell all our bones, we seemed to be the proper and true figure of Death. As for my selfe, I am well able to say, that from the moneth of May past, I had not eaten any other thing then parched Maiz, and sometimes I was in so great necessitie, that I haue eaten it raw, because although the Horses were killed while they made the Boats, yet I could neuer eate them, and I did not eate fish ten times. I speake this, that euery one might consider, how we could continue in that case, and aboue all, the North wind blew that day, so that we were neerer vnto death, then life. It pleased God, that seeking the brands of the fire which we had made before wee embarked, wee found light there, and so making great fires, we stood craning mercy from our Lord God, and pardon of our sinnes, with many teares, euery one of vs grieuing not onely for himselfe, but for all the rest, that hee saw in the same state. At the setting of the Sunne, the *Indians* supposing that we had not beene gone, came to finde vs, and brought vs somewhat to eate, but when they saw vs thus, in so differing an habite from the first, and in such strange manner, they were so afraid, that they turned backe againe: but I went towards them, and called them, who beheld mee with much feare. Hereupon I gaue them to vnderstand by signes, that the Boat was cast away, and three men drowned, and there they themselues saw two dead, and the rest of vs that were now remayning were going the high way to death.

Three drowned.

The *Indians* seeing the misfortune which had befallen vs, and the lamentable case wherein we were, with so great calamitie and miserie, came amongst vs, and through great griefe and compassion which they had of vs, beganne mightily to weepe and lament, and that from the heart, insomuch that they might be heard farre from thence, and they thus lamented more then halfe an houre. And surely, seeing these men so depriued of reason, and so cruell after the manner of brute beasts, so bewayled our miseries, it caused that in me, and all the rest of our men, the compassion and consideration of our miseries should be much more increased. The mournfull lamentation being somewhat appeased, I demanded of the *Christians*, whether they thought it fit, that I should intreate those *Indians* to bring vs to their houses, whereunto some of them that were of *Nona Spagna*, answered me, that I should not speake a word thereof, because if they brought vs home to their houses, they would haue sacrificed vs to their Idols. Now seeing there was no other remedie, and that, what other way soeuer, death was more certaine and more neere, I cared not for that which they said, but prayed the *Indians*, that they would bring vs to their houses, and they shewed vs, that it pleased them very well, and that wee should tarrie a little, and they would doe as much as wee desired, presently thirty of them laded themselues with wood, and went vnto their houses, which were farre from thence: and wee remained with the rest, vntill it was almost night, and then they tooke vs, and conducting vs, we went with much anguish and heauinesse vnto their houses. And because they feared lest through the extreme coldnesse of the way any of vs should die, or swound and faint, they had prouided, that by the way foure or fiue great fires should bee made, some small space distant each from other, and at euery one of them they warmed vs, and when they saw that we had taken a little strength and heate, they brought vs to another, with so great care, that they did not so much as suffer vs to set our

Humanitie of Sauages.

feete

feete on the ground, and after this manner we were brought vnto their houses: where we found that they had prouided an house for vs, & many fires therein, and about one houre after we were come thither, they beganne to dance and reioyce, which continued all the night. Although amongst vs there was neither ioy nor sleepe, expecting when they would haue sacrificed vs. In the morning they returned to giue vs fish, and rootes, and vsed vs so well, that wee somewhat assured our selues, and lost some part of the feare of sacrificing.

In those dayes wherein wee abode there, I saw a small Net, with one of those *Indians*, and knew that it was not any of them which wee gaue them, and demanding whence they had it, they answered me by signes, that other men, such as we were, gaue it them, who abode behind that place. I seeing this, sent two *Christians*, and two *Indians*, to shew them those men, and being gone, they met with them very neere, who came to seeke vs out, because the *Indians* of those places had told them of vs. These men were Captaine *Andrea Dorante*, and *Alonso del Castiglio*, with all the men of their Boat. And being come vnto vs, they were afraid to behold vs in that manner wherein we were, and were very sorrowfull that they had not any thing to giue vs, because they had no other garments, then those which they wore. And they abode there with vs, and told vs, how on the fift day of that same moneth, their Boat had crossed ouer, one league and an halfe from thence, and that they had escaped without losing any thing.

Wee all agreed together, to trimme that Boat of theirs, and that all such as had strengh, and abilitie to doe it, should goe therein, and that the rest should remaine there vntill they recouered: and that when they were able, they should goe along the Coast, and waite there till God should conduct them with the rest of vs vnto a Land of the *Christians*. And as we determined, so wee did, and before we lanched the Boat into the water, *Tanera* an Horseman of our companie died: and the Boat which we thought should carrie vs, she also made her end, and was not able to vphold her selfe, but was suddenly drowned. Whereupon being in that manner aforesaid, and naked, and the weather so vnseasonable to trauell, and passe ouer Riuers and Gulfes by swimming, and hauing no victuall, or any sustenance, nor meanes to carrie them, we determined to doe that which necessitie and force compelled vs vnto, that is to say, to winter there. And wee likewise agreed, that foure of our lustiest and strongest men should goe to *Panuco*, supposing it neere vnto that place. And that if it should please our Lord God, that they arriued there, they should giue intelligence that we were there, and tell them of our necessitie and miseries. They who went were very great swimmers, the one was called *Alnaro Ferrante*, a *Portugall*, who was a Carpenter, and a Mariner, the second was called *Mendos*, and the third *Figeroa* a natiue of *Toledo*, and the fourth was borne in *Zaffra*, and they carried an *Indian* with them of the Iland of *Auia*.

Panuco.

These foure *Christians* being departed, within few dayes after there came such vnseasonable weather of cold and tempests, that the *Indians* could not finde the roots, and out of the channels where they were wont to fish, they digged no fruit at all, and things falling out so vnhappily, many people began to die: and fiue *Christians* who were in *Xamo*, vpon that Coast, came to such extremitie, that they eate one another, vntill there remained but one onely, because there was none to eate him. Their names are these *Siera, Diego Lopez, Corral, Palatio, Gonzalo Ruis*. The *Indians* were so altered through this accident, and tooke so great an offence, that without doubt, if they had knowne it in the beginning, they would haue killed them all, so that all wee had beene in very great danger. Finally, in a small time, of fourescore men (which wee were in all) there remained onely fifteene. After this mortalitie, a certaine infirmitie of the stomacke happened to the *Indians*, through the which halfe of them died, and they beleeued that wee were the men that killed them: and holding it for an assured truth, they contended among themselues to kill all those few of vs that were remaining: and now comming to put it in execution, an *Indian* which I had, said vnto them, that they should not beleeue that we were those that killed them; for if we had such power, we would haue procured, that so many men of our owne should not haue died, which they had seene dead, without any abilitie of ours to remedie and helpe them, and that now wee were very few remaining, whereof none had done them any preiudice or harme: wherefore it were better that they suffer vs to liue. Thus it pleased our Lord God, that the rest followed his counsell and iudgement, and so ceassed from that purpose. Wee called this Iland the Iland of *Malhado*.

The *Christians* eate one another, for hunger.

Indian sicknesse and mortalitie.

Iland *Malhado.*

The people which wee found there, are of a great stature, and well set, and haue no other weapons but Bowes and Arrowes, with the which they are exceeding readie and quicke. The men haue one of their paps pierced from the one side to the other, and there are some who haue them both pierced, and in the hole which they make, they carrie a Cane acrosse, of the length of two spannes and an halfe and two fingers thicke. They likewise haue the nether lippe bored, and within the same they carrie a piece of a thin Cane, about halfe a finger thicke. The women indure much drudgerie and labour. The habitation which they make in that Iland, is from October vntill the end of Februarie, and their food is the rootes aforesaid, digged vnder water in Nouember and December. They haue Weares, but haue no fish but at this time, and before that they eate roots. At the end of Februarie they goe into other Parts to seeke food: because the roots beginne then to growe, and are not very good. This Nation, aboue all other parts of the world,

Pierced paps, with canes for gallantry.

The *Indians* poore life.

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world, loue their children, and vse them best. And when it happeneth that any one of their children dieth, the father, mother, and kindred, with all the people lament him, and the mourning and lamentation, continueth one whole yeere, so that euery day before the Sunne ariseth, the parents beginne first to lament, and after them all the people, and they doe the same at noon, and in the morning: and the yeere being ended, they accomplish their Funerals, and honourable rites of Buriall, which they performe vnto the dead: and then they wash themselues, and shift all the apparell which they wore. They bewayle all their dead in this manner, except the aged, whom they esteeme not, for, say they, that they haue now passed their time, and are no more good for any thing, but occupie the earth, and take away the maintenance from Infants and little children. They vse to bury the dead, vnlesse they be such as are Physicians among them, whom they burne, and while the fire flameth they stand all dancing with great ioy, and make powder of the bones: and when the yeere is past, wherein they performe the honourable rites, vnto their dead, they all tumble, and wallow vpon the earth, and giue that powder of the bones to the kinsfolke, to drinke in water. Euery one haue their proper and peculiar wiues. The Physicians are they that haue most libertie, who may keepe two or three wiues, and among them there is great friendship and conformitie. When any marrieth his daughter, hee that taketh her, bringeth vnto the wife, whatsoeuer he taketh by hunting or fishing, euen vnto the day wherein he is espoused vnto her, who carrieth it vnto the house of the father, without daring to take or eate any thing thereof: and afterward they bring food to the house of the father-in-law for him to eate, and in all this time, neither father-in-law nor mother-in-law enter into their house, nor are they to enter into their house, nor the houses of their kindred. And if by chance they meete each other in the way, they goe a Crosse-bow shot off one from the other, and so long time as they thus goe farre off, they hang downe their heads, and cast their eies on the ground; for they hold it a wicked and an euill thing to be seene, and to be spoken vnto. The women haue libertie to conuerse with the fathers-in-law, and other kinsfolke: and they of that Iland haue this custome more then fiftie leagues within the Land.

Mourning for children.

Age disesteemed.

Physicians burned.

Filthie and foolish customes.

They haue another custome, and that is this, that when any of their brethren or children die, for three moneths they prouide nothing to eate for them of the house where they died, but let them die through hunger, if the kinsfolke and neighbours prouide them not somewhat to eate. Whereupon, at the time that we were there, many people dying, there was very great famine. In the most part of the houses, because they strictly obserue their customes and ceremonies: and they who prouided food for them, it being a very hard time, could finde but a little. And vpon this occasion, those *Indians* that had me went out of the Iland, and in their Canoas passed ouer vnto the firme Land, vnto certaine flat shoares, where they had many Oysters: and for three moneths in the yeere they eate no other thing, and drinke very bad water. They haue great scarcitie of wood, and great multitudes of Flies: their houses are made of mats spread vpon the shells of Oysters, and ouer them they sleepe vpon the hides of beasts; which yet they haue not but by a chance. And so we continued vntill the middle of Aprill, that wee went to the Sea-coast, where wee eate Mulberries all that moneth, wherein they end their sports, and festiuall iollitie.

In that Iland whereof I haue spoken, they would make vs Physicians, without examining vs, or demanding the titles of our profession, and because they heale the infirmitie with blowing vpon the diseased, and cure them with that, and with their hands: they would that wee also should doe the like, and serue them in any thing whatsoeuer. But wee laughed thereat, saying it was a iest and mockery, and that wee knew not how to heale, whereupon they tooke away our food, vntill we did that which they said. And seeing our vnbeliefe, an *Indian* said vnto me, that I knew not what I said, because stones and herbes that growe in the fields haue vertue, and that he with an hot stone, laying it vpon the stomacke, cured the paine: and that wee who are men, must of a certaintie haue greater vertue, then all other things of the world. In the end, seeing our selues in so great necessitie, we were constrained to doe it, yet not hoping to helpe any at all: the manner and meanes which they obserue in curing is this, that seeing themselues sicke they send for the Physician, to whom (after they are cured) they giue all that they haue; and besides procure other things from their kindred to giue them. The cure which the Physitians doe vnto them, is to cut certaine gashes where the disease or griefe is, and sucke it round about. They seare it also with fire, which among them is held a verie profitable thing, and I haue proued it and it succeeded well. After this, blowing in the place where the griefe is, they suppose the disease thereby to be remoued. The meanes whereby we cured them, was to blesse them and blow vpon them, and say a *Pater noster* and an *Ave Mary*, and pray the best we could vnto our Lord God, that he would giue them their health, and put it into their hearts to vse vs well. It pleased his mercy, that all they for whom he praied, as soone as wee had blessed and hallowed them, said vnto the rest that they were sound and well: and for this they vsed vs verie curteously and left eating themselues to giue it vnto vs, and gaue vs skins and other trifling things. The famine was so exceeding great in that place, that many times I continued three dayes without eating any thing at all, and so did they also, insomuch as I thought it impossible to bee able

They are made Physicians.

Learned argument.

Manner of curing.

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able to liue: although afterward, I found my ſelfe in farre greater famine and neceſſitie, as I ſhall hereafter ſpeake.

The *Indians* who had *Alonſo del Caſtiglio*, and *Andrea Dorante* and the reſt that remayned aliue: being of another Language, and other parentage, paſſed ouer to another part of the firme Land, to eate Oyſters where they abode vntill the firſt day of Aprill, and preſently after they returned vnto an Iland neere vnto it about two leagues, for that it yeelded more water, and the Iland is halfe a league ouer and fiue in length. All the people of that Countrey goe naked, and the women only haue ſome parts of their bodie couered with a certaine kind of Cotton which they gather from certaine trees, and the Damſels couer themſelues with the skinnes of wild beaſts. The people differ much one from another in their Garments. There is not any Lord or *Cazique* among them, and all they who are of one Family and ſtocke goe together. Two ſorts of Languages dwell there, one of them that are called *Capoques*, and the other *Han*: they haue a cuſtome, that if at any time they ſee ſuch as they know, they ſtand halfe an houre lamenting, before they ſpeake: and after that, he that is viſited ariſeth firſt and giueth vnto the other whatſoeuer hee poſſeſſeth, and he receiueth it: and a little after he goeth away with that Garment, and ſometimes after they haue receiued it, they depart without ſpeaking a word.

Lamentable ſalutations.

After *Dorante* and *Caſtiglio* returned to the Iland, they gathered together all the *Chriſtians*, who were ſomewhat diſperſed, and found them fourteene in all. I (as I ſaid) abode on the other ſide in the mayne Land, whither my *Indians* had brought me, and where a great ſickneſſe tooke me. Now when the *Chriſtians* knew that, they gaue the Mantle of Martinets (which wee had taken from the *Cazique* as aforeſaid) vnto an *Indian* that he might bring them where I was, to ſee me: and ſo twelue of them came, becauſe the other two were ſo weake, that they feared to bring them with them. And when they were come to the firme Land, they found another of our men, called *Franceſco del Leon*. All theſe thirteene went along the Coaſt, and as ſoone as the *Indians* who kept me were gone, they aduiſed mee, and told mee that *Ieronimo d' Alaniz*, and *Lope d' Oniedo*, were yet remayning in that Iland. My infirmitie hindered mee that I could not follow them, and ſo I ſaw them not otherwiſe, and I was of neceſſitie to ſtay with thoſe ſame *Indians* of the Iland more then a yeere. But by reaſon of the great trauell and paines whereunto they put me, as alſo their euill vſage of me, I determined to flye from thence, and paſſe ouer vnto them, who abide in the Mountaines and firme Land, whom they call the *Indians* of *Carruco*, becauſe I could not indure the life, which I led with the other. For among many other painfull labours, I was compelled to digge Roots vnder the water, and among the Canes where they grew vnder the ground. And herewith I had my fingers ſo ſpoyled, that a ſtraw that ſhould haue touched me, would haue drawne bloud: and the Canes being full of ſplinters tare mee in diuers parts, among which I was to goe with the Garment aforeſaid, which I wore. Whereupon I endeuoured to goe from thence vnto thoſe other, and with them I continued ſomewhat better. And becauſe I made my ſelfe a Merchant, I was carefull to performe that office with the beſt knowledge I had. And for this cauſe they gaue mee food, and vſed mee well, and prayed mee to goe from place to place for ſuch things as they needed, becauſe in reſpect of the Warres which they continually make among themſelues, there is neither trauelling, nor much trading among them: ſo that now with my trafficke and Merchandiſe, I went throughout the whole Countrie as farre as I would, and trauelled along the Coaſt, fortie or fiftie leagues. The principall trafficke I had, were pieces of ſhels of the Sea, and their hides, and ſhels wherewith they knit a certaine fruit like vnto Beech maſt, with the which they prouide for their dancings and feſtiuall ſports: and this is the greateſt thing of price among them, and crownes of the Sea, and ſuch other like things. And this is that which I carried within Land, I afterward carried hides in exchange, and red Ocre with the which they anoint and die their faces, and their haire: I alſo carried flint ſtones to make Arrow heads and Glue, and ſtiffe Canes to make Arrowes: and certaine flockes which they make of Deeres haire ſo died, that it remayneth coloured. And this office greatly auailed me, becauſe I had libertie to goe whither I would, and was not bound to doe any thing, for I was not a ſlaue, and whitherſoeuer I went they vſed mee well, and gaue mee ſomewhat to eate in reſpect of my Merchandize, but that which moſt imported mee, was, that going thus I ſearched, and ſaw how I might goe further: and among them I was very well knowne. And ſuch as knew mee not deſired my company, and procured meanes to know mee for the fame which I had among them. I continued about ſix yeeres with them in that Countrie alone, and naked as they all goe.

The *Indians* of *Carruco*.

Queuenes and *Dragnanes*, Indians.

I got *Lope de Oniedo* to trauell with me to ſeeke out the *Chriſtians*: but hearing by the *Indians* that only three were left of our company, he left me: and I remained alone with thoſe *Indians*, who were called *Quenenes*, and they with whom *Lope* went, were called *Dragnanes*. Two daies after *Lope de Oniedo* was gone, the *Indians* who kept *Alonſo del Caſtiglio*, and *Andrea Dorante* came vnto the place, as thoſe other *Indians* had foretold vs to eate of certaine Nuts wherewith they maintaine themſelues, grinding certaine graines with them two monethes in the yeere, without eating any other thing: although they haue them not euery yeere, becauſe ſome yeeres they grow, and ſome not. They are of the bigneſſe of thoſe of *Galicia*, and the trees are very great,

great, and are there in great number. Being now neere vnto the place where they lodged, *Andrea Dorante* came forth to see who it was, because the *Indians* had now told him that a *Christian* was come. And as soone as he saw me, he remained much astonished, because they supposed I had beene long since dead, for so the *Indians* told them. Wee gaue God heartie thankes to see one another, and that day was one of them, wherein wee had the greatest ioy and pleasure in our liues.

And after comming where *Castiglio* was, they asked mee whether I would goe, I answered, that my purpose was to passe into the Land of the *Christians*, and that I went seeking and searching how I might doe it. *Andrea Dorante* answered, that long since hee intreated *Castiglio* and *Estenamico*, that we might go further, but they durst not venter to do it, because they could not swimme, and greatly feared the Riuers and Gulfes which they were to passe ouer, there being many in those Countries. Wherefore seeing it had pleased our Lord God to preserue mee among so many dangers and diseases, and in the end to bring mee into their company, they determined to flie, and that I should carrie them ouer the Riuers and Gulfes which wee found. And they aduertized mee, that by no meanes, I should let the *Indians* know that I would goe further, because they would presently kill me, and that for this cause I was of necessitie to stay with them sixe monethes, which was the time in the which those *Indians* went into another Countrie to eate *Tune*.

These *Tune* are certaine Fruits of the bignesse of an Egge, red and blacke, and of a very good taste. They eate them three monethes in the yeere, wherein they eate no other thing, and because at the time when they gathered them, other *Indians* beyond would come with Bowes to contract and barter with them, we (when they returned) might escape from our *Indians*, and goe with them. With this determination I remained there, and yeelded my selfe a slaue vnto an *Indian*, with whom *Dorante* abode. *Tune*, fruits of *India*.

These *Indians* are called *Mariane*, and *Castiglio* remained with other of their Neighbours, called *Iguales*. And while we continued there, they reported vnto mee, that after they were come out of the Iland of *Malhado* vpon the Sea Coast, they found the Boat wherein the Auditor and the Friers crossed ouer, and that passing those Riuers which are foure, and very great: the many currents tooke the Boat wherewith they went to Sea, and foure of them were drowned, the rest with much labour passed the Gulfes: and that fifteene leagues further they found another, and as soone as they met together there, two of their companions died in the time that they had trauelled sixtie leagues, and that all the rest were yet at the point of death, and that all that iournie they had eaten nothing but Creuises and Herbs of the wall, and comming to this last Gulfe, they said, that they found *Indians* who stood eating of Mulberies, who when they saw the *Christians* they went vnto the other end, and so they standing still and deuising meanes to passe the Gulfe, an *Indian* and a *Christian* came vnto them, and being come, they knew it was *Figheroa*, one of the foure we had sent before from the Iland of *Malhado*, who recounted vnto them in what manner he and his companions came to that place where two of them and one *Indian* died all through cold and famine, because they were come thither in the hardest time of the yeere: and that the *Indians* had taken *Figheroa* himselfe and *Mendes*, which *Mendes* fled afterwards, trauelling the best hee could towards *Pauuco*; and that the *Indians* followed after him and slue him. And that abiding thus with those *Indians*, hee vnderstood that with the *Marianes* there was a *Christian*, who had passed to the other side, and he found him with them whom they call *Quemenes*. Which *Christian* was *Gernando d' Esquiuel*, a Native of *Badaioz*, who came in the company of the Commissary, and that from *Esquiuel*, hee vnderstood what end the Gouernour had, together with the Auditor and the rest: telling them how the Auditor and the Friers had launched their Boat into the Riuers, and comming along the Coast, the Gouernour landed his people, and went with his Boat vntill they came vnto that great Gulfe, where he turned to take in his men, and passe ouer to the other side, and returned for the Auditor and the Friers, and all the rest. And he declared, that being thus imbarked, the Gouernour reuoked the authoritie of his Lieutenant, which the Auditor had, and gaue that charge vnto a Captaine that went with him, called *Pantoja*. And that the Gouernor stayed that night in his Boat, & would not come on Land, and the Master abode with him, and one Page who was not well, and they had neither water nor any thing to eate in the Boat: so about midnight so hard a gale of winde from the North tooke them, that it droue the Boat into the Sea before any one saw it, for he had nothing to releeue him but one flint stone, and they knew not that he had any other thing besides. And when the men who remained on the land saw this, they went along the Coast, and finding the water so rough, they made floats with much trouble and paines, and so passed ouer vnto the other side. And going further they came to the point of an Hill at the water side, and found *Indians* there, who when they saw them comming, put their things into their Canowes, and passed ouer to the other side of the Coast. So the *Christians* seeing what the time was being in Nouember, abode in that Mountaine because they found water, wood, and certaine Creuises there, where through cold and famine, by little and little, they beganne to die. And beside this, *Pantoja* who remained Lieutenant, vsed them very ill, and not being able to indure it, the Sergeant Maior Brother of *Marianes*. *Iguales*.

Vasquez Porealle, who came in the fleete from *Cuba*, Master of the Campe, reuolted from *Pantoſſa*, and ſmote him with a piece of wood, with the which blow hee died, and ſuch as died became the morſels of the other, and the laſt that died, was the Sergeant Maior, and *Eſquimel* did the like, and eating him, maintained himſelfe vntill the firſt of March, that an *Indian* one of them who fled from thence came to ſee if they were all dead, and after brought *Eſquimel* away from thence with him, who being in ſubiection to this *Indian Figheroa* ſpake with him, and vnderſtood all this of him which wee haue before declared, and prayed him to come with him, that they might goe together towards *Pamico*: but *Eſquimel* would not doe it, ſaying, that hee vnderſtood by Friers that *Pamico* was behind them, and ſo he remained there, and *Figheroa* went to the Coaſt where he vſed to abide.

The *Spaniards* eate one another.

All this *Figheroa* reported vnto vs, by the relation which *Eſquimel* made vnto him, and ſo from hand to hand it came vnto me. Whereby hee might ſee and know the end which all that fleete had, and the particular miſchances which happened to euerie one of the reſt. And hee further ſaid, that if the *Chriſtians* at any time ſhould goe through thoſe parts, it might bee, that they ſhould ſee *Eſquimel*, becauſe hee knew that hee was fled from that *Indian* with whom hee abode, vnto the other which are called *Marianes*, who were their Neighbours. And ſo hauing ended his Diſcourſe, he and *Aſturiano*, were about to goe vnto the other *Indians* that were further beyond, but thoſe *Indians* who kept them perceiuing them, went forth and came to giue them many Baſtinadoes, and ſpoiled *Aſturiano*, and wounded him on the arme with an Arrow, but yet in the end they fled, and the other *Chriſtians* remained: and procured thoſe *Indians* to take them for ſlaues, although abiding with them and ſeruing them, they were as euilly intreated as euer any ſlaues were or other men of the World. Becauſe of ſixe which they were, not being contented continually to buffet, and cudgell them, and plucke off their beards with the skinne, only for their paſtime and recreation and only for going from one houſe to another, they killed three, who are thoſe of whom I ſpoke before, to wit, *Diego Durante*, *Valdenieſſo*, and *Diego de Helua*: and the other three that remained, expected that they alſo ſhould make the like end, and not being able to indure that life, *Andrea Dorantes* fled to the *Marianes*, who were they with whom *Eſquimel* abode, and they themſelues reported that they had kept *Eſquimel* there, who afterward would haue fled, becauſe a woman had dreamed that hee ſhould kill a childe of hers: the *Indians* purſued him and ſlue him; and they afterward ſhewed *Andrea Durante* his Sword, Crowne, Booke, and other things which he had.

A cruell cuſtome of the *Indians*, who vſe to kill their male children while they ſleep, and caſt their female children (as ſoone as they are borne) to the dogges to eate them, becauſe they would not marrie them to their enemies, nor to their kindred.

They haue this cuſtome alſo euen to kill the ſame male children while they ſleepe, and when the female children are borne, they leaue them for the Dogs to eate; and caſt them away in thoſe places. And the reaſon why they doe it is this, becauſe they ſay that all they of the Countrey are their enemies, and make very great warres with them. Wherefore if by chance they ſhould marrie their Daughters, their enemies ſhould be the more increaſed, who would ſubiect them, and hold them all in captiuitie. And for this cauſe, they would rather kill them, then haue any borne of themſelues to become their enemies. Wee demanded of them why they married them not among themſelues, who anſwered, that it was a beaſtly thing to marrie them vnto their kindred, and that it was much better to kill them, then giue them for wiues vnto their kinſfolke and enemies. And they obſerue this cuſtome, and other of their Neighbours alſo called *Iaguanes*, and no other of that Countrie, but they obſerue the ſame. And when they take wiues, they get the women of their enemies, and the price which they pay is the beſt Bow that they can get, with two Arrowes. And if peraduenture they haue not a Bow, they giue a Net of the wideneſſe of a mans arme, and as much more in length. *Durante* abode with them, and not long after fled from them. *Caſtiglia* and *Eſtenanico* came into the firme Land to the *Iaguanes*. All they are Archers, and well ſet, although they be not ſo great as the other which we left behind, and haue all their paps and their lips pierced like them. Their food principally are roots of two or three ſorts, which they ſeeke throughout the whole Countrie, which are very harſh and puffe vp ſuch as eat them. They ſtay two dayes to roaſt them; and many of them are very bitter, and withall they dig them with much paines, but the famine in thoſe Countries is ſo great, that they cannot liue without them: and they goe two or three leagues to ſeeke them. They ſometimes kill any wilde beaſt whatſoeuer, and at certaine times take fiſh, but this is ſo little, and their hunger ſo great, that they eat Frogs, Ants Egs, Wormes, Lizards, Salamanders, Serpents and Vipers, which with their ſtinging kill men: they alſo eat earth, wood, and whatſoeuer they can get the dung of wild beaſts, and other things which I leaue to report, and I certainly beleeue, that if there were ſtones in that Country they would eat them. They keepe the ſharpe bones of fiſhes and Serpents, which they eat to grind them all afterwards, and ſo eate that powder. The men load not themſelues nor carrie burdens, but the old men and women do all this, who are leaſt eſteemed among them, they beare no ſuch loue to their children as the other doe, whereof I haue ſpoken before.

Penurious diet.

The *Indians* in this Prouince eate Serpents, Vipers, and other beaſtly things, by reaſon of the famine which continually is there.

Women.

There are ſome among them, who vſe that ſinne which is againſt nature. Their women are very ſufficient, and able to indure labour, for of the foure and twentie houres of the day and night, they haue but ſixe houres of reſt, and all the greater part of the night they ſpend in heating their Quens, to dry thoſe Roots which they eate. And when the day beginneth to appeare,

they,

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they beginne to draw water, and carrie wood vnto their houses, and giue order for other things which they want.

The greater part of them are great Theeues, because although among them they are well diuided, yet if the Father or the Sonne turne but their heads about, the one taketh from the other whatsoeuer he can get. They are great and monstrous Liers and great Drunkards, and for that purpose they drink a certaine kind of drinke. They are so well vsed to runne, that without resting themselues, or standing still at all, they runne from Morning vntill the Euening following a Deere, and in this manner they kill many, following them vntill they tire them, and sometimes take them aliue. Their houses are of Mats set vpon foure Arches, and they take them vp and remoone them, euery two or three daies to seeke food. They sow nothing at all to be able to haue fruit thereof, and are a very pleasant and cheerefull people, and notwithstanding the great hunger they indure, they cease not to dance and sport themselues.

Theeues.

Indians which runne a whole day to take a Deere, and tiring him with running, eftsoones take him aliue in the chase.

The best time which they haue is when they eate *Tune*, because then they haue no hunger, and passe all that time in dancing, and eate day and night all the time they haue them. They wring them, open them, and set them to dry, and beeing thus dried they hang them vp in Garlands like figges, and keepe them to eate by the way, when they returne thence: they also dry their Pils and make powder of them. Many times while we were with them, it so fell out, that we continued foure daies without eating any thing, because it was not there to be had; to make vs merrie they told vs, that wee should shortly haue *Tune*, and should eate many of them and drinke their juice, and fill our bellies very well, and that wee should be verie cheerefull and contented, and without any hunger. And when they told vs this, it was fiue or sixe monethes to the time of *Tune*.

Natures nurslings.

Dogs life.

Tune-time.

And when the time came, wee came to eate *Tune*, and by the way wee found many flies of three sorts, very mischieuous and noisome, and all the rest of the Summer they put vs to much trouble. And to defend vs from them we made fires of rotten and moist wood, that it might not burne but make a smoake, but this defence put vs to another trouble, for all the night wee did nothing else but complaine of the smoake which came into our eyes, and also of the great heate which the much fire gaue vs, and wee went out to sleepe by the side thereof, and if at any time we could sleepe, they remembred vs with their bastinadoes to returne and make the fires burne. They who dwell further within the Land, vse a remedie for these flies, as intollerable as this and worse, that is to say, they goe with fire-brands in their hands burning the Fields and the Woods wheresoeuer they meete with them, to make the flies to flie away: and so also they vse to digge vnder the earth for Lizards, and other such like things to eate them, they vse also to kill Deere, compassing them with many fires. Which they also doe to take away food from the beasts, that they might be constrained to goe from thence to find it, where they would haue them. For they neuer settle themselues to dwell, but where wood and water are, and sometimes they load themselues all with this prouision, and goe to seeke Deere, which (most commonly) abide where there is neither water nor wood: and the day they came thither they killed Deere, and some other hunting game such as they could get, and consumed all the water and wood in preparing them to be eaten, and in the fires which they made to hunt the flies, and tarried till the next day to take some thing to carrie with them by the way.

Flies troublesome.

Noisome remedie.

Deere haunt dry places to auoid Huntsmen.

When they depart they goe so miserably vexed with flyes, that they seeme to haue the disease of *Lazarus*, and in this manner they expell hunger two or three times in the yeere with so great paines as hath beene said: and because I haue proued it, I dare affirme, that there is no trauell in the World found like vnto this.

They found Oxen there and I saw them three times, and eate of them: and (as I thinke, they are of the bigneſse of those of *Spaine*. They haue little hornes like the *Moreſche* cattle, and very long haire, and some of them are ash-colour, and others blacke, and in my iudgement they haue better haire and much thicker then those of our Countries. Of those which are not great, they make Garments to couer them, and of the greater they make shooes and Targets and these came from the North further through the Land vnto the Coast of *Florida*, and extend themselues farre within the Land more then foure hundred leagues. And in all this way, through the Vallies by which they come, the people that dwell there, come downe and eat of them, and send great store of hides into the Countrie.

Oxen of that Countrie.

When the sixe moneths were ended, wherein I abode with the *Christians*, hoping to put the determination made betweene vs in execution, the *Indians* went to eate *Tune*, which might bee some thirtie leagues from thence, and being now readie to flie from them, the *Indians* with whom we abode, fell at variance among themselues about a woman, and buffetted and beate her, and broke her head: and for the great hatred and anger they conceiued, they tooke their houses, and euery one went vnto their place. Whereupon it was necessarie, that all the *Christians* who were there, should separate themselues with them, so that by no meanes wee could meet together againe vntill the next yeere: and in this time I passed much miserie, as well for the great famine I indured, as for the euill vsage, and bad entertainment those *Indians* gaue mee which was such, that I was faine to flie three times from those Masters that kept me, who all came diligently to

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seeke me that they might kill me, but it pleased our Lord God, not to suffer them to find mee, and to preserue me from their hands through his infinite mercie.

As soone as the time of *Tune* returned, wee *Christians* found our selues together againe in the same place where we were before, and hauing now ioyned together to flie from thence, and appointed the day, that very selfe same day the *Indians* separated vs, and euery one went vnto their place, so I said vnto the *Christians*, that I would expect them at the *Tune*, vntill the Moone were full, and that day when I said this vnto them, was the first of September, and the prime of the Moone. And further I assured them, that if they came not within that time, I would go thence alone and leaue them. And so we separated our selues, and euery man went with their *Indians*, and I stayed with mine vntill the thirteenth of the Moone: and my determination was to flie thence vnto the other *Indians*, when the Moone should be full. On the thirteenth of the said moneth, *Andrea Dorante* and *Estenamico* came vnto me and told me, that they had left *Castiglio* with other *Indians*, whom they call *Canagadi*, who dwelt neere thereabout, and that they had passed many miseries, and had lost their way. And that the day before our *Indians* remoued from their place, and were gone towards the place where *Castiglio* abode to ioyne themselues with them who kept him, and make themselues friends hauing beene enemies and at warres, euen vntill that day: and in this manner also we recouered *Castiglio*. In all the time that wee eate the *Tune* wee were thirstie and for remedie wee dranke the juice thereof, which wee powred in a trench which we made in the Earth, and when it was full, we dranke thereof vntill we were satisfied: it is sweet and pleasant, and of the colour of new wine boyled, and this they doe because there are no other vessels there wherein to put it. There are many sorts of *Tune*, among which some are verie good, although all seemed good vnto me, and hunger gaue mee no time to bee able to make choice.

Canagadi Indians.

The greatest part of all this Nation drinke raine water, gathered together in certaine Trenches. For although they haue Riuers there, neuertheless, because they neuer haue any certaine and setled place of abode, they haue no particular water knowne to them, or appointed place where to take it. Throughout the whole Countrie there are many great and goodly fences, and of excellent pasture for flockes and herds of cattle, and it would be a very fruitfull Countrie if it were manured, and inhabited by a people which had reason and knowledge. We saw no Mountaines in all that Countrie all the time we stayed there. Those *Indians* told vs, that further beyond there were another people, called *Cameni*, who liue toward the Coast, who had slaine all the men which came in the Boat of *Pignaloſa* and *Tellez*, and that they were all so weake and sicke, that although they killed them, they did not any way defend themselues, and so they made an end of them all, and they shewed vs their Garments and Weapons, and that the Barke remayned there on the other side. This is the fift Boat which made vp the account, because wee haue alreadie said, that the Sea carried away the Boat of the Gouernour, and that of the Auditour and the Friers was seene cast athwart the Coast, and *Esquimel* declared the end of them. The two wherein *Castiglio*, my selfe, and *Dorante* went, we haue alreadie said, that they were drowned at the Iland of *Malhado*.

Pastures.

Cameni Indians.

What became of their fift Boat.

§. III.

Their flight from the Indians *to others, wonderfull cures, backe and belly cares: their trauells thorow the Countrey, and hungry aduentures. Diuers peoples and their customes.*

AFter we were remoued from the place, about two daies iourney from them, wee recommended our selues vnto our Lord God, and went flying thence, hoping that although the time of the yeere were now late, and the Tune ended, yet with the fruits that remained in the fields, wee should be able to trauell a great part of the Countrie. And so going that first day with much feare that the *Indians* would haue followed vs, wee saw certaine smoakes, and going towards them after the euening we saw an *Indian*, who when hee saw vs fled without tarrying for vs. Whereupon we presently sent the *Negro* vnto him, who when he saw him alone staied for him. The *Negro* said vnto him, that we came to seeke out those people that made those smoakes, so he answered, that their horses were neere that place, and that hee would guide vs thither, and so we followed him and hee went running to giue notice of our comming. And about sun-set we saw the houses, and about two crosse-bow shoots before wee came thither, we found foure *Indians* who staied for vs and courteously entertained vs. Wee told them in the language of the *Mariames* that we came to seeke them, who seemed to be glad of our company, and so they brought vs to their houses, and placed *Dorante* and the *Negro* in the house of a Phisitian, and me and *Castiglio*, with certaine others. These people haue another language, and are called *Auanares*, and are they who vsed to bring the Bowes vnto those our first masters, and to con-

Auanares Indians.

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contract with them: and although they be of another nation and language, yet they vnderstand the language of them with whom we first abode: and they themselues also that selfe same day came into that place with their houses. The people presently offered vs much *Tune*, because they knew vs both that we had healed them.

The verie same night that we came thither, certaine *Indians* came into *Castiglio*, and told him that they had verie great paine in their heads, intreating him that he would heale them: and after he had blessed them and recommended them vnto God, in the verie same instant they said that they were well, and that the paine was gone. So they went into their houses and brought vs much *Tune*, and a piece of flesh of a wilde beast, which we knew not what it was. This being published among them, many other diseased people came that night that he should heale them, and euerie one of them brought a piece of Venison, and they brought so many that we knew not where to put them. We yeelded great thankes vnto God, who so continually euerie day increased his mercie and his grace towards vs. Thus when the cures were ended, they began to dance and sing their rimes, and make their sports vntill the next day at the rising of the Sunne, and this festiuall iollitie continued three daies by reason of our comming thither. Afterward we asked them of the Countrie beyond, and of the people and victualls that are found there, and they answered vs, that throughout all that Countrie there was much *Tune*, but that they were now ended and that we should find no people, because after they had gathered the *Tune*, euerie one returned to their houses, and that it was a verie cold Countrie, and verie few skinnes were found there.

Cures very wonderfull, yet true. *Benzo* (which trauelled fourteene yeeres in the *Indies* with the *Spaniards* from 1541.) saith that of six hundred of *Naruaez* his company scarsly ten returned, which at *Mexico* reported that they had by breathing on them cured the sicke raised to life three dead men, &c. But, saith hee, *Let their holines pardon me; I will easier beleeue that they killed foure liuing men then that they raised halfe one dead man to life.* Ben. l. 2. c. 13. I permit some of these relations, more for knowledge of the Countrey, then for credit of *Spanish* cures in the *Indies*, which you shal find in *Casas* of another nature. These here challenge no Diuine end to conuert the people to God, and therefore are not like to haue any diuine beginning, but are either falsly told, or falsly done, or falsly intended by the Father of falshood. And why may they not be ascribed to the Deuill, either as lies if neuer done, or if done, as de-

Seeing this, and considering that the Winter, and cold time of the yeere was come we agreed to winter with them. And at the end of fiue daies, after we came thither they departed thence, and went to seeke other *Tune*, where other people were of other Nations and diuers languages: and hauing trauelled fiue daies iourney with much hunger, because neither *Tune*, nor other fruits are found by the way, wee came to a Riuer and set vp our houses there, and after went to seeke certaine fruits of a tree like vnto a fig tree, and there being no high way in all those places, I staled longer then the rest in finding them, and so they returned to their houses, and I remained alone, and comming to seeke our men that night I had almost lost my selfe: and it pleased God that I found a tree vnder the which there was a fire, and at that fire I passed the cold of that night. In the morning I loaded my selfe with wood, and taking two fire brands I returned to seeke them, and went in this manner fiue daies, alwaies with my fire and burden of wood, because if my fire should haue beene extinguished in places where there had been no wood (as in many places there is none) I was to kindle other fire brands, and not to remaine without fire, because I had no other remedie against the cold, being as naked as euer I was borne. And in the night I had this remedie, that I went to any small plat of ground beset with trees neere vnto the Riuer, and there abode before the Sun went downe and made a trench in the ground and put much wood therein, which they vse to doe of certaine trees, whereof in those places there is great abundance, and put many sticks together of such as were falne and drie, and about that trench I made foure fiers a crosse, and thought to come from time to time to renew the fiers, and had made certaine bundels of straw, whereof in those places there is much, and therewith I couered me in that trench, and in this manner defended my selfe from the cold of the nights: and on a certaine night and the fire lite on the straw which couered mee while I was sleeping in the trench. So the fire began to burne verie fiercely, and although with much furie I leaped out, yet the token of the danger which I had passed remained in my haire. In all this time I eate not one morsell nor found any thing to eate, and going thus scorched and singed much bloud issued from my feet, and God vsed great mercie towardes mee that in all this time the North winde blew not, for otherwise there had beene no remedie but I must needs haue died. At the end of my fiue daies I came to a Riuer side where I found my *Indians*, who together with my *Christians* held me for dead, and alwaies thought that some viper had stung me. And when they found me they greatly reioyced to see me, but principally the *Christians*, who said vnto me, that vntill that time they had trauelled with much hunger, and for that cause they came not to seeke mee, and that night they gaue mee of the *Tune* which they had. The day following we departed thence, and went vnto the place where much *Tune* was, wherewith we all satisfied the great hunger which we had, and we *Christians* gaue many thankes vnto our Lord God, who left vs not without remedie.

The next day many *Indians* came to vs in the morning, and brought fiue sicke men with them, who were lame and verie ill, and they came to seeke *Castiglio* that he might heale them, and euery one of them that were diseased gaue him their Bowes and Arrowes, which he receiued, and at the setting of the Sun he blessed them, and recommended them vnto God, and wee all besought him with the best deuotion we could that he would giue them health, seeing wee saw there was no other remedie but to doe the best we could that those people might helpe vs, that so we might

uillish Arts to maintaine rapine and superstition, which are here mentioned the effects thereof? *Acosta* tells of a great miracle-worker in the *Indies*, a vicious man, and hanged for knaueries. This *Cowes-Head* the Author is also by *Schmidel* before, recorded for a bad man in his acts at the Riuer of *Plate*. I will conclude with S. *Aug. de vnit. Eccl. c. 16. Remoueantur isti, vel figmenta mendaciums hominum vel portenta fallacium spirituum &c.*

be able to get out of that miserable life: and his infinite goodnesse dealt so mercifully with vs, that when the morning came they all arose as sound and strong, as if they had neuer had any disease. This caused them much to wonder, and likewise to render infinite thankes vnto our Lord, and that we more entirely acknowledged his great goodnesse, and had assured hope that he would deliuer vs, and conduct vs vnto the place where we might better serue him. And for my selfe, I can boldly speake, that I alwaies had an assured trust in his mercie, that hee would raise me from that captiuitie, and so I alwaies said to my companions. When the *Indians* were gone, and carried away their sicke men healed, wee went thence, where the other abode eating *Tuna*, and these are called *Cacalcuches* and *Maticones*, who are of another language, and together with them were other called *Coaios* and *Susolas*, and on the other side others called *Ataios*, and they maintaine warres with the *Susolas*, and they shot euery day amongst them: and because in those places they talked of nothing else but of miracles which our Lord God wrought by our meanes, they came from many parts to seeke vs that we might heale them, and at the end of two daies wherein we staied there, certaine *Indians* of *Susolas* came vnto vs and intreated *Castiglio* that hee would goe to cure one that was wounded and other sicke men, saying, that among them there was one who was readie to die. *Castiglio* was a verie fearefull Physitian, especially when the cures were grieuous and dangerous, and beleeued that his sinnes would haue caused that all the cures should not succeed well. The *Indians* said vnto mee, that I should goe to heale them, because they wished mee well, and remembred that I had sometimes healed them where the nuts grew, and that for the same they had giuen me nuts and hides: and this was when I came to ioyne my selfe with the *Christians*; wherefore I agreed to goe with them, and *Dorante* and *Estevanico* went with me.

Cacalcuches. Maticones. Coaios. Susolas and *Ataios. Indians.*

And when we were come neere vnto the Cottages which they haue, I saw the sicke man whom we went to cure, who was now dead, and about him stood many people lamenting, and his house plucked downe, which among them is a signe that the master thereof is dead. So when I came I found his eyes distorted, and that he had no pulse, and had all the tokens of a dead man, and as it seemed to mee it was so, and *Dorante* affirmed the same vnto me. I tooke vp the matt which he had vpon him to couer him, and the best I could I prayed vnto the Lord, that he would giue mee grace to giue health vnto that sicke men, and to all the rest that had need thereof. And after I had blessed him and blowne vpon him many times, they brought me his Bow and gaue it vnto me, and a chest of *Tuna*; and brought me to cure many other who were ill at ease with giddinesse, and gaue me two other chests of *Tuna*, which I gaue vnto our *Indians* which came with vs, and hauing done this wee returned vnto our lodgings: and our *Indians* to whom I gaue the *Tuna* remained there, and at night returned to their houses also, and said, that hee who was then dead whom I had cured in their presence, arose vp and was well, and walked, and eate, and spoke with them; and so all the rest which I cured remained sound without any feuer, and very cheerfull. This caused very great admiration and feare, and throughout that whole Countrey they speake of nothing else. All they to whom this report went came to seeke vs, that we might heale them and blesse their children: and when the *Indians* who abode in the company of our men, who were the *Catalcuchi* were to go thence, they gaue vs all the *Tuna* that they had for their iourney, without leauing any for themselues, and gaue vs fire-stones of an handfull and an halfe in length with the which they cut, and among them they are held in great estimation. They intreated vs that we would remember them, and pray vnto God that they might alwaies be in health, and we promised them to doe it, and with this they went away the most contented men in the world, hauing giuen vs all the best of that which they had. So we staied with those *Indians Auanares* eight moneths, and this account we made by the Moone. In all this time many people came to seeke vs and said certainly that wee were the children of the Sunne. *Dorante* and the *Negro* vntill then had not healed any, but through the great importunitie of so many people which flocked together from all parts we became all Physitians, although for the assurance to vndertake euery cure I was most noted amongst them all, and we neuer vndertooke to cure any who told vs not that hee was sound and well: And they had so great confidence in vs, that they thought they could not be healed but by our hands, and they beleeued that as long as wee staied with them not one of them could die.

A dead man raised. If *Benzos* opinion be not rather to be embraced, that they killed the liuing; as this author also reports of his Country-men in the end of this booke.

Children of the Sunne.

All become Physitians.

They, and those who are further behind them, declared a very strange matter vnto vs, and by the signes which they made it appeared that it fell out fifteene or sixteene yeeres since; and this it is, they say, that a man went about that Countrey (which they call an *Euill thing*) which was of a little bodie and had a beard, although they could neuer cleerely see his countenance. And when he came to any house all their haire, who were within stood vpright and they trembled, and presently at the doore of the house appeared a flaming fire-brand, and then that man entred into the house and tooke from them whatsoeuer he would, and gaue them three great cuts vpon the flanke with a fire-stone very sharpe, as broad as a mans hand, and two handfulls long, and put his hand vpon those gashes and drew out their bowells, and cut them about an handfull, and that piece which he cut he put vpon the coales to broile: and presently gaue them three other cuts in one arme, and then smote them where he had lanced them, and disioynted their arme and a little

An euill thing or spirit of the *Indians.*

Diabolicall apparition.

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Little after returned to set it againe and put his hand vpon their wounds, and they say that they became suddenly whole. And that many times while they danced that *Euill thing* appeared among them, sometimes in the habite of a woman, and at another time like a man. And sometimes he tooke away an house or a cottage, and tooke it vp on high, and a little after fell downe againe together with it and gaue a great blow. Moreouer they told vs that they giue him meat, but he neuer eateth; and that they asked him whence he came, and in what part his house was; so he shewed them a cleft of the earth, and said that his house was vnder that. At these things which they told vs we laughed exceedingly, and made a iest thereof: who seeing wee beleeued it not they brought vs many of them whom that man had taken, and we saw the signes of the cuts which he had giuen them in the places which they had told vs. Wherefore wee said vnto them that he was a wicked man, and after the best manner we could we gaue them to vnderstand, that if they would beleeue in our Lord God, and become *Christians* as we were, they should not need to feare him, and that he durst not come to doe those things vnto them: and that they should hold it for a certaintie, that while wee staied in that Countrie hee durst not appeare there, with this they remained verie well contented.

Those *Indians* told vs that they had seene *Austriano* and *Figheros*, with others who abode on the coast beyond, whom we called those of the Fig-trees. All this Nation knew not the times by the Sunne nor Moone, nor keepe any account of the moneths or the yeere: but know the difference of the times according as the fruits come to bee ripe, and by the mouing of the fishes and appearing of the Stars, wherein they are verie wise and well experienced. With them we were alwaies well intreated, although we were faine to dig that which we had to eate with our owne hands, and carrie our burdens of water and wood. Their houses and sustenance are such as the other haue behinde them, although they haue much greater hunger, because they haue neither Maiz, mast, nor Nuts. We went alwayes in leather like them, and in the night wee couered our selues with Doere skins. Of eight moneths which we staied with them, in six of them we indured much hunger, because the fish was not yet found. And at the end of that time the *Tuna* began now to grow ripe, and before those *Indians* perceiued vs wee went further vnto the other, called *Maiaones*. *Their computation of times.* *Maiaones.*

They were one dayes iourney from thence, whither I and the *Negro* came, and at the end of three dayes I sent the *Negro* to bring *Dorantes* and *Castillio*, and when they came wee departed all together, with those *Indians*, who went to eate certaine small fruites of certaine trees, wherewith they maintaine themselues ten or twelue dayes, vntill the *Tuna* come. And there other *Indians* ioyne with them, called *Arbadaos*; and among them we found many sicke, weake, and swollen, in so much as we greatly marueiled thereat. And the *Indians* with whom wee came, returned againe the same way, and we said we would remaine with those other, for the which they signified that they were greatly displeased, and so we abode in the field with them, neere vnto those houses. And when they saw vs, they withdrew themselues, and after they had reasoned a little, euery one of them tooke one of vs by the hand, and brought vs to their houses. With them we indured greater hunger then with the other, so that in the whole day we eate but two handfuls of those fruits which were greene, and had so much iuice, that they burned our mouthes; and there being great scarcitie of water, they caused much thirst to them that eate them. And the famine being so great, wee were faine to buy two Hogges of them, and in exchange thereof, wee gaue certaine Nettes, and other things, and one skinne wherewith I couered mee. *Arbadaos.* *Hungers perambulation.*

I haue already said, that throughout all that Countrey we went naked, and not being accustomed vnto it before, we changed our skins twice in the yeare, after the manner of Serpents. And the Sunne and the weather caused many great sores to arise vpon the brests & shoulders of some of vs, which put vs to great paine, in respect of the burdens which wee carried, that were very heauie, and made the cords to stick in our armes. And the earth was so rough and iagged, that many times when we gathered wood, when we had made an end of digging, the blound ran down from many parts of our bodies, by reason of the thornes and briers wherewith wee met, which tore vs whersoeuer they touched vs. On a time I happened to seeke wood, and after it had drawne much bloud from me, I could not carrie it on my shoulder, nor traile it along the ground; when I found my selfe in this torment, I had no other remedy nor comfort, but to thinke on the passion of our Lord Iesus Christ, and of the bloud which he shed for me, and consider how much greater the torment might be, which hee suffered through the crowne of thornes, then that which I indured. I contracted with those *Indians*, making Combes, Bowes, Arrowes, and Nets for them. Wee also made Mats, which are things whereof they haue very great neede, and although they know how to make them, they will make none for seeking foode to eate the meane while, for when they set themselues to worke, they sustaine very great hunger. At other times they made me shaue skins, and make them thin, and the greatest prosperity that I had among them, was the day when they gaue mee any hide to shaue, because I shaued it much, and eate those shauings, and that sufficed me for two or three dayes; yet it hapned, both with these and the other whom we left behinde, that when they gaue vs a peece of flesh, wee eate it raw, *Apparell.*

for

for if wee had boiled it, the firſt of them that came would haue taken it, and eate it, wherefore wee thought it had not beene well done to put it to that danger; and beſides, wee were none of them that would bethinke our ſelues whether wee ſhould rather eate it ſodden or raw.

This was the life we led with theſe *Indians*, and that little ſuſtenance which we had we got it by ſmall trifles which we made with our hands. After we had eaten theſe Dogs, ſuppoſing that we had ſome little ſtrength to be able to goe further, we recommended our ſelues vnto our Lord God, that he would guide vs, and freed our ſelues from thoſe *Indians*, who brought vs vnto other of their language, who dwelt neere thereunto: and ſo as we went it rained all that day, and beſide that, we loſt the way, and were to ſtay at a very great Mountaine, where wee gathered many leaues of *Tune*, and bakd them that night in an Ouen which we had made, and put ſo much fire to them, that in the morning they were ready to be eaten, and after wee had eaten them, we recommended our ſelues vnto God, and went from thence, and found the way which we had loſt. And hauing paſſed the Mountaine, we found other houſes of the *Indians*, and being come thither, we ſaw two women and certaine little children that went on that Mountaine, who ſeeing vs were afraid, and fled to call their *Indians*, who went through the Mountaine. And being come, they ſtaid to behold vs behinde certaine trees, ſo wee called vnto them, who ranne with much feare, and after we had ſpoken vnto them, they told vs that they had indured great famine, and that neere vnto that place many of their houſes ſtood, and ſaid, that they would bring vs thither: and ſo that night we came where fiftie houſes were, and they were all amazed to behold vs, and ſtood aſtoniſhed through exceeding feare: and after they were ſomewhat comforted, they came neere vnto vs, and laid their hands vpon our faces and bodies, and after put them vpon their owne faces and bodies. So we ſtaied that night, and when the morning came, they brought the diſeaſed that were among them vnto vs, intreating vs that wee would bleſſe them, and gaue vs ſuch as they had to eate, which were the leaues of *Tune* and greene *Tune* roſted or dry, and for the good intertainment they gaue vs, and becauſe they parted with that little which they had willingly, and were contented to be without meate themſelues to giue it vnto vs, we abode with them certaine dayes. And while we thus ſtaied, other *Indians*, of them that were farre beyond, came thither, and when they would be gone, wee ſaid to the former *Indians*, that we would goe with the other, which much diſpleaſed them, and ſo we left them ſorrowing for our departure, at they which they conceiued great diſpleaſure.

Famines Diſcouerie.

Sine Cerere & Libero friget Venus.

From the Iland of *Malhado*, all the *Indians* which we ſaw in that Countrey, obſerue this for a common cuſtome, that if they perceiue their women to be great with childe, they lye not with them, vntill two yeares be paſſed, after the children be borne, to the which they giue ſucke, vntill they be of the age of twelue yeares, that they are now of vnderſtanding to prouide foode for themſelues. We demanded of them, for what reaſon they did thus nouriſh them, who anſwered vs, that they did it for the great famine which was in that Countrey: where, as wee our ſelues ſaw, they were faine to continue ſometimes three or foure dayes without eating, and therefore they let them ſucke, that in that time they might not dye through hunger, and if notwithſtanding ſome ſhould eſcape, they would become too delicate, and of little ſtrength. If by chance it happen that any among them be ſicke, they let them dye in thoſe fields, if he be not a childe, and all the reſt that cannot goe with them remaine there, but for a childe, or a brother of theirs, they lay them vpon their necke, and ſo they carry them.

The *Indians* let their children ſucke till the age of twelue yeares.

They haue all this cuſtome to be ſeperated from their wiues, when there is no agreement betweene them, and that both they and ſhe may marry againe with whom they pleaſe. And this is vſuall among the yonger ſort; but ſuch as haue children neuer forſake their wiues. And when they contend with other people, or be at variance one with another, they buffet and beate each other with cudgels vntill they be very weary, and then they part, and ſometimes the women part them, going betweene them, becauſe the men come not in to part them: and what choller or paſſion ſoeuer they haue, they fight not together with their Bowes and Arrowes. And after they haue buffetted and cudgelled each other, the braule being ended, they take their houſes and women, and goe to liue in the fields, ſeperated from the reſt, vntill their anger and choller be paſt: and when they are now pacified, it is not needefull that others interpoſe themſelues to make peace and friendſhip, becauſe in this manner they make it themſelues. And if they who be at variance haue no wiues, they goe to other of their neighbours, who although they were their enemies, receiue them courteouſly, and doe them much flattering kindneſſe, and giue them ſuch as they haue, ſo that when their choller is paſt, they returne rich vnto their people. They are all warlike people, and vſe as great ſubtilty to defend them from their enemies, as they would doe, if they had bin brought vp in *Italy*, and in continuall warre. The horſes are they that onely ouercome them, and which the *Indians* generally feare. They who are to fight with them, muſt be very wary that they know not that they be faint or cowardly, and while the battaile continueth, they are to vſe them the worſt they can. For if they perceiue them to be timerous or cowards, it is a people that very well knoweth the time to auenge themſelues, and to take courage and ſtrength from the feare of their enemies. When they are ſhot in the warres, and haue ſpent their

No deadly fights.

Vſe of Horſes.

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Arrowes, they returne euery one their way, without any purſuit of the enemy, although the one part be few, and the other many, and this is their cuſtome. They goe many times away ſhot cleane through with Arrowes, and dye not, if they touch not the bowels or heart, nay, they quickely heale them. They ſee and heare, and haue the ſharpeſt ſences, I thinke, of any men in the world. They are very well able to endure hunger, thirſt, and cold, as they who are more acquainted therewith then any other. Quicke ſenſes.

In the Iland of *Malhada* there are two languages: the one called *Canoques*, and the other *Han*. In the firme land, afront that Iland, are others called *Carruco*, who take their name from the Mountaines where they liue. Further, vpon the Sea coaſt are others, called *Deguenes*, and afront them, are others called *Mendica*. Further vpon the coaſt are the *Queuenes*, and afront theſe within the firme land are the *Marianes*, and going further vpon the coaſt are other, called *Guaicones*, and afront thoſe within the firme land the *Ieguazes*, at the end of them are other, called *Ataos*, and behinde them other called *Acubadaos*, and of theſe there are many along this banke further. Other called *Quitoles*, liue on the coaſt, and afront them within the firme land, are the *Auauares*, and with theſe the *Maliacones* vnite themſelues, and the *Cultalculebes*, and other called *Suſolus*, and other called *Comos*, and further vpon the coaſt abide the *Camoles*, and on the ſame coaſt beyond are others, whom we called them of the *Figtrees*. All theſe Nations haue habitations, and people, and diuers languages. Among them there is one language, in the which, when they ſay vnto men, looke there, they ſay *arraca*, and to the Dogs, they ſay *Xo:* and in all that Countrey they make themſelues drunke with a certaine ſmoake, and giue whatſoeuer they haue to get it. Names of the Nations of thoſe parts. *Malhada. Canoques. Carruco. Deguenes. Mendica. Queuenes. Marianes. Guaicones. Ieguazes. Ataios*, and *Acubadaes. Quiloles. Auauares*, and *Matiacones. Cultalculebes. Suſolus. Comos. Camoles. Pichj.*

Likewiſe they drinke another thing which they take from the leaues of trees, like vnto the Mulberry trees, and boile it in certaine veſſels on the fire, and after they haue boyled it, they fill the veſſels with water, and ſo keepe it ouer the fire, and when it hath beene twice boiled, they poure it out into certaine veſſels, and coole it with halfe a goord, and when it gathereth much ſome, they drinke it as hot as they are able to ſuffer it, and while they put it out of the veſſell, and vntill they drinke it, they ſtand crying, *who will drinke.* And when the women perceiue theſe exclamations, they preſently ſettle themſelues, not daring once to moue, although they finde that they are very well beloued. And if by chance any of them moue, they accompt her ſhameleſſe, and cudgell her, and with much choller and anger caſt away the water or drinke which they haue made: and if they haue drunke it, they vomit it out againe, which they doe very eaſily. The reaſon of this their cuſtome, they ſay is this, that if when they will drinke of that water, the women moue themſelues from the place where they heare that voyce, ſome bad thing might be put into that drinke, which entring into the body, in ſhort ſpace would cauſe them to dye. And all the time, that that water is boyled, the veſſell muſt be well cloſed and ſhut, and if peraduenture it ſhould ſtand vncouered, and any woman ſhould come and paſſe by, they caſt it away and drinke no more of it. It is of the colour of Saffron, and they drinke it three dayes without eating, and euery day they drinke one * *amphora*, and an halfe. And when the women haue their naturall purgation, they prouide no meate but for themſelues, becauſe no other perſon will eate of that which ſhe carrieth. In the time that I continued among them, I ſaw a moſt brutiſh and beaſtly cuſtome, to wit, a man who was married to another, and theſe be certaine effeminate and impotent men, who goe cloathed and attired like women, and performe the office of a woman; they carry no Bowes, but beare very great and waighty burdens: and among them we ſaw many ſuch effeminate perſons, as I haue ſaid, and they are of greater lims and taller then the other men. Fooliſh drinkrites. *A veſſell containing diuers gallons. Sodomy.

After we departed from them whom wee left lamenting, wee were with the other at their houſes, and were very well intertained of them, who brought vs their children that wee ſhould touch their hands, and ſo they gaue vs much Meale of *Meſquiquez*. Theſe *Meſquiquez* are certaine Fruits, which when they are on the Tree are very bitter, and are of the ſame ſort that the *Carobe* are, and they eate them with the earth, and with it they are very ſweet and good to eat. The manner how they prepare them is this; they make a Trench in the Earth of what depth they pleaſe, and after they haue caſt the fruit into this Trench they bruize and breake them very well, with a piece of wood as great as a mans legge, and three Cubits long, and after they are mingled with the earth of the Trench, they take other that are ſifted, and put them into the ſaid Trench, and returne to bruize them a little more, and after put them into a veſſell like vnto a basket, and caſt ſo much water thereon, as is ſufficient to couer it, that the water may riſe to the top, and hee that hath bruized them, taſteth them in his mouth, and if hee thinke they be not ſweet and pleaſant, he demandeth earth and mingleth it therewith. And this he doth vntill he find it ſweet, and ſo afterward they prepare themſelues to ſit round, and euery one putteth in his hand, and taketh as much as he can, and the ſeeds or kernels of thoſe Fruits, and ſo the huskes they caſt vpon certaine hides, and he that hath bruiſed them gathereth them together, and returneth afterward to put them all in a basket, and caſteth water vpon them, as at the firſt, and ſo they returne to wring out the iuyce and water ſo long as it will drop. And likewiſe they returne to put the ſeedes and huskes vpon the hide, and ſo in this manner they doe three or foure times *Meſquiquez* a fruite of *Indie.*

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times for euerie bruising: and they that are found at this banquet, which becauſe it is verie great, remaine with their bellies much puffed vp through the earth and water which they drinke; and of this the *Indians* made vs many great feaſts, and vſed much dancing and iollitie among themſelues, for ſo long time as we ſtaied there. And when we ſlept in the night, ſixe men watched with great diligence and care, at the doore of the cottage where we abode, not ceaſing to come in vnto ſome of vs till the Sunne aroſe.

And when we would depart from them, certaine women of other people who liued further beyond came thither, and being informed by them where their houſes were, wee departed towards thoſe parts, although they earneſtly entreated vs that we would not depart for that day, becauſe thoſe houſes were very farre from thence, and that there was no way to goe thither, and that the women who came were weary; but reſting themſelues vnto the next day, they would afterwards goe with vs, and conduct vs thither. But we diſpatched our ſelues thence, and went away; and a little after thoſe women who came thither with certaine others of the former *Indians*, came after vs: but there being no beaten way nor path, we preſently loſt our ſelues, and ſo went foure leagues, at the end whereof we came to drinke at a water, where wee found the women that followed vs, who told vs what great paines and trauaile they had taken to finde vs. Departing thence, and bringing thoſe women for our guides, wee paſſed a Riuer ſomewhat late, and the water tooke vs vp to the breſt, and might be as broad as that of *Sinill*, and it ranne very ſtrongly. And at the ſetting of the Sunne we came to an hundred houſes of the *Indians*, who before we came, went all forth to receiue vs with ſo vehement ſhouting and loud exclamation, that it was a fearefull thing, and gaue great blowes with their hands vpon their thighes, and brought hollow guords with ſtones within them, which is the inſtrument of their greateſt iollitie & ſport, and neuer vſe them but for their dancings, and for medicine; and none dare to take them in his hand but they. And they ſay that theſe guords haue vertue and come from heauen, becauſe they grow not in thoſe Countries, nor doe they know from whence they come, vnleſſe the Riuers bring them when they ouerflow. And the feare and confuſion of them was ſo great, that ſtriuing to come neereſt vnto vs and touch vs, they ſo thrunged vs, that it was a wonder that they had not killed vs: and not ſuffering vs to ſet our feete on the ground, they carried vs vnto their houſes, and bare vs ſo aboue ground, and the preſſe of people ſo thrunged vs, that we entred into the houſes which they had prepared for vs, and would not conſent that they ſhould make their feſtiuall ſports any more with vs for that night.

The *Toupin Braſilians* vſe ſuch Marakas. or Raeles, and haue like conceits thereof.

They paſſed all that night, among themſelues, in ſports and dancing, and the day following, at a good houre, they brought vs before all the people of that place, that we might touch and bleſſe them, as we had done to the reſt with whom we abode. And after this, they gaue many arrowes to the women of another people, who were come with them. The next day we departed thence, and all that people went with vs. And when we came to the other *Indians*, we were very well entertained, as of the other; and they gaue vs ſuch as they had, and Deere which they had killed that day. Among theſe *Indians* we ſaw a new cuſtome, to wit, that they who were firſt with vs, tooke the Bowes & Arrowes, Shooes and Crownes (if they had any) from them who came to vs to be healed, and after they had thus taken them away from them, they brought them before vs, that we ſhould heale them, and being healed, that we ſhould haue them, ſo they departed verie well contented, and ſaid that they were whole.

After this, we departed from them, and went vnto other, of whom we were verie courteouſly receiued, and they brought vs their diſeaſed perſons, who when we had bleſſed them, ſaid they were cured, and he that was not whole, beleeued that we could cure him, & for that which others told them whom we had healed, they made ſuch great ſport and dancing, that they ſuffered vs not to ſleepe. Departing from them, we went where many other houſes were, and where another new cuſtome began, to wit, that entertaining euery one of vs very well, they who came with vs, tooke all their ſubſtance from them, and rifled their houſes, without leauing them any kinde of thing, which diſpleaſed vs verie much, ſeeing them ſo ill vſed who ſo curteouſly receiued vs, and alſo fearing that leaſt this might be the occaſion of ſome alteration, or offence among them. But not being able to remedy the ſame, and chaſtiſe thoſe that did it, wee were then to ſuffer it, vntill we ſaw we had more authoritie among them. And ſo, euen they themſelues who loſt their wealth, ſeeing we were diſpleaſed, comforted vs, ſaying, that we ſhould not conceiue any diſpleaſure thereat, conſidering they were ſo well contented that they had ſeene vs, and that they had beſtowed their ſubſtance very well, and would hereafter be paid of others who were exceeding rich.

Blinde and ſquint-eyed people.

The next day they brought all their people before vs, the greateſt part whereof are ſquint-eyed, and other of the ſame people are blinde, whereat we greatly maruelled: they are well ſet, and of good behauiour, and whiter then all the reſt that we had ſeene vntill then. There we began to ſee Mountaines, which ſeemed to extend themſelues towards the Sea, from the North, and by the relation which the *Indians* made, I ſuppoſe they are fifteene leagues from the Sea. We departed thence with thoſe *Indians* towards the Mountaines, whereof I now ſpake. And they brought vs where ſome of their kindred were, for they would not bring vs but to their kinsfolk, becauſe

becauſe they were vnwilling that their enemies ſhould receiue ſo great a benefit, as they thought it was to ſee vs. And when wee were come thither, they that came with vs ſpoiled the other; who knowing the cuſtome had hid certaine things before we came thither. And after they had receiued vs with much ioy and gladneſſe: they tooke out that which they had hidden, and preſented it vnto vs, and they were Crownes, Magra, and certaine ſmall plates of Siluer. We, according to our cuſtome, gaue them all preſently to the *Indians* that came with vs, and hauing giuen vs that which they had, they began their dancing and feſtiuall iolliſtie, and ſent to call other people neere thereabouts, that they might come to ſee vs, who came all about the euening, and brought vs Garlands, Bowes, and other trifling things, which for the moſt part we diuided among thoſe other *Indians*. And the day following, we being deſirous to depart, they would all bring vs to their friends, who remained on the top of the Mountaines, ſaying that there are many houſes and people, that they would giue vs many things: but becauſe it was out of our way we would not goe thither, and therefore tooke our iourney through the plaine neere vnto the Mountaines, which we ſuppoſed ſhould not be very farre from the coaſt. All thoſe people are very poore and miſerable, wherefore we held it better to croſſe ouer the land, becauſe the people that dwelt further into the Countrey were better conditioned, and would vſe vs better, and we were certainely perſwaded, that we ſhould finde a more populous Countrey, and of better ſuſtenance. And laſtly, we therefore did it, becauſe croſſing ouer the land, we ſaw more particularities, ſo that if it ſhould pleaſe our Lord God to bring ſome of vs out of that Countrey, and to conduct vs into the land of the *Chriſtians*, wee might be able to make relation and report thereof.

The *Indians* ſeeing that we were determined to goe whither they would not, told vs, that there was neither people nor *Tune*, nor any other thing to eate, and therefore praied vs that we would ſtay there for that day, and ſo we did. Then they ſent two *Indians* to diſcouer the people that way which we purpoſed to goe, and the next day we departed, carrying many of them with vs, and the women went laden with water, and our authoritie was ſo great among them, that none durſt preſume to drinke without our leaue. Two of their Phiſicians gaue vs two Gourds, and from that time we afterward began to carry Gourds with vs, ioyning this ceremony to our authority, which among them is very great. They who accompanied vs, rifled the houſes: but the houſes being many, and they but few, they could not carry all away, but ſhould haue bin forced to haue loſt the halfe, and ſo we went thence through many Mountaines; entring within the land more then fiftie leagues, at the end whereof we found fortie houſes, and among other things which they gaue vs, *Andrea Dorante* had a thicke and great Bell of copper, with a viſage ingrauen in it, which they ſeemed greatly to eſteeme, ſaying that they had gotten it of their other neighbours: who being demanded whence they had it, they ſaid, that they brought it from the Northward, and that it was much worth, and greatly eſteemed there. Whereupon we knew, that from what place ſoeuer it came, the art of caſting and melting of mettals muſt needes be there. And hereupon we departed the day following, and croſſed ouer a Mountaine of ſix leagues; and the ſtones which were there, were of the ſcumme of Iron, and late in the euening we came to many houſes, ſeated on the ſide of a moſt pleaſant Riuer; and the Lords of the ſame came into the middle of the high way to receiue vs with their children in their armes, and gaue vs many ſmall plates of Siluer, and Antimonie made in powder, wherewith they annoint their faces, and gaue vs many garlands, and many mantles of the hides of Kine, and laded all them that came with vs with ſuch as they had: they eate *Tune*, and Pine apples.

Copper Bell ingrauen.

Plates of Plate

They told vs, that in the place where the Bell was made, were many plates of that mettall vnder ground, and that that Bell among them was a thing greatly eſteemed, and that houſes were built there, and wee ſuppoſed that it was the South Sea, for we alwayes knew that that Sea was alwayes richer then that of the North. So we departed from them, and went through ſo many ſorts of Nations, and diuers languages, that the memory of man is not able to reckon them, and one people alwayes ſpoyled the other, and ſo both they that loſt, and they who gained remained well contented. Through thoſe Valleyes where we paſſed, euery one of them carried a ſticke or cudgell of three handfuls long, and they went all in troopes, and if any Hare aroſe, whereof there are many in that Countrey, they turned her ſuddenly, and ſo many cudgels fell vpon her, that it was a marueilous matter to behold, and in this manner they made her goe from one to another, ſo that in my iudgement it was the goodlieſt hunting that could be imagined, becauſe ſometimes they came euen into their hands. And when wee ſetled our ſelues at night, we had ſo many of them that were giuen vs, that euery one of vs carried eight or ten, and ſuch as carried Bowes, appeared not among vs, but went apart through the Mountaines to ſeeke deere, and when they came in the euening, they brought fiue, or ſix for euery one of vs, and many Powles, and Quailes, and other hunting game; and finally, whatſoeuer all thoſe people tooke, they preſented before vs, not daring to touch or take thereof for themſelues, although they ſhould dye for hunger (becauſe they accuſtomed ſo to doe, ſince they came with vs) vnleſſe they had firſt bleſſed the ſame. The women carried many Mats, with the which they made

South Sea,

Pleaſant hunting.

houſes

houses for vs, to euery one apart, his seuerall house, and with all the people which hee knew.

When that was done, wee commanded them to bake those Deere and Hares, and whatsoeuer else they had taken; which is very quickly done in certaine ouens which they make for the same purpose. Then we first tooke a little of euery thing, and gaue the rest to the principall and chiefe men of the people to diuide it among them all: and when euery one had receiued his part, they came vnto vs that we should blow vpon it and blesse it, for otherwise they durst not presume to eate thereof. And many times we brought with vs three or foure thousand persons; whereupon it was a great trouble to vs to blow vpon and blesse the meate and drinke of euery one of them: and for euery other thing of theirs which they would doe they came to vs to aske leaue: whereby it may be considered how great the incumbrance and trouble was which wee endured. The women brought before vs the *Tune*, Frogs, Wormes, and whatsoeuer else they could get; because although they should bee readie to die through hunger, they would not haue eaten any thing which they had not receiued from our hands. And so going with them wee passed ouer a great Riuer which came from the North parts, and hauing trauelled ouer certaine Plaines of thirtie leagues, wee found many people who came very farre off to receiue vs, and came forth vnto the way whether wee were to passe, and receiued vs after the same manner that the other had done.

Superstitious sanctifying their meat.

From thence forward they obserued another manner of receiuing vs, as touching sacage and spoiling. For they that came forth into the high-way to bring vs any thing, were not spoiled of them who came with vs; but after we were entred into their houses, they of their owne accord offered vs whatsoeuer they had and the houses also. Wee gaue all vnto the chiefe and principall, to the intent that they should diuide it among them; and alwaies they who remained so spoiled followed vs, whereby the number of people greatly encreased through desire to bee satisfied of their losses. And they said vnto the rest that they should beware how they hide any thing, because it could not be but we should know it, and cause them all suddenly to die. The feare and frighting wherein they put them were so great, that the first daies they abode with vs they stood alwaies trembling, not presuming to speake, nor to lift vp their eyes to heauen. They guided vs aboue eightie leagues through a desert Countrey, and very rough mountaines which were so dry, that there was no hunting game there whereby to sustaine our great hunger. In the end hauing passed ouer a very great Riuer, where the water tooke vp to the brest, many of those who came with vs began to lament, through the exceeding great hunger and trauell which they had endured through those mountaines, which were extreame rough and troublesome to passe. The same people brought vs vnto certaine plaines, and at the end of those mountaines much people came farre off to receiue vs, as the former had done, and gaue so many garments afterward to them that were with vs, that because they could not carry them they left the halfe behinde them; so that we told those *Indians* that brought them, that they should take them againe that they might not be lost: who answered, that they would not doe it for any thing, because it was not their custome after they had once giuen a thing, to returne afterward to take it againe and so they suffered them to be lost.

Desert Countrey.

A riuer.

Many garments.

Foolish liberalitie.

Then we told them that we would goe toward the place where the Sunne went downe, who said that in those places the people were verie farre off. But wee commanded them to send to vnderstand that wee were comming, yet they excused themselues the best they could; saying, that they were their enemies, and that they were vnwilling we should goe thither; but not daring to doe contrarie to our will, they sent two women thither, whom both the one and the other their enemies kept prisoners. And they sent these, because the women may well negotiate with the men euen in the warres: and we followed them, and rested our selues in a place where wee determined to expect them, but they staied fiue daies before they returned, and the *Indians* said that they should find no people. Wee told them that they should bring vs toward the North, whereupon they gaue vs the same answere, that is to say, that in those places there were no people but farre off, and that there was nothing there to eate nor water to bee found; yet notwithstanding all this we continued obstinate, and said, that we would goe thither, although they alwaies excused themselues the best they could: and for this cause wee were angrie, so that one night I arose and went out to sleepe in the open fields apart from them, but they came presently where I was, and neuer slept all that night with much feare, and speaking vnto me they said that if we would not continue any longer angrie, they would bring vs whether we purposed to goe, although they were certainly assured to die by the way. Neuertheless wee alwaies fained that we were yet angrie, and because their feare was not remoued, a verie strange accident happened, that is to say, that on the verie same day many of them became sicke, and the day following eight of them died. Whereupon through all the Countrey where it was knowne, they were so afraid of vs that when they saw vs they seemed euen to die as it were for feare. So they besought vs that wee would not continue angrie any longer, and that wee would not cause any more of them to die, certainly perswading themselues that wee killed them onely with our will and desire. We prayed our Lord God that hee would relieue vs, and so all those that were sicke began

Women-eaters.

to

to recouer: at which time wee ſaw a verie maruellous thing, to wit, that the fathers, brethren, and wiues of them that died were exceedingly grieued to ſee them ſo ſicke, but after they were dead they ſhewed not any ſigne or token of ſorrow, nor did wee ſee them lament nor ſpeake one to the other, nor make any other ſigne, nor durſt they come neere vnto them vntill we commanded them to burie them: And for the ſpace of fifteene daies and more that we abode with them, we neuer ſaw one ſpeake to the other, nor any of their little children either laughed or cried, and if any of them lamented they carried them verie farre from thence: and with verie ſharpe teeth they gaſhed and cut them from the ſhoulders to the legs: ſo ſeeing their crueltie and being angrie thereat, I demanded why they did it, they anſwered me, that they did it to chaſtiſe them for lamenting before me. Al theſe feares which they haue of vs, they yet put into the heads of thoſe who came lately to know vs, becauſe they ſhould giue vs whatſoeuer they haue, for they know that we tooke nothing for our ſelues, but gaue euerie thing to them. This was the moſt obedient people, and beſt conditioned that we found in all that Countrie, and commonly they are well diſpoſed. Thoſe that were ſicke, being recouered and reſtored vnto health, and wee hauing continued there three daies, the women that we had ſent came vnto vs, and ſaid, that they had found verie few people, becauſe they were gone to the kine, which was now their time. Then we commanded them that were weake to remaine behinde, and thoſe that were well to come with vs: and that two daies iourney from thence thoſe two women ſhould goe with two of our men, to cauſe the people to come forth to the highwaies to receiue vs. And ſo the morning following all thoſe that were the luſtieſt departed with vs, and after three daies iourney wee ſetled our ſelues, and the day following *Alonſo del Caſtiglio* and *Eſtenanicco* the *Negro*, together with thoſe two women for their guides; and that who was their priſoner brought them vnto a Riuer which ranne within a mountaine where a people abode, among whom their father was; and theſe were the firſt houſes that wee ſaw, which had the forme and manner of true houſes.

No lamenting for the dead.

Houſes artificially built.

There *Caſtiglio* and *Eſtenanicco* arriued, and after they had ſpoken with thoſe *Indians*, at the end of three dayes *Caſtiglio* returned to the place where they left vs, and brought fiue or ſixe of thoſe *Indians*, and ſaid, That hee had found houſes of people and of artificiall building, and that the people eate pulſe and gourds, and that hee had ſeene Maiz there.

Mays.

There wee abode one day, and the next wee departed, they bringing vs with them to other built houſes, where wee did eate of the ſame food that they eate. And after from thence forth there was another cuſtome, that they who knew of our comming came not forth into the high-way to meete vs as the other did; but wee found them in their houſes, and they did nothing elſe for vs. And they were all ſitting, and all held their faces towards the wall, hanging downe their heads with their haire ouer their eyes, and all their clothes were hanged vp aloft in the middle of the houſe, and from thence forward they began to giue vs many mantles of hides, and they had not any thing which they gaue vs not. It is a Nation of the beſt and goodlieſt proportion of bodie that euer wee ſaw there, and of a more liuely ſpirit and agilitie, and that vnderſtood vs better, and anſwered vs to whatſoeuer wee demanded them, and wee call them, *The people of the Kine*, becauſe the greater part of the Kine which dye in thoſe Countries is neere thereabouts, and vp that Riuer more then fiftie leagues, they goe killing many. Theſe people goe all naked, after the manner of thoſe whom wee found firſt. The women goe couered with certaine Deere skinnes; and ſo doe ſome few men alſo, and particularly the aged, who are not ſeruiceable for the warres: It is a verie populous Countrey; and being demanded why it did not ſowe Maiz, they ſaid, They did it becauſe they would not leeſe that which they ſhould ſowe for two yeeres ſince their water failed, and the ſeaſons was ſo dry, that they all loſt the Maiz that they had ſowed, and that they could not by any meanes be aſſured to ſowe, vnleſſe firſt it had rained very much; and they prayed vs to ſpeake vnto the Heauens that they might ſend downe raine: they boyle pulſe in this manner. They fill a great pot halfe full with water, and put many of thoſe ſtones in the fire, which will quickely burne, and when they ſeeth them on fire they take them vp with certaine tongs of Wood, and caſt them into that water in the gourd vntill they make it boyle with that fire of thoſe ſtones; and when they perceiue that the water boyleth, they put in that which they haue to boyle, and all this time they doe nothing elſe but take out one ſtone and put in another fired redde hot to make the water boyle.

Other ſtrange behauiour.

Goodly people.

Old faſhion of boiling pulſe.

℣. IIII.

They come to the South Sea, and trauell through a plentifull Countrey, till they meet with Spaniards; *whose cruelty and manner of conuerting Sauages is related.*

They come to the South Sea.

WE went Westward on our iourny, & crossed ouer all the land vntil we came forth at the South Sea, and the feare wherein they had put vs of the great famine which we were to passe (as surely we passed it for seuenteen daies together, as they had told vs) was not able to diuert vs from our intended purpose. Throughout all that Countrey vp the Riuer, they gaue vs many Mantles of the hides of Kine, and wee did not eate of those their fruites, but our sustenance was euery day a piece of the fat of Deere, of the bigneſſe of a mans hand, which for this neceſſitie wee prouided alwaies to haue in a readineſſe, and so wee passed all those seuenteene daies iourney, and at the end of them wee crossed ouer the Riuer, and trauelled other seuenteene daies more to the West, through certaine plaines and verie great mountaines which are found there: and there wee met with a people; who the third part of the yeere eate no other thing saue the powder of straw, and because wee passed that way at that season of the yeere wee also were constrained to eate it, vntill hauing finished those daies iourney wee found setled houses, where there was great quantitie of Maiz, and of that and Meale they gaue vs enough, and Gourds, and Pulse, and Mantles of Bombasin Cotton, withall which we laded them whom wee had hyred there, who returned the most contented men in the world. Wee yeelded many thankes vnto God who had brought vs thither, where we found such plentie of sustenance.

Barren Countrey.

People which liue on the powder of straw.

A plentifull Countrey with houses and corne.

Among these houses they had some that were of earth, and all the rest were of mats and from thence wee passed more then an hundred leagues into the Countrey, and alwaies found setled houses and much sustenance of Maiz and Pulse: and they gaue vs many Deeres skinnes and Mantles of Bombasin Cotten, better then those of New *Spaine*; and gaue vs also many Garlands, and certaine Corall which grow in the South Sea, and many *Turkie* stones which come from toward the North. And finally they gaue vs whatsoeuer they had, and vnto *Dorante* they gaue Emeralds made into Arrow heads, and with those Arrowes they make their sports and festiuall iollitie, seeming to mee very good. I demanded of them whence they had them, who told me that they brought them from certaine very high mountaines, which lye towards the North, and that they got them by exchange and barter for quills and Parrats feathers, and there were many people there and very great houses. Among them wee saw the women more honourably and honestly vsed, then in any other part of *India* which wee had seene. They weare certaine smockes of Bombasin Cotton which reach to the knee and ouer them soft sleeues of certaine folds or plaits of Deere skinnes without haire which touch the ground, and they perfume them with certaine roots which make them very fine, and so they vse them very well: they are open before and tied together with silken strings. They goe shod with shooes. All this Nation came vnto vs, that we should touch and blesse them, and they were so importunate herein that they put vs to much trouble; because the sicke and the whole would all goe from vs blessed: and it often happened that of the women that came with vs; some were deliuered, and as soone as the children were borne they brought them vnto vs, that wee should touch and blesse them. They accompanied vs vntill they left vs with another Nation, and among all these people they held it for a certaintie that wee came from Heauen: because all the things which they haue not, and know not whence they come: they say, that they descend from Heauen. For so long time as wee went with them, wee trauelled all the day without eating vntill night, and wee eate so little that they were astonied to see it. They neuer knew vs wearie, and surely wee were so accustomed to trauell that we were neuer weary. We had great authoritie among them, and they held a reuerent opinion of vs, and to preserue the the same wee seldome spake vnto them. The *Negro* was the man that alwaies spoke and informed himselfe of the way that wee would goe by the direction of the people that were there, and touching euery other thing which we desired to know. We passed through diuers languages, and our Lord God fauoured vs withall, for they alwaies vnderstood vs and we vnderstood them, and if we demanded any thing of them by signes they answered vs as if they should haue spoken our language and wee theirs. For although we, vnderstood six languages, we could not thereby preuaile with all, because wee found more then a thousand differences of language. Throughout all these Countries they who haue warre among themselues, became suddenly friends that they might come vnto vs and receiue vs, and bring vs whatsoeuer they had.

Corall and Turkesses. Emeralds.

Women well vsed.

Desire of the *Spaniards* blessing.

Conceit that they came from heauen.

Many languages.

Il popolo de' Cuori.

Dorante had sixe hundred Deeres hearts giuen him, whereupon we called it the people of *Hearts*. Through this Countrey, entrie is made into many Prouinces which stand vpon the South Sea, and if they that desire to goe thither enter not from hence, they are lost, because the Coast

hath

hath no Maiz, so that they are faine to eate the powder of beetes, straw, and fish, which they take in the Sea with floates, because they haue no Canowes, nor any Boat. The women couer their priuities with herbs and straw: they are a people of little vnderstanding and miserable. We supposed that neere vnto the Coast by the way of those people which way wee went, it is more then a thousand leagues of a populous Countrey, and that they haue much prouision wherein they liue, for they sowe Pulse and Maiz three times in the yeere. We saw three sorts of Deere there, one as great as the biggest steeres of *Castiglia*. The houses of all those people for habitation are cottages. They haue poyson of a certaine kind of tree of the bignesse of an apple tree, and they doe no more but gather the fruit and anoint the Arrow therewith, and if they haue no fruit they breake of a bough, and with a certaine milkie iuyce which it hath they doe the same. There are many of these trees that are so poysonous, that if the leaues thereof be bruised and cast into any standing poole and not running water, all the Deere and whatsoeuer other beast that drinketh thereof suddenly burst asunder. Wee abode three daies with these people, and about one daies iourny from thence there was another people, where such showres of raine came powring downe vpon vs, that by reason the Riuer which was there was so growne we could not passe it, and so we continued there fifteene daies.

A thousand leagues of a populous Countrey.

Great Deere.

Poisonous tree

In this meane time, *Castiglio* saw the buckle of a *Spanish* girdle about an *Indians* necke, and an Iron key sewed together with it, which he tooke from him: then we demanded what that thing was, and they answered, that it came from heauen, and questioning further with them who brought them, they answered, that certaine men brought them which had beards like vnto vs, who came from heauen: and comming to that riuer with Horses, brought Lances and Swords, and two of them passed ouer with their Lances. Afterward, as cunningly as we could, we asked them what became of those men, so they answered vs, that they went to the Sea. Wee went through many Countries, and found them all dispeopled and not inhabited, for the countrie people went their way flying through the mountaines, not daring to keepe their houses nor labour for feare of the *Christians*. It greatly discontented vs, seeing the Countrie verie fruitfull and exceeding pleasant and full of water and goodly riuers, and to see them afterward so solitarie and scorched, and the people so feeble and weake fled away and all hid, and because they sowed not in so great famine, they maintained themselues onely with the barkes of trees and roots. Wee had our part of this famine in all this iourney, because they could not so well prouide for vs being so euilly hired, that it seemed they would all die. They brought vs couethings and beades, which they had hid for feare of the *Christians*, and gaue them vnto vs, and declared how at other times the *Christians* had entred and passed through that Countrie, and had destroied and burned the people, and carried halfe the men away, and all the women and little children, and that such as were able to escape out of their hands fled away. Wee seeing them so affrighted that they could not be secured to settle themselues in any place, and that they neither would nor could sowe nor labour and manure the Countrie: nay, they rather determined to suffer themselues to die, which seemed better vnto them, then to expect to bee so ill intreated with so great crueltie as they had beene vntill that time: and they seemed to bee greatly pleased with vs. Notwithstanding wee feared that being come vnto them who were vpon the Frontiers, and in warre with the *Christians* least they would vse vs cruelly, and make vs pay for that which the *Christians* had done vnto them. But God being pleased to conduct vs where they were, they began to feare and reuerence vs, as the former had done and somewhat more, whereat we did not a little maruell. Whereby it may cleerely appeare, that to allure this Nation to become *Christians*, and make them obedient to the Imperiall Maiestie, they ought to be gently and curteously vsed, and this is the onely and most certaine way of all other. They brought vs to a people that abode on the top of a mountaine, where they were faine to climbe vp by reason of the exceeding roughnesse of those places, where we found many people gathered together for feare of the *Christians*. These people receiued vs with great good will and kindnesse, and gaue vs whatsoeuer they had, and aboue two thousand burdens of Maiz, which wee gaue vnto those miserable and famished people who followed vs and conducted vs thither: and the day following wee dispatched foure Messengers through the Countrie, as we vsed to doe, to the intent that they should assemble and gather together as many people as they could, vnto one people which abode three daies iourney off from thence: and hauing done this, wee departed with all the people that were there, and alwaies found the tracks and tokens where the *Christians* had lodged, and about midday wee found our Messengers, who told vs that they could not meet with any people, because they were all gone and fled, and hidden in the mountaines, least the *Christians* should either kill them or make them slaues. And that the night before they had seene the *Christians*, they themselues standing behinde certaine trees to behold what they did, and they saw that they led certaine *Indians* in a Chaine tied.

Newes of *Spaniards*.

Countries dispeopled by *Spaniards*.

Gentlenesse fitter then crueltie.

From this place, which is called the Riuer of *Petutan*, vnto the Riuer where *Diego di Guzman* arriued, where we vnderstood of the *Christians*, may be some fourescore leagues: and from thence where the waters staied vs, twelue leagues: and from thence to them whom we called the people of the *Harts*, fiue leagues: and from thence to the South Sea, were twelue leagues. Throughout

R. Petutan.

De Cuoi.

Shewes of Gold.

out all that Countrey whereſoeuer wee found mountaines, wee ſaw great ſhew and tokens of Gold, Iron, Antimony, and Copper, and other mettalls. In thoſe places where the ſetled houſes are, in *Ianuary* it is very hot. From thence towards the South of the vnpeopled Country, vnto the North Sea, it is a very naughtie Countrey and poore, where wee endured incredible famine, and they who inhabit there are a moſt cruell people, and of a very euill nature and behauiour. The *Indians* that haue ſettled houſes, and the reſt alſo make no account of Gold, nor of Siluer, nor know for what purpoſe it may ſerue.

He ſpeaketh with his countrey-men.

I tooke the *Negro* and eleuen *Indians* with mee, and following the *Chriſtians* by the tracke which they found, I went to three places where they had lodged, and the firſt day I trauelled ten leagues, and in the morning following found foure *Chriſtian* Horſe-men, who wondered much to ſee me ſo ſtrangely attired, and in the company of the *Indians*, and when they ſaw me they made a ſtand, and beheld me a good ſpace, ſo much aſtoniſhed that they durſt not ſpeake to me nor aske mee any queſtion. Wherefore I ſpake vnto them, intreating them to bring me where there Captaine was; and ſo we went about halfe a league where *Diego de Alcaraz* abode, who was their Captaine, and after I had ſpoken vnto him, he told me that hee was in verie euill caſe, becauſe he had beene there many daies and could not take any *Indian*, and that he had not any prouiſion to depart, becauſe they began to be in great neceſſitie and famine there. I told him that *Dorante* and *Caſtiglio* were remaining behinde, who abode ten leagues from thence, with many people who had conducted vs: Whereupon he preſently ſent three Horſe-men, and fiftie *Indians* of thoſe they brought, and the *Negro* returned with them to guide them; but I remained there, and requeſted him to make me a teſtimoniall of the yeere, moneth, and day that I came into that place, and ſo he did. From this Riuer, vnto the people of the *Chriſtians* called Saint *Michael*, which pertaineth to the iuriſdiction of that Prouince, which they call *Nona Galitia*, are thirtie leagues.

After ſixe daies were paſt *Andrea Dorante*, and *Arlonzo del Caſtiglio* came vnto vs, with thoſe who came for them, and brought aboue ſixe hundred perſons with them, which were of them whom the *Chriſtians* had cauſed to climbe into the mountaines, and hide themſelues in the Countrey; and they, who vntill then were come with vs brought them, and accompanied with the *Chriſtians*, and they had diſpatched away all the other people which they had brought thither, and came where I was. *Alcaraz* intreated me that I would ſend to call the people who abode at the Riuer ſides, and had fled into the mountaines, and that they ſhould command them to bring them victualls although it were not needfull, becauſe of their owne accord they brought vs as much as they could, and ſo we preſently ſent out Meſſengers to call them: whereupon ſix hundred perſons came who brought vs all the Maiz they had, and they brought it in certaine pipkins couered with clay, wherein they had hid it vnder ground, and they brought vs whatſoeuer they had beſides: but wee would not take any thing ſaue victualls to eate, but gaue all the reſt to the *Chriſtians* to be diuided among them. And after this we had much controuerſie with them; becauſe they would haue made thoſe *Indians*, ſlaues whom wee brought with vs: And through this diſpleaſure and diſdaine at our departure, we left many *Turkiſh* Bowes which we brought, and many Budgees and Arrowes, and among them fiue of Emeraulds, which wee remembred not and ſo we loſt them. We gaue the *Chriſtians* many Mantles of the hides of Kine, and other things which we brought, and much adoe with the *Indians* to cauſe them to returne to their houſes, and to ſecure them and make them ſowe their Maiz. They were not willing to goe but with vs, vntill they left vs with other *Indians* as the cuſtome was: for otherwiſe if they returned without being left with others, they feared leaſt they ſhould die, and comming with vs they feared not the *Chriſtians* nor their Lances. This thing greatly diſpleaſed the *Chriſtians*, who cauſed an Interpreter to ſpeake vnto them in their owne language, and tell them that wee were the very ſame men, who for a long time had beene terrified and loſt, and were a people of meane condition and of ſmall force, and that they were Lords of the Countrey whom they were to ſerue. But the *Indians* made little no no account of all this, ſo that among themſelues they ſaid one to another that the *Chriſtians* lied, becauſe we came from the place where the Sunne riſeth, and the other *Chriſtians* from the place where the Sunne wents downe: and that wee healed the ſicke, they killed them that were ſound; and that wee went naked and without garments, they clothed on horſeback and with Lances, and that wee had not any couetous or inſatiable deſires: ſo that whatſoeuer was giuen vs, wee preſently gaue it vnto others and had nothing our ſelues: and the *Chriſtians* intend nothing elſe, but to rob and ſteale whatſoeuer they find and giue nothing to any: and after this manner thoſe *Indians* gaue their iudgement of vs, cenſuring all our actions cleane contrary to that which the *Chriſtians* doe. And thus they anſwered the *Chriſtians* in their language, and did the like to others in a language which was among them which we vnderſtood, and thoſe that vſe it wee call *Prinhaitu*: which wee had found vſed for aboue the ſpace of foure hundred leagues of the Countrey where we trauelled, ſo that we found no other language for the ſpace of foure hundred leagues and more. Finally, it was not poſſible for vs to make thoſe *Indians* beleeue that we were any of thoſe other *Chriſtians*; yet with much adoe, and through our perſwaſion we made them returne vnto their houſes, commanding them to reſt ſatisfied, and bring backe

Ingratefull cruelty.

Language of farre extent.

backe their people to sowe and till the ground, which because it was so desolate, became now full of woods, albeit of it owne nature surely, it were the best Countrey, and more fertile and abundant then any in all those *Indies*: for they sowe three times in the yeare, and haue many fruites, and many goodly Riuers, and other very good waters. There are many signes, and great tokens of Mines of Gold and Siluer. The people are very well conditioned, and serue the *Christians*, that are their friends, with a very good will: they are much better disposed then the people of *Mexico*; and finally, it wanteth nothing to make it an absolute Countrey. The *Indians* being dispatched, they told vs, that they would doe as much as they had commanded, and bring backe their people, if the *Christians* would suffer them to continue: whereupon I said and certainely affirmed, that if they did it not, the *Christians* should be much to blame. And after wee had sent them away, the *Christians* sent vs with an *Alcade*, named *Zebrero*, and with him three other *Christians*, whereby it appeareth how much the imaginations of men were deceiued, in that we went to seeke liberty among the *Christians*, and when wee had thought to haue found it, the quite contrary befell vs, and by seperating vs from the conuersation of the *Indians*, they brought vs through desolate Mountaines, because we should not see what they did, nor their euill vsage; for they had determined to goe to assault the *Indians*, whom wee sent away secured and in peace, and so they did as they imagined: they brought vs two dayes through those Mountaines, without water, and without any beaten way or path, insomuch as we thought we should haue burst for thirst, whereof seuen of our men died, & many friends which the *Christians* brought with them, could not come till the next day at noone, where we found water: and we trauailed with them about fiue and twenty leagues, at the end whereof, we came vnto a people of the *Indians*, which were in peace, and there the *Alcade*, who brought vs, left vs, and went three leagues further to a people called *Culiacan*, where *Melchior Diaz*, the Sergeant Maior, and Captaine of that Prouince abode. As soone as he knew of our comming, hee presently came the same night to finde vs out, and lamented much with vs, highly praising our Lord God, for his exceeding mercy towards vs, and spake vnto vs, and vsed vs very well, and in the behalfe of the Gouernour *Nunnez di Guzman*, and himselfe, offered vs whatsoeuer hee had or could procure, and began to speake much of the euill vsage wherewith *Alcarde* and the rest had vsed vs, so that we hold it for certaine, that if hee had bin there, that which was done vnto vs had not bin done, and that night being passed, we departed for *Anbacan*, and the Sergeant Maior intreated vs earnestly to stay there, and that wee might doe great seruice vnto our Lord God, and to your Maiestie, because the Countrie was desolate, without manuring, and altogether destroyed, and the *Indians* went and hid themselues, flying through the Mountaines, vnwilling to come and stay with their people, and that we should send to call them, and command them in the name of our Lord God, and of your Maiesty, to come and inhabit the Plain, and till the Countrie. But this seemed a troublesome matter vnto vs to put it in execution, because wee had not any of our *Indians*, or those who were wont to accompany vs, to helpe and further vs in such like offices. Notwithstanding we thought good to proue two of our *Indians* which we had prisoners there, who were of the same Country, and were found with the *Christians* when we first came among them, and saw the people that accompanied vs, & vnderstood by them the great authority & dominion which we had had throughout all those Countries, & the miraculous things which we had done in healing the diseased, and many other things, and with these we sent others of the same people which were also with them, to call the *Indians* that abode in the Mountains, & those of the riuer *Petatlan*, where we had found the *Christians*. And we willed them to tell them, that they should come vnto vs, because we would speake with them, and so secure them that went, and the other who should come, we gaue them a great gourd, of those which we caried in our hands, which was a principall token and speciall argument of great state, and with this they went and trauailed seuen daies, and in the end came and brought with them three Lords of those who had fled into the Mountaines, who were accompanied with fifteene men, who brought vs Crownes, Turkies, and plumes of Feathers: and the messengers told vs, that they had not found them of the Riuer from whence we came, because the *Christians* had caused them to flye into the Mountaines: So *Melchior Diaz* willed the Interpreter to speake vnto those *Indians* in our behalfe, and say vnto them, that *we were come from God, who abideth in heauen, and had trauailed through the world nine yeares, saying vnto all them that we found, that they should beleeue in God, and serue him, because he is Lord of all the things in the world, and that he giueth a reward and paiment vnto the good, and perpetuall punishment of hell fire vnto the wicked: and that when the good men dye, he taketh them vp into heauen, where afterwards they shall neuer dye any more, nor suffer hunger or cold, or endure any other necessitie; but finde there greater glory then can be imagined. And they who will not beleeue nor obay him, shall be throwne downe vnder the earth in the company of Diuels, into an exceeding huge fire which neuer shall haue end, but continually and eternally torment them. And besides that, if they will become* Christians, *and serue God after the manner that we will tell them, the* Christians *shall hold them for brethren, and vse them very well; and that we would command that they should not doe them any hurt, nor take their Countrie from them, but become their good friends. And if they would not doe it, the* Christians *should vse them very cruelly, and carry them for slaues into farre and remote Countries.* To this they

Sauage infidelity of *Christians* worse then Infidels and Sauages.

Manner of *Spanish* Preaching to the *Indians*.

they answered the Interpreter, that they would become very good *Christians*, and serue God. And demanding of them, whom they adored, and to whom they sacrificed, and of whom they asked water for their seede time, and health and safety for themselues; they answered, that they praied vnto a man which is in heauen, and being demanded how they called him, they said *Aguar*; and they beleeued that he created all the world, and the things therein. Then wee questioned them further, whence they knew that, who answered, that their Parents told them so, and that of a long time they vnderstood it, and knew that he sent water, and all other good things. So wee caused the Interpreter to tell them, that hee whom they called *Aguar*, we called *God*, and that they also should call him so, and serue him, and adore him, as we had appointed, and they should finde it very good for them. They answered, that they vnderstood all very well, and that they would doe so; wherefore wee commanded them to descend from the Mountaines, and that they should liue secure and in peace, and dwell in the Countrey, and build their houses, and among them make a house for God, and set a Crosse at the entry thereof, like vnto that which we had there: and when the *Christians* should come, they should goe to meete them with the Crosse, without Bowes and weapons, and conduct them to their houses, and giue them such as they had to eate, and so they would not doe them any harme, but would become their friends: and the Captaine gaue them some of the Mantles, and vsed them very well. So they departed, carrying with them the two *Indians*, which before were prisoners, whom we had sent as Messengers, and all this was done in the presence of the Secretary of the Gouernour, and many other witnesses. Now when the *Indians* were returned, all the rest of that Prouince, who were friends vnto the *Christians*, came to see vs, and brought vs Crownes and Feathers, and wee commanded them to make Churches, and set Crosses there, because vntill then they had not made them, and wee made them bring the children of the principall Seigniory to Baptise them: whereupon the Captaine presently made a vowe and promise vnto God, neither to make nor cause any entry to be made vpon them, nor take slaues or people in those Countries, which we had secured, and that he would obserue this, vntill your Maiesty or the Gouernour *Nunez di Guzman*, or the Viceroy in his name, should prouide better for the seruice of our Lord God, and of your Maiesty.

200. leagues betwixt the coast of the North and South Seas.

Christianity shall not be so difficult a matter to bring in, because two thousand leagues which we trauailed by land and Sea, and other ten moneths, after we came out of captiuitie, we trauailed without stay, and neuer found Sacrifices nor Idolatry. In this time, we crossed ouer from one Sea to another, and by the notice, which through much diligence wee procured to haue, from the one coast to the other, wee suppose it to be about two hundred leagues broad and more, and wee vnderstand that on the coast of the South Sea are Pearles and great riches, and that all the best and richest are neere there abouts. We abode in the towne of Saint *Michael*, vntill the fifteenth of the moneth of May, and the occasion why we staied there so long was this, because from thence vnto the Citie of *Compostella*, where the Gouernour *Nunez di Guzman* made his residence, it was 100. leagues distance; and the Country was not inhabited & enemy, and it was fit, that other people should go with vs to conduct vs, among whom there were forty horsemen, who accompanied vs about fortie leagues, and from thence forward, six *Christians* came with vs, who brought fiue hundred *Indian* slaues, and being come to *Compostella*, the Gouernour *Nunez* receiued vs very curteously, and gaue vs such as he had to cloath vs, which apparell for many dayes, I was not able to carry, and wee could not sleepe but on the ground. And so after tenne or twelue dayes wee departed for *Mexico*, and came thither on Saint *Iames* his euen, where the Viceroy and the Marquesse of the Valley kindely intreated vs, and gaue vs apparell and whatsoeuer they had.

He could not weare apparell for many daies nor sleepe on the ground. He also describeth his voiage to *Spaine*, which is here omitted.

To the Reader.

This Preface is contained more at large in the sixe first Chapters of the authors Booke: which being no part of *Florida* discouery, I haue here reduced to a Preface.

Captaine Soto *was the sonne of a Squire of* Xerez *of* Badaioz. *Hee went into the* Spanish Indies *when* Peter Arias *of* Auila *was Gouernour of the West* Indies: *And there he was without any thing else of his owne, saue his Sword and Target: and for his good qualities and valour,* Peter Arias *made him Captaine of a troope of horsemen, and by his commandment he went with* Fernando Pizarro *to the conquest of* Peru: *where (as many persons of credit reported, which were there present) as well at the taking of* Atabalipa, *Lord of* Peru, *as at the assault of the Citie of* Cusco, *and in all other places where they found resistance, whereseeuer he was present, he surpassed all other Captaines and principall persons. For which cause, besides his part of the treasure of* Atabalipa, *he had a good share: whereby in time hee gathered an hundred and fourescore thousand Duckets together, with that which fell to his part; which he brought into* Spaine: *whereof the Emperour borrowed a certaine part, which he repaied againe with* 60000. *Rials of Plate in the rent of the Silkes of* Granada, *and all the rest was deliuered him in the Contractation house of* Siuil. *From* Siuil *he went to the Court, and in the Court, there accompanied him* Iohn Danusco *of* Siuil, *and* Lewis Moscoso D'aluarado, Nunno de Touar, *and* Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo.

Except

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Except Iohn Danusco, *all the rest came with him from* Peru, *and euery one of them brought fourteene or fifteene thousand Duckets: all of them went well and costly apparelled. And although* Soto *of his owne nature was not liberall, yet because that was the first time that he was to shew himselfe in the Court, he spent franckly, and went accompanied with those which I haue named, and with his seruants, and many other which resorted vnto him. He married with* Donna Isabella de Bouadilla, *daughter of* Peter Arias *of* Auila, *Earle of* Punno en Rostro. *The Emperour made him the Gouernour of the Isle of* Cuba, *and Adelantado or President of* Florida; *with a title of Marquesse of certaine part of the lands that hee should conquer.*

None of those men prospered which were guilty of *Atabalipa* or *Atuhalpas* death: but by ciuill wars or otherwise were consumed. And so it happened to this *Soto.*

This History partly for better knowledge of those parts of the world and partly for the profit of Virginian *aduenturers, and discouerers, I haue here published far briefer then the author in* Portugese (*and out of him* Master Hakluyt) *had done; and added this to that of* Neruaz Cabeza de Vaca. *the Author of that, at this time had come to the Court to beg the conquest of* Florida: *but seeing* Don Ferdinando de Soto *had gotten it already, for his oathes sake, he said, he might tell nothing of that which they would know.* Soto *made him great offers: and being agreed to go with him, because he would not giue him money to pay for a Ship, which he had bought, they brake off, and he went for Gouernour to the Riuer of* Plate. *His kinsmen* Christopher de Spindola, *and* Baltatar de Gallegos *went with* Soto. *Those passed and were counted and enroled, which* Soto *liked and accepted of, and did accompany him into* Florida; *which were in all six hundred men. He had already bought seuen Ships, and had all necessary prouision aboord them.*

Cabeza de Vaca was the Gouernour of the Riuer of Plate.

600. men went with *Soto* into *Florida. Ynca* in his large story of this voiage containing six Books, saith he had 1000. men with him.

In the yeare of our Lord 1538. *in the moneth of Aprill, the Adelantado deliuered his Shippes to the Captaines which were to goe in them. They arriued at Saint* Iago *in* Cuba *on Whitsunday. The Citie of* Iago *hath eightie houses which are great and well contriued. The most part haue the wals made of boords, and are couered with thatch; it hath some houses builded with lime and stone, and couered with tiles. It hath great Orchards and many trees in them, differing from those of* Spaine: *there be Figge-trees which beare Figges as big as ones fist, yellow within, and of small taste; and other trees which beare fruite which they call Ananes, in making and bignesse like to a small Pineapple: it is a fruit very sweete in taste: the shel being taken away, the kernell is like a peece of fresh cheese. In the granges abroad in the Countrie there are other great Pineapples, which grow on low trees, and are like the* Aloetree: *they are of a very good smell and exceeding good taste. Other trees doe beare a fruite, which they call Mameis of the bignesse of Peaches. This the Islanders doe hold for the best fruit of the country. There is another fruit which they call Guayabas like Filberds, as bigge as figges. There are other trees as high as a tamarine, hauing one onely stocke without any bough, and the leaues as long as a casting dart: and the fruit is of the bignesse and fashion of a Cucumber, one bunch beareth twenty or thirty, and as they ripen the tree bendeth downwards with them: they are called in this Countrie Plantanos, and are of a good taste, and ripen after they be gathered, but those are the better which ripen vpon the tree it selfe: they beare fruit but once, and the tree being cut downe, there spring vp others out of the but, which beare fruit the next yeare. There is another fruit, whereby many people are sustained, and chiefly the slaues, which are called Batatas. These grow now in the Isle of* Terzera, *belonging to the Kingdome of* Portugall, *and they grow within the earth, and are like a fruit called Iname, they haue almost the taste of a Chestnut. The Bread of this countrie is also made of rootes which are like the Batatas. And the stocke whereon those rootes doe grow is like an Elder tree: they make their ground in little hillocks, and in each of them they thrust foure or fiue stakes; and they gather the rootes a yeare and an halfe after they set them. If any one, thinking it is a Batata or Potato root, chance to eate of it neuer so little, he is in great danger of death; which was seene by experience in a Soldier, which as soone as he had eaten a very little of one of those roots he died quickly. They peare these roots and stampe them, and squese them in a thing like a presse: the iuyce that commeth from them is of an euill smell. The Bread is of little taste and lesse substance. Of the fruits of* Spaine *there are Figs and Oranges, & they beare fruit all the yeare, because the soile is very ranke and fruitfull. In this Countrie are many good Horses, and there is greene grasse all the yeare. There be many wilde Oxen and Hogs, whereby the people of the Island is well furnished with flesh: Without the townes abroad in the Countrie are many fruits. And it happeneth sometimes that a* Christian *goeth out of the way and is lost fifteene or twenty daies, because of the many paths in the thicke groues that crosse to & fro made by the Oxen: and being thus lost, they sustaine themselues with fruits and palmitos: for there be many great groues of Palme trees through all the Island; they yeelde no other fruite that is of any profit. The Isle of* Cuba *is* 300. *leagues long from the East to the West, and is in some places* 30. *in others* 40. *leagues from North to South. It hath six townes of* Christians: *to wit, S.* Iago, Baracoa, Bayamo, Puerto de Principes, *S.* Espirito, *and* Hauana. *Euery one hath betweene thirty and forty houshold, except S.* Iago *and* Hauana, *which haue about sixtie or eightie houses. They haue Churches in each of them, and a Chaplen which confesseth them and saith Masse. In S.* Iago *is a Monasterie of Franciscan Friers: it hath but few Friers, and is well prouided of almes, because the Countrie is rich: The Church of S.* Iago *hath honest reuenew, and there is a Curat and Prebends and many Priests, as the Church of that Citie, which is the chiefe of all the Island. There is in this Countrie much Gold, and few slaues to get it: For many haue made away themselues, because of the* Christians *euill vsage of them in the Mines. A Steward of* Vasques Porcallo, *which was an inhabitour in that Island, vnderstanding that his slaues would make away themselues, stood for them with a cudgell in his hand at the place where they were to meete, and told them, that*

Great Figs.

Ananes.

Great Pine-apples.

* Erua baboſa.

Mameis, an excellent fruit.

Guayabas.

Plantanos.

Batatas, or Potatos.

The Cassaui root.

Store of good Horses.

The length and breadth of *Cuba.*

A wittie stratagem.

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that they could neither doe nor thinke any thing, that hee did not know before, and that hee came thither to kill himselfe with them, to the end, that if he had vsed them badly in this World, hee might vse them worse in the World to come: And this was a meane that they changed their purpose, and turned home againe to doe that which he commanded them.

CHAP. II.

FERDINANDO de SOTO *his Voyage to* Florida *and Discouerie of the Regions in that Continent: With the Trauels of the* Spaniards *foure yeeres together therein, and the accidents which befell them: written by a* Portugall *of the Company, and here contracted.*

§. I.

SOTOS *entrance into* Florida, *taking of* IOHN ORTIZ *one of* Naruaz *his company, comming to* Paracossy, *and diuers other* Caciques, *with accidents in the way.*

May 18. 1539. *Inca Garcilasso de la Vega* hath written a story of this voyage. He saith *Soto* had with him 950. souldiers, besides Mariners, which he had entertained for the conquest of *Florida*, and came with him in this Fleet from Saint *Lucars*. This Author hath but 600. The ships came vp to the Towne of *Vcita*.

ON Sunday the eighteenth of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1539. the *Adelantado* or President departed from *Hauana* in *Cuba* with his fleet, which were nine vessels, fiue great shippes, two Carauels, and two Brigantines: They sayled seuen dayes with a prosperous wind. The fiue and twentieth day of May, the day *de Pasca de Spiritu Santo* (which we call Whitson Sunday) they saw the Land of *Florida*; and because of the shoalds, they came to an anchor a league from the shoare. On Friday the thirtieth of May they landed in *Florida*, two leagues from a Towne of an *Indian* Lord, called *Vcita*. They set on Land two hundred and thirteene Horses, which they brought with them, to vnburden the ships, that they might draw the lesse water. He landed all his men, and only the Seamen remained in the ships, which in eight daies, going vp with the tide euerie day a little, brought them vp vnto the Towne. Assoone as the people were come on shore, he pitched his Campe on the Sea side, hard vpon the Bay which went vp vnto the Towne. And presently the Captaine Generall *Vasques Porcallo* with other seuen Horsemen foraged the Countrie halfe a league round about, and found sixe *Indians*, which resisted him with their Arrowes, which are the weapons which they vse to fight withall: The Horsemen killed two of them, and the other foure escaped; because the Countrie is cumbersome with Woods and Bogs, where the Horses stacke fast, and fell with their Riders, because they were weake with trauelling vpon the Sea. The same night following the Gouernour with an hundred men in the Brigantines lighted vpon a Towne, which he found without people, because, that assoone as the *Christians* had sight of Land, they were descried, and saw along the Coast many smokes, which the *Indians* had made to giue aduice the one to the other. The next day *Luys de Moscoso*, Master of the Campe set the men in order, the Horsemen in three Squadrons, the Vantgard, the *Batalion*, and the Rereward: and so they marched that day, and the day following, compassing great Creekes which came out of the Bay: They came to the Towne of *Vcita*, where the Gouernour was, on Sunday the first of Iune, being Trinitie Sunday. The Towne was of seuen or eight houses. The Lords house stood neere the shoare vpon a very high Mount, made by hand for strength. At another end of the Towne stood the Church, and on the top of it stood a fowle made of wood with gilded eies. Here we found some Pearles of small value, spoiled with the fire, which the *Indians* doe pierce and string them like Beads, and weare them about their neckes and hand-wrists, and they esteeme them very much. The houses were made of Timber, and couered with Palme leaues.

The Towne of *Vcita*.

Iune.

Some Pearles found.

From the Towne of *Vcita* the Gouernour sent *Alcalde Maior Baltasar de Gallegos* with fortie Horsemen and eightie Footmen into the Countrie to see if they could take any *Indians*: and the Captaine *Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo* another way with fiftie Footmen. *Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo* returned to the Campe with sixe men wounded, whereof one died, and brought the foure *Indian* women, which *Baltasar Gallegos* had taken in the Cabbins or Cottages. Two leagues from the Towne, comming into the plaine field, he espied ten or eleuen *Indians*, among whom was a *Christian*, which was naked and scorched with the Sunne, and had his armes razed after the manner of the *Indians*, and differed nothing at all from them. And assoone as the Horsemen saw them they

they ranne toward them. The *Indians* fled, and some of them hid themselues in a Wood, and they ouertooke two or three of them which were wounded: and the *Christian* seeing an Horseman runne vpon him with his Lance, began to crie out, Sirs, I am a *Christian*, slay mee not, nor these *Indians*, for they haue saued my life. And straight way hee called them, and put them out of feare, and they came forth of the Wood vnto them. The Horsemen tooke both the *Christian* and the *Indians* vp behind them; and toward night came into the Campe with much ioy: which thing being knowne by the Gouernour, and them that remained in the Campe, they were receiued with the like.

Iohn Ortiz liued 12. yeeres, among the *Floridians* of *Vcita* and *Mocoço*. *Nauaez.*

This *Christians* name was *Iohn Ortiz*, and hee was borne in *Seuill*, of Worshipfull Parentage. He was twelue yeeres in the hands of the *Indians*. He came into this Countrie with *Pamphilo de Narnaez*, and returned in the ships to the Iland of *Cuba*, where the Wife of the Gouernour *Pamphilo de Narnaez* was: and by his commandement with twentie or thirtie other in a Brigandine, returned backe againe to *Florida*: and comming to the Port in the sight of the Towne, on the shoare they saw a Cane sticking in the ground, and riuen at the top, and a Letter in it: and they beleeued that the Gouernour had left it there to giue aduertisement of himselfe, when hee resolued to goe vp into the Land: and they demanded it of foure or fiue *Indians*, which walked along the Sea shoare: and they bad them by signes to come on shoare for it: which against the will of the rest *Iohn Ortiz* and another did. And assoone as they were on the Land, from the houses of the Towne issued a great number of *Indians*, which compassed them about, and tooke them in a place where they could not flee: and the other which sought to defend himselfe, they presently killed vpon the place, and tooke *Iohn Ortiz* aliue, and carried him to *Vcita* their Lord. And those of the Brigandine sought not to land, but put themselues to Sea, and returned to the the Iland of *Cuba*. *Vcita* commanded to bind *Iohn Ortiz* hand and foot vpon foure stakes aloft vpon a raft, and to make a fire vnder him, that there he might bee burned: But a daughter of his desired him that he would not put him to death, alleaging, that one only *Christian* could do him neither hurt nor good, telling him, that it was more for his honour to keepe him as a Captiue. And *Vcita* granted her request, and commanded him to bee cured of his wounds: and assoone as he was whole, he gaue him the charge of the keeping of the Temple: because that by night the Wolues did carrie away the dead corpses out of the same: who commended himselfe to God and tooke vpon him the charge of his Temple. One night the Wolues gate from him the corpses of a little child, the Sonne of a principall *Indian*; and going after them he threw a Dart at one of the Wolues, and strooke him that carried away the corps; who feeling himselfe wounded, left it, and fell downe dead neere the place: and hee not woting what he had done, because it was night, went backe againe to the Temple: the morning being come, and finding not the bodie of the childe, he was very sad. Assoone as *Vcita* knew thereof, he resolued to put him to death; and sent by the track, which hee said the Wolues went, and found the bodie of the childe, and the Wolfe dead a little beyond: whereat *Vcita* was much contented with the *Christian*, and with the watch which hee kept in the Temple; and from thence forward esteemed him much. Three yeeres after he fell into his hands, there came another Lord called *Mocoço*, who dwelleth two daies iourney from the Port, and burned his Towne. *Vcita* fled to another Towne that he had in another Sea Port. Thus *Iohn Ortiz* lost his office and fauour that he had with him. These people being worshippers of the Deuill, are wont to offer vp vnto him the liues and blood of their *Indians* or of any other people they can come by: and they report, that when hee will haue them doe that Sacrifice vnto him, he speaketh with them, and telleth them that hee is athirst; and willeth them to sacrifice vnto him. *Iohn Ortiz* had notice by the Damosell that had deliuered him from the fire, how her father was determined to sacrifice him the day following, who willed him to flee to *Mocoço*: for she knew that he would vse him well: for she heard say, that he had asked for him, and said he would be glad to see him: and because he knew not the way, she went with him halfe a league out of the Towne by night, and set him in the way, and returned because she would not be discouered. *Iohn Ortiz* trauelled all that night, and by the morning came vnto a Riuer, which is in the Territorie of *Mocoço*. Three or foure *Indians* carried the newes to their Lord: who came forth a quarter of a league from the Towne to receiue him, and was very glad of him. He caused him presently to sweare according to the custome of the *Christians*, that he would not runne away from him to any other Lord: and promised him to entreate him very well; and that if at any time there came any *Christians* into that Countrie, he would freely let him goe, and giue him leaue to goe to them: and likewise tooke his oath to performe the same according to the *Indian* custome. He dwelt with *Mocoço* nine yeeres, with small hope of seeing any *Christians*. Assoone as our Gouernour arriued in *Florida*, it was knowne to *Mocoço*, and straightway he signified to *Iohn Ortiz*, that *Christians* were lodged in the Towne of *Vcita*. And *Mocoço* gaue him ten or eleuen principall *Indians* to beare him company: and as they went to the Port where the Gouernour was, they met with *Baltasar de Gallegos*, as I haue declared before. Assoone as hee was come to the Campe, the Gouernour commanded to giue him a suite of apparell, and very good Armour, and a faire Horse; and enquired of him, whether hee had notice of any Countrie where there was any Gold or Siluer? He answered, No, because hee neuer went

Mocoço dwelleth two dayes iournie from *Vcita*.

Humane Sacrifice.

A Riuer.

Wolues.

ten leagues compasse from the place where he dwelt: But that thirty leagues from thence dwelt an *Indian* Lord, which was called *Paracossi*, to whom *Mosaco* and *Voita*, with all the rest of that Coast payed Tribute, and that he peradventure might haue notice of some good Countrie: and that his Land was better then that of the Sea-coast, and more fruitfull and plentifull of Maiz. Whereof the Gouernour receiued great contentment: and said that hee desired no more then to find victuals, that he might goe into maine Land, for the Land of *Florida* was so large, that in one place or other there could not choose but bee some Countrie. The *Cacique Mosaco* came to the Port to visit the Gouernour.

Paracossi 30. leagues from *Puerto de Spiritu Santo.*

The Gouernour answered him, That although in freeing and sending him the *Christian*, he had preserued his honour and promise, yet he thanked him, and held it in such esteeme, as it had no comparison; and that he would alwayes hold him as his Brother, and would fauour him in all things to the vtmost of his power. Then he commanded a shirt to be giuen him, and other things wherewith the *Cacique* being very well contented, tooke his leaue of him, and departed to his owne Towne.

From the Port *de Spirito Santo* where the Gouernour lay, he sent the *Alcalde Maior Baltasar de Gallegos* with fiftie Horsemen, and thirtie or fortie Footmen to the Prouince of *Paracossi*, to view the disposition of the Countrie, and informe himselfe of the Land farther inward, and to send him word of such things as he found. Likewise he sent his ships backe to the Iland of *Cuba*, that they might returne within a certaine time with victuals. *Vasques Porcallo de Figueroa*, which went with the Gouernour as Captaine Generall, (whose principall intent was to send slaues from *Florida*, to the Iland of *Cuba*, where he had his goods and Mynes) hauing made some In-rodes, and seeing no *Indians* were to be got, because of the great Bogges and thicke Woods that were in the Countrie, considering the disposition of the same, determined to returne to *Cuba*. And though there was some difference betweene him and the Gouernour, whereupon they neither dealt nor conuersed together with good countenance, yet notwithstanding with louing words hee asked him leaue and departed from him. *Baltasar de Gallegos* came to the *Paracossi*: There came to him thirty *Indians* from the *Cacique*, and said, that their Lord was ill at ease, and therefore could not come, but that they came on his behalfe to see what he demanded. Hee asked them if they knew or had notice of any rich Country where there was Gold or Siluer. They told them they did: and that toward the West, there was a Prouince which was called *Cale*; and that others that inhabited other Countries had warre with the people of that Countrie, where the most part of the yeere was Summer, and that there was much Gold: and that when those their enemies came to make warre with them of *Cale*, these Inhabitants of *Cale* did weare hats of Gold, in manner of Head-pieces. *Baltasar de Gallegos*, seeing that the *Cacique* came not, thinking all that they said was fained, with intent that in the meane time they might set themselues in safetie, fearing, that if he did let them goe, they would returne no more, commanded the thirtie *Indians* to be chained, and sent word to the Gouernour by eight Horsemen what had passed whereof the Gouernour with all that were with him, at the Port *de Spirito Santo* receiued great comfort, supposing that that which the *Indians* reported, might be true. Hee left Captaine *Calderan* at the Port, with thirtie Horsemen and fiftie Footmen, with prouision for two yeeres, and himselfe with all the rest marched into the mayne Land, and came to the *Paracossi*, at whose Towne *Baltasar de Gallegos* was: and from thence with all his men tooke the way to *Cale*. He passed by a little Towne called *Acela*; and came to another called *Tocaste*: and from thence he went before with thirtie Horsemen, and fiftie Footmen toward *Cale*. And passing by a Towne, whence the people were fled, they saw *Indians* a little from thence in a Lake; to whom the Interpretor spake. They came vnto them and gaue them an *Indian* for a guide: and hee came to a River with a great current; and vpon a Tree, which was in the midst of it, was made a Bridge, whereon the men passed: the Horses swamme ouer by a Hawser, that they were pulled by from the other side: for one which they drowe in at the first without it, was drowned. From thence the Gouernour sent two Horsemen to his people that were behind, to make haste after him; because the way grew long, and their victuals short. He came to *Cale*, and found the Towne without people. He tooke three *Indians* which were Spies, and tarried there for his people that came after, which were sore vexed with hunger and euill wayes, because the Countrie was very barren of Maiz, low, and full of water, bogs, and thicke woods; and the victuals, which they brought with them from the Port *de Spirito Santo*, were spent. Whersoeuer any Towne was found, there were some Beetes, and he that came first gathered them, and sodden with water and salt, did eate them without any other thing: and such as could not get them, gathered the stalkes of Maiz and eate them, which because they were young had no Maiz in them. When they came to the River which the Gouernour had passed, they found Palmitos vpon low Palme-trees like those of *Andaluzia*. There they met with the two Horsemen which the Gouernour sent vnto them, and they brought newes that in *Cale* there was plentie of Maiz; at which newes they all reioyced. Assoone as they came to *Cale*, the Gouernour commanded them to gather all the Maiz that was ripe in the field, which was sufficient for three moneths. At the gathering of it the *Indians* killed three *Christians*, and one of them which were taken told

Paracossi.

Cale.

Acela.
Tocaste.
Another Towne.
A Lake.
A swift Riuer.

Cale.

Boggie countrey.

the

the Gouernour, that within ſeuen dayes iourney, there was a very great Prouince, and plentifull of Maiz, which was called *Apalache*. And preſently hee departed from *Cale* with fiftie Horſemen, and ſixtie Footmen. He left the Maſter of the Campe *Luys de Moſcoſo* with all the reſt of the people there, with charge that he ſhould not depart thence vntill he had word from him. And becauſe hitherto none had gotten any ſlaues, the bread that euery one was to eate, hee was faine himſelfe to beate in a Morter made in a piece of Timber with a Peſtle, and ſome of them did ſift the flowre through their ſhirts of Mayle. They baked their bread vpon certaine Tile-ſhares which they ſet ouer the fire. It is ſo troubleſome to grinde their Maiz, that there were many that would rather not eat it, then grind it: and did eate the Maiz parched and ſodden.

Trauelling Souldiers ſhifts for bread.

The eleuenth day of Auguſt 1539. the Gouernour departed from *Cale*; hee lodged in a little Towne called *Ytara*, and the next day in another called *Potano*, and the third day at *Vtinama*, and came to another Towne, which they named the Towne of *Euill peace*; becauſe an *Indian* came in peace, ſaying, That he was the *Cacique*, and that he with his people would ſerue the Gouernour, and that if he would ſet free eight and twentie perſons, men and women, which his men had taken the night before, he would command prouiſion to be brought him, and would giue him a guide to inſtruct him in his way: The Gouernour commanded them to be ſet at libertie, and to keepe him in ſafegard. The next day in the morning there came many *Indians*, and ſet themſelues round about the Towne neere to a Wood. The *Indian* wiſhed them to carrie him neere them; and that he would ſpeake vnto them, and aſſure them, and that they would doe whatſoeuer he commanded them. And when he ſaw himſelfe neere vnto them he brake from them, and ranne away ſo ſwiftly from the *Chriſtians*, that there was none that could ouertake him, and all of them fled into the Woods. The Gouernour commanded to looſe a Greyhound, which was alreadie fleſhed on them, which paſſing by many other *Indians*, caught the counterfeit *Cacique*, which had eſcaped from the *Chriſtians*, and held him till they came to take him. From thence the Gouernour lodged at a Towne called *Cholupaha*: and becauſe it had ſtore of Maiz in it, they named it *Villa fuerte*. Beyond the ſame there was a Riuer, on which he made a Bridge of Timber, and trauelled two daies through a deſert. The ſeuenteenth of Auguſt, he came to *Caliquen*, where hee was informed of the Prouince of *Apalache*: They told him that *Pamphilo de Naruaez* had beene there, and that there he tooke ſhipping, becauſe he could find no way to goe forward: That there was none other Towne at all; but that on both ſides was all water. The whole company were verie ſad for theſe newes; and counſelled the Gouernour to goe backe to the Port *de Spirito Santo*, and to abandon the Countrie of *Florida*, leſt he ſhould periſh as *Naruaez* had done: declaring, that if he went forward, he could not returne backe when he would, and that the *Indians* would gather vp that ſmall quantitie of Maiz which was left. Whereunto the Gouernour anſwered, that he would not goe backe, till he had ſeene with his eies that which they reported: ſaying, that he could not beleeue it, and that wee ſhould be put out of doubt before it were long. And he ſent to *Luys de Moſcoſo* to come preſently from *Cale*, and that hee carried for him heere. *Luys de Moſcoſo* and many others thought, that from *Apalache* they ſhould returne backe; and in *Cale* they buried their Iron Tooles, and diuers other things. They came to *Caliquen* with great trouble; becauſe the Countrie, which the Gouernour had paſſed by, was ſpoiled and deſtitute of Maiz. After all the people were come together, he commanded a Bridge to bee made ouer a Riuer that paſſed neere the Towne. Hee departed from *Caliquen* the tenth of September, and carried the *Cacique* with him. After hee had trauelled three dayes, there came *Indians* peaceably, to viſit their Lord, and euery day met vs on the way playing vpon Flutes; which is a token that they vſe, that men may know that they come in peace. They ſaid, that in our way before was there a *Cacique*, whoſe name was *Vzachil*, a Kinſman of the *Cacique* of *Caliquen* their Lord, wayting for him with many preſents, and they deſired the Gouernour that hee would looſe the *Cacique*. But hee would not, fearing that they would riſe, and would not giue him any Guides, and ſent them away from day to day with good wordes. He trauelled fiue daies, paſſed by ſome ſmall Townes, came to a Towne called *Napetuca*, the fifteenth day of September. There were thirtie or fortie *Indians* ſlaine. The reſt fled to two very great Lakes, that were ſomewhat diſtant the one from the other: There they were ſwimming, and the *Chriſtians* round about them. The Calieuermen and Croſſe-bowmen ſhot at them from the banke; but the diſtance being great, and ſhooting afarre off, they did them no hurt. The Gouernour commanded that the ſame night they ſhould compaſſe one of the Lakes, becauſe they were ſo great, that there were not men enow to compaſſe them both: beeing beſet, aſſoone as night ſhut in, the *Indians*, with determination to runne away, came ſwimming very ſoftly to the banke; and to hide themſelues, they put a water Lilly leafe on their heads. The Horſemen aſſoone as they perceiued it to ſtirre, ranne into the water to the Horſes breaſts, and the *Indians* fled againe into the Lake. So this night paſſed without any reſt on both ſides. *Iohn Ortiz* perſwaded them, that ſeeing they could not eſcape, they ſhould yeeld themſelues to the Gouernour: which they did, enforced thereunto by the coldneſſe of the water; and one by one, hee firſt whom the cold did firſt ouercome, cried to *Iohn Ortiz*, deſiring that they would not kill him, for he came to put himſelfe into the hands of the Gouernour. By the morning watch they made an end of yeelding

Ytara. *Potano.* *Vtinama.* The Towne of *Euill peace.*

Greyhound catcheth the fugitiue.

Cholupaha. A Riuer. *Caliquen.*

A Riuer.

Some ſmall Townes. *Napetuca.* Two very great Lakes.

Indian ſubtletie.

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ding themselues: only twelue principall men, being more honourable and valorous then the rest, resolued rather to die then to come into his hands. And the *Indians* of *Paracossi*, which were now loosed out of chaines, went swimming to them, and pulled them out by the haire of their heads, and they were all put in chaines, and the next day were diuided among the *Christians* for their seruice. Being thus in captiuitie, they determined to rebell; and gaue in charge to an *Indian*, which was Interpretor, and held to bee valiant, that assoone as the Gouernour did come to speake with him, hee should cast his hands about his necke, and choake him: Who, when he saw opportunitie, laid hands on the Gouernor, and before he cast his hands about his necke, he gaue him such a blow on the nostrils, that he made them gush out with bloud, and presently all the rest did rise. He that could get any weapons at hand or the handle wher with he did grind the Maiz, fought to kill his Master, or the first hee met before him: and hee that could get a Lance or Sword at hand, bestirred himselfe in such sort with it, as though he had vsed it all his life time. One *Indian* in the Market place enclosed betweene fifteene or twentie Footmen, made away like a Bull with a Sword in his hand, till certaine Halbardiers of the Gouernor came, which killed him. Another gat vp with a Lance to a loft made of Canes, which they build to keepe their Maiz in, which they call a *Barbacoa*, and there he made such a noyse, as though tenne men had beene there defending the doore: they slue him with a partisan. The *Indians* were in all about two hundred men. They were all subdued. And some of the youngest the Gouernour gaue to them which had good chaines, and were carefull to looke to them that they gat not away. All the rest he commanded to be put to death, being tyed to a stake in the midst of the Market place: and the *Indians* of the *Paracossi* did shoot them to death.

A new Conspiracie.

Two hundred *Indians* taken.

The Gouernour departed from *Napetuca* the three and twentieth of September: hee lodged by a Riuer, where two *Indians* brought him a Bucke from the *Cacique* of *Vzachil*. The next day he passed by a great Towne called *Hapalaya*; and lodged at *Vzachil*, and found no people in it, because they durst not tarrie for the notice the *Indians* had of the slaughter of *Napetuca*. Hee found in that Towne great store of Maiz, *French* Beanes and * Pompions, which is their food, and that wherewith the *Christians* there sustained themselues. The Maiz is like course Millet, and the Pompions are better and more sauourie then those of *Spaine*. From thence the Gouernour sent two Captaines each a sundry way to seeke the *Indians*. They tooke an hundred men and women: of which aswell there as in other places where they made any inrodes, the Captain chose one or two for the Gouernour, and diuided the rest to himselfe, and those that went with him. They led these *Indians* in chaines with Iron collars about their neckes; and they serued to carrie their stuffe, and to grind their Maiz, and for other seruices that such Captiues could doe. Sometimes it happened that going for wood or Maiz with them, they killed the *Christian* that led them, and ranne away with the chaine: others filed their chaines by night with a piece of stone, wherewith they cut them, and vse it in stead of Iron. Those that were perceiued paid for themselues, and for the rest, because they should not dare to doe the like another time. The women and young boyes, when they were once an hundred leagues from their Countrie, and had forgotten things, they let goe loose, and so they serued; and in a very short space they vnderstood the Language of the *Christians*. From *Vzachil* the Gouernour departed toward *Apalache*, and in two dayes iourney, he came to a Towne called *Axille*, and from thence forward the *Indians* were careleſſe, because they had as yet no notice of the *Christians*. The next day in the morning, the first of October, he departed from thence, and commanded a Bridge to be made ouer a Riuer which he was to passe.

A Riuer.

Hapalaya a great Towne.
Vzachil.
* *Aboberas.*

Axille.

A Riuer.

The Gouernour passed vpon Wednesday, which was Saint *Francis* his day, and lodged at a Towne which was called *Vitachuco*, subiect to *Apalache*: he found it burning; for the *Indians* had set it on fire. From thence forward the Countrie was much inhabited, and had great store of Maiz. He passed by many Granges like Hamlets. On Sunday the fiue and twentieth of October, he came to a Towne, which is called *Vzela*, and vpon Tuesday to *Anaica Apalache*, where the Lord of all that Countrie and Prouince was resident: in which Towne the Campemaster, whose office it is to quarter out and lodge men, did lodge all the company round about within a league and halfe a league of it. There were other Townes, where was great store of Maiz, Pompions, *French* Beanes, and Plummes of the Countrie, which are better then those of *Spaine*, and they grow in the fields without plantin. The victuals that were thought necessary to passe the Winter, were gathered from these Townes to *Anaica Apalache*. The Gouernour was informed, that the Sea was ten leagues from thence. He presently sent a Captaine thither with Horsemen and Footmen: And sixe leagues on the way he found a Towne, which was named *Ochete*, and so came to the Sea, and found a great tree felled, and cut it into peeces, with stakes set vp like mangers, and saw the skuls of horses. He returned with this newes. And that was held for certaine, which was reported of *Pamphilo de Narnaez*, that there he had builded the barkes wherewith he went out of the land of *Florida*, and was cast away at Sea. Presently the Gouernour sent *Iohn Danusco* with thirty horsemen to the port *de Spiritu Santo*, where *Calderan* was, with order that they should abandon the port, and all of them come to *Apalache*. He departed on Saturday the seuenteenth of Nouember. In *Vzachil* and other townes that stood in the way hee found

Vitachuco.

October 25.
Vzela.
Anaica Apalache.

Apalache within ten leagues of the Sea.
Ochete.
The Sea.

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found great ſtore of people already careleſſe. He would take none of the *Indians* for not hindring himſelfe, becauſe it behooued him to giue them no leaſure to gather themſelues together: Hee paſſed through the Townes by night, and reſted without the Townes three or foure houres. In ten daies he came to the Port *de Spirito Santo*. Hee carried with him twenty *Indian* women, which he tooke in *Ytara*, and *Potano*, neere vnto *Cale*, and ſent them to *Donna Iſabella*, in the two Carauels, which he ſent from the Port *de Spirito Santo* to *Cuba*. And he carried all the footemen in the Brigandines, and coaſting along the ſhoare, came to *Apalache*. And *Calderan* with the horſemen, and ſome crosbow-men on foote went by land; and in ſome places the *Indians* ſet vpon him, and wounded ſome of his men. As ſoone as he came to *Apalache*, preſently the Gouernour ſent ſawed plankes and ſpikes to the Sea ſide, wherewith was made a Piragna or Barke, wherein were embarked thirty men well armed, which went out of the Bay to the Sea, looking for the Brigandines. Sometimes they fought with the *Indians*, which paſſed along the harbour in their Canoes. Vpon Saturday, the twenty nine of Nouember, there came an *Indian* through the Watch vndiſcouered, and ſet the Towne on fire, and with the great winde that blew, two parts of it were conſumed in a ſhort time. On Sunday the twenty eight of December came *Iohn Danuſco* with the Brigandines. The Gouernor ſent *Franciſco Maldonado*, a Captain off ootmen, with fiftie men to diſcouer the coaſt Weſtward, & to ſeeke ſome Port, becauſe he had determined to goe by land, & diſcouer that part. That day there went out eight horſemen by commandement of the Gouernour into the field, two leagues about the Towne to ſeeke *Indians*: for they were now ſo emboldened, that within two croſſebow ſhot of the campe, they came & ſlew men. They found two men and a woman gathering *French* Beanes: the men, though they might haue fled, yet becauſe they would not leaue the woman, which was one of their wiues, they reſolued to die fighting: and before they were ſlaine, they wounded three horſes, whereof one died within a few daies after. *Calderan* going with his men by the Sea-coaſt, from a wood that was neere the place, the *Indians* ſet vpon him, and made him forſake his way, and many of them that went with him forſooke ſome neceſſary victuals, which they carried with them. Three or foure dayes after the limited time giuen by the Gouernor to *Maldonado* for his going and comming, being already determined and reſolued, if within eight dayes he did not come, to tarry no longer for him, hee came, and brought an *Indian* from a Prouince, which was called *Ochus*, ſixty leagues Weſtward from *Apalache*, where he had found a good Port of good depth and defenſe againſt weather. And becauſe the Gouernor hoped to finde a good Countrie forward, he was very well contented. And he ſent *Maldonado* for victuals to *Hauana*, with order, that hee would tarrie for him at the Port of *Ochus*, which he had diſcouered, for he would goe ſeeke it by land: and if he ſhould chance to ſtay, and not come thither that ſummer, that then he ſhould returne to *Hauana*, & ſhould come againe the next ſummer after, and tarry for him at that Port: for he ſaid he would doe none other thing but goe to ſeeke *Ochus*. *Franciſco Maldonado* departed, and in his place for Captaine of the footemen remained *Iohn de Guzman*. Of thoſe *Indians* which were taken in *Napetuca*, the treaſurer *Iohn Gaytan* had a yong man, which ſaid, that he was not of that Countrie, but of another far off toward the Sunne-riſing, and that it was long ſince he had trauelled to ſee Countries; and that his Countrie was called *Yupaha*, and that a woman did gouerne it: and that the Towne where ſhee was reſident was of a wonderfull bigneſſe, and that many Lords round about were tributaries to her: and ſome gaue her clothes, and others Gold in abundance: and he told, how it was taken out of the Mines, and was moulten & refined, as if he had ſeene it done, or the Diuell had taught it him. So that all thoſe which knew any thing concerning the ſame, ſaid that it was impoſſible to giue ſo good a relation, without hauing ſeene it: And all of them, as if they had ſeene it, by the ſignes that he gaue, beleeued all that he ſaid to be true.

The Port *de Spiritu Sancto* ten daies iourney from *Apalache*.

Ochus ſixtie leagues Weſt of *Apalache*.

Chap. 12.

Abundance of Gold.

On Wedneſday the third of March, of the yeere 1540. the Gouernour departed from *Amaica Apalache* to ſeeke *Yupaha*. He commanded his men to goe prouided with Maiz for ſixtie leagues of deſert. The horſemen carried their Maiz on their horſes, and the footemen at their ſides: becauſe the *Indians* that were for ſeruice, with their miſerable life that they lead that winter, being naked and in chaines, died for the moſt part. Within foure dayes iourney they came to a great Riuer: and they made a piragua or ferrie boate, and becauſe of the great current, they made a cable with chaines, which they faſtened on both ſides of the Riuer; and the ferrie boate went along by it, and the horſes ſwam ouer, being drawne with capſtans. Hauing paſſed the Riuer, in a day and a halfe they came to a Towne called *Capachiqui*. Vpon Friday, the eleuenth of March, they found *Indians* in armes. The next day fiue *Chriſtians* went to ſeeke morters, which the *Indians* haue to beate their Maiz, and they went to certaine houſes on the backe-ſide of the Campe enuironed with a wood: and within the wood were many *Indians* which came to ſpie vs; of the which came other fiue and ſet vpon vs. One of the *Chriſtians* came running away, giuing an alarme vnto the Campe. Thoſe which were moſt ready anſwered the alarme. They found one *Chriſtian* dead, and three ſore wounded. The *Indians* fled vnto a lake adioyning neere a very thicke wood, where the horſes could not enter. The Gouernour departed from *Capachiqui*, and paſſed through a deſert. On Wedneſday the twenty one of the moneth he came to a Towne called *Toalli*: And from thence forward there was a diffe-

Death of *Indians* ſlaues.

A great Riuer.

Capachiqui.

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Toalli. Their houses for winter and summer.

rence in the houses. For those which were behinde vs were thatched with straw, and those of *Toalli* were couered with reedes, in manner of tiles. These houses are very cleanly. Some of them had walls daubed with clay, which shewed like a mudwall. In all the cold Countries the *Indians* haue euery one a house for the winter daubed with clay within & without, and the doore is very little; they shut it by night, and make fire within, so that they are in it as warme as in a stouet and so it continueth all night that they neede not cloathes: and besides these, they haue others for Summer; and their kitchins neere them, where they make fire and bake their bread; and they haue barbacoas wherein they keepe their Maiz; which is an house set vp in the aire vpon foure stakes, boorded about like a chamber, and the floore of it is of cane hurdles. The difference which Lords or principall mens houses haue from the rest, besides they be greater, is, that they haue great galleries in their fronts, & vnder them seates made of canes in manner of benches: and round about them they haue many lofts, wherein they lay vp that which the *Indians* doe giue them for tribute, which is Maiz, Deeres skins, and mantles of the Countrie, which are like blankets: they make them of the inner rinde of the barkes of trees, & some of a kinde of grasse like vnto nettles, which being beaten, is like vnto flaxe. The women couer themselues with these Mantles; they put one about them from the waste downeward; and another ouer their shoulder, with their right arme out, like vnto the *Egyptians*. The men weare but one Mantle vpon their shoulders after the same manner; and haue their secrets hid with a Deeres skin, made like a linnen breech, which was wont to be vsed in *Spaine*. The skins are well corried, and they giue them what colour they list, so perfect, that if it be red, it seemeth a very fine cloath in graine, and the blacke is most fine: and of the same leather they make shoes, and they dye their Mantles in the same colours. The Gouernor departed from *Toalli* the foure and twentieth of March: he came on Thursday at euening to a small Riuer, where a bridge was made, whereon the people passed, and *Benit Fernandez* a *Portugall* fell off from it, and was drowned. As soone as the Gouernour had passed the Riuer, a little distance thence he found a Towne called *Achese*. The *Indians* had notice of the *Christians*; they leaped into a Riuer: some men and women were taken; among which was one that vnderstood the youth which guided the Gouernour to *Tapalte*: whereby that which he had reported was more confirmed: For they had passed through Countries of diuers languages, and some which he vnderstood not. The Gouernour sent by one of the *Indians* that were taken to call the *Cacique*, which was on the other side of the Riuer. He came. The Gouernour told him that he was *the Sonne of the Sunne*, and came from those parts where he did dwelt, and trauelled through that Countrie, and sought the greatest Lord, and richest Prouince that was in it. The *Cacique* told him, that farther forward dwelt a great Lord, and that his dominion was called *Ocute*. He gaue him a guide and an Interpreter for that Prouince. The Gouernour commanded his *Indians* to be set fast, and trauelled through his Countrie vp a Riuer very well inhabited. Hee departed from his Towne the first of April, and left a very high crosse of Wood set vp in the middest of the market place: and because the vnderstood no more language, but declared to him onely, that that crosse was a memoriall of the same, whereon *Christ*, which was God and man, and created the heauens and the earth, suffered for our sakes: wherefore he exhorted them that they should reuerence it: and they made shew as though they would doe so. The fourth of April they passed by a Towne called *Altamaca*, and the tenth of the moneth he came to *Ocute*. The *Cacique* sent him two thousand *Indians* with a present, to wit, many Conies, Partridges, bread of Maiz, two Hens, and many Dogs: which among the *Christians* were esteemed as if they had beene fat Wethers, because of the great want of flesh meat and Salt, and here of in many places, and many times was great neede; and they were so scarse, that if a man fell sicke, there was nothing to cherrish him withall; and with a sicknesse, that in another place easily might haue beene remedied, he consumed away till nothing but skin and bones were left: and they died of pure weakenesse, some of them saying, *If I had a slice of meate, or a few corns of Salt, I should not die.* And because they were thus scanted of flesh, when six hundred men that went with *Soto*, came to any Towne, and found thirty or forty Dogs, he that could get one and kill it, thought himselfe no small man: and he that killed it, and gaue not his Captaine one quarter, if he knew it, he frowned on him, and made him feele it, in the watches, or in any other matter of labour that was offered, wherein he might doe him a displeasure. On Monday, the twelth of April, the Gouernour departed from *Ocute*. The *Cacique* gaue him two hundred *Tamines*, to wit, *Indians* to carrie burdens: he passed through a Towne, the Lord whereof was named *Cofaqui*, and came to a Prouince of an *Indian* Lord, called *Patofa*.

A grasse like flaxe.

Excellent colours.

A small Riuer.

Achese.

Soto pretends to be the Son of the Sunne.

A Riuer very well inhabited.

Manner of *Spaniards* praying.

Atamaco Ocute.

Conies, Partridges, Hens, Dogges.

Cofaqui. Patofa.

This Countrie, from the first peaceable *Cacique*, vnto the Prouince of *Patofa*, which were fiftie leagues, is a fat Countrie, Beautifull, and very fruitfull, and very well watered, and full of good Riuers. And from thence to the Port *de Spirito Santo*, where we first arriued in the land of *Florida* (which may be 350. leagues, little more or lesse) is a barren land, and the most of it groues of wilde Pine-trees, low and full of lakes, and in some places very high and thicke groues, whither the *Indians* that were in armes fled, so that no man could finde them, neither could any horses enter into them.

An excellent Countrie for fiftie leagues.

Barren Countrie.

In the Towne of *Patofa*, the youth which the Gouernour carried with him for an Interpre-

tour

tour and a guide, began to fome at the mouth, and tumble on the ground, as one poſſeſſed with the Diuell: They ſaid a Goſpell ouer him; and the fit left him. And he ſaid, that foure daies iournie from thence toward the Sunne riſing, was the Prouince that hee ſpake of. The *Indians* of *Patofa* ſaid, that toward that part they knew no habitation; but that toward the Northweſt, they knew a Prouince which was called *Coço*, a very plentifull Countrie, which had very great Townes in it. The *Cacique* told the Gouernour, that if he would goe thither, he would giue him guides and *Indians* for burdens; and if he would goe whither the youth ſpake of, that hee would likewiſe giue him thoſe that he needed: and ſo with louing words and offers of courteſie, they tooke their leaues the one of the other. He gaue him ſeuen hundred *Indians* to beare burdens. He tooke Maiz for foure dayes iournie. He trauelled ſix daies by a path which grew narrow more and more, till it was loſt altogether: He went where the youth did lead him, and paſſe two Riuers which were waded: each of them was two croſſebowſhot ouer: the water came to the ſtirrops, and had ſo great a current, that it was needefull for the horſemen to ſtand one before another, that the footemen might paſſe aboue them leaning vnto them. He came to another Riuer of a greater current and largeneſſe, which was paſſed with more trouble, becauſe the horſes did ſwim at the comming out about a lances length. Hauing paſſed this Riuer, the Gouernour came to a groue of Pinetrees, and threatned the youth, and made as though hee would haue caſt him to the dogs, becauſe he had told him a lye, ſaying, it was but foure daies iournie, and they had trauelled nine, euery day ſeuen or eight leagues, and the men by this time were growne wearie and weake, and the horſes leane through the great ſcanting of the Maiz. The youth ſaid, that he knew not where he was. It ſaued him that hee was not caſt to the dogs, that there was neuer another whom *Iohn Ortiz* did vnderſtand. The Gouernour with them two, and with ſome horſemen and footemen, leauing the Campe in a groue of Pinetrees, trauelled that day fiue or ſix leagues to ſeeke a way, and returned at night very comfortleſſe, and without finding any ſigne of way or towne. The next day, the Gouernour ſent other foure with as many horſemen that could ſwim, to paſſe the Oſe and Riuers which they ſhould finde, and they had choiſe horſes the beſt that were in the Campe. The Captaines were *Baltaſar de Gallegos*, which went vp the Riuer; and *Iohn Danuſco*, downe the Riuer: *Alfonſo Romo*, and *Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo* went into the inward parts of the land. The Gouernour brought with him into *Florida* thirteene Sowes, and had by this time three hundred Swine: Hee commanded euery man ſhould haue halfe a pound of Hogs-fleſh euery day: and this he did three or foure dayes after the Maiz was ſpent. With this ſmall quantitie of fleſh, and ſome ſodden hearbes, with much trouble the people were ſuſtained. *Iohn Danuſco* came on Sunday late in the euening, and brought newes that hee had found a little Towne twelue or thirteene leagues from thence: he brought a Woman and a Boy that he had tooke there. With his comming and with thoſe newes, the Gouernour and all the reſt were ſo glad, that they ſeemed at that inſtant to haue returned from death to life. Vpon Monday, the twenty ſix of Aprill, the Gouernour departed to goe to the Towne, which was called *Aymay*; and the *Chriſtians* named it the Towne of *Reliefe*. He left where the Campe had lien at the foote of a Pinetree a letter buried, and letters carued in the barke of the Pine, the contents whereof was this: Digge here at the foot of this Pine, and you ſhall finde a letter. And this he did, becauſe when the Captaines came, which were ſent to ſeeke ſome habitation, they might ſee the letter, and know what was become of the Gouernour, and which way hee was gone. There was no other way to the Towne, but the markes that *Iohn Danuſco* left made vpon the trees. The Gouernour with ſome of them that had the beſt horſes came to it on the Monday: And all the reſt inforcing themſelues the beſt they could, ſome of them lodged within two leagues of the Towne, ſome within three and foure, euery one as he was able to goe, and his ſtrength ſerued him. There was found in the Towne a ſtorehouſe full of the flowre of parched Maiz; and ſome Maiz, which was diſtributed by allowance. Here were foure *Indians* taken, and none of them would confeſſe any other thing, but that they knew of none other habitation. The Gouernor commanded one of them to be burned; and preſently another confeſſed, that two daies iournie from thence, there was a Prouince that was called *Cutifa-Chiqui*. Vpon Wedneſday came the Captaines *Baltaſar de Gallegos*, *Alfonſo Romo*, and *Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo*: for they had found the letter, and followed the way which the Gouernour had taken toward the towne. As ſoone as they came, he departed toward *Cutifa-Chiqui*. In the way three *Indians* were taken, which ſaid, that the Lady of that Countrie had notice already of the *Chriſtians*, and ſtaied for them in a Towne of hers.

Two ſwift Riuers.

Another great Riuer.

Nine dayes iourney.

The great increaſe of ſwine.

Aymay.

An *Indian* burned for his falſehood.

Within a little while the Lady came out of the Towne in a Chaire, whereon certaine of the principall *Indians* brought her to the Riuer. She entred into a Barge which had the Sterne tilted ouer, and on the floore her mat ready laied with two cuſtions vpon it one vpon another, where ſhe ſat her downe; and with her came her principall *Indians* in other Barges, which did wait vpon her. She went to the place where the Gouernour was. She preſented vnto him great ſtore of cloathes of the Countrie, which ſhe brought in other Canoes; to wit, Mantles and Skins; and tooke from her owne necke a great cordon of Pearles, and caſt it about the necke of the Gouernour, entertaining him with very gracious ſpeeches and courteſie, and commanded Canoes to

A great cordon of Pearles

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They passe the Riuer.

Walnut trees. Mulbery trees for silke. The Sea two dayes iournie off. Mantles of the barkes of trees. Mantles of Feathers. Pearles found in graues.

Three hundred ninetie two pounds of Pearles found.

This Towne was but two daies iournie from the hauen of *Santa Helena.* In the yeere 1525. It is in 32. deg. and a halfe.

Chiaha twelue daies iournie from *Santa Helena:* and *Coste* seuen daies iournie from *Chiaha:* at which towne of *Coste,* they had an Oxe hide. Chap. 16.

be brought thither, wherein the Gouernor & his people passed the Riuer. As soon as he was lodged in the Town, she sent him another present of many Hens. This Countrie was very pleasant, fat, and hath goodly Medows by the Riuers. Their woods are thin, & full of Walnut trees & Mulberry trees. They said the Sea was two daies iourny from thence. Within a league & halfe about this Towne were great Townes dispeopled, and ouergrown with grasse; which shewed, that they had been long without inhabitants. The *Indians* said, that two yeers before there was a Plague in that Countrie, and that they remoued to other Townes. There was in their store-houses great quantity of Clothes, Mantles of yarne made of the barkes of trees, and others made of Feathers, white, greene, red, and yellow, very fine after their vse, and profitable for winter. There were also many Deeres skins, with many compartiments traced in them, and some of them made into hose, stockings, and shooes. And the Lady perceiuing that the *Christians* esteemed the Pearles, aduised the Gouernour to send to search certaine graues that were in that Towne, and that he should finde many: and that if he would send to the dispeopled Townes, he might loade all his Horses. They sought the graues of that Towne, and there found foureteene roones of Pearles, and little Babies and Birds made of them. The people were browne, well made, and well proportioned, and more ciuill then any others that were seene in all the Countrie of *Florida*, and all of them went shod and cloathed. The youth told the Gouernour, that he began now to enter into the land which he spake of: and some credit was giuen him that it was so, because hee vnderstood the language of the *Indians:* and he requested that he might be Christened, for he said he desired to become a *Christian:* He was Christened, and named *Peter*; and the Gouernour commanded him to be loosed from a chaine, in which vntill that time he had gone. This Countrie, as the *Indians* reported, had beene much inhabited, and had the fame of a good Countrie. And as it seemeth, the youth which was the Gouernours guide, had heard of it, and that which hee knew by hearsay, he affirmed that he had seene, and augmented at his pleasure. In this Towne was found a Dagger and Beades, that had belonged to *Christians.* The *Indians* reported, that *Christians* had beene in the hauen, which was two dayes iournie from this Towne, many yeeres agoe. He that came thither was the Gouernour, the Licenciate *Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon*, which went to conquer this Countrie, and at his comming to the Port hee died; and there was a diuision, quarrels and slaughters betweene some principall men which went with him, for the principall gouernment: And without knowing any thing of the Countrie, they returned home to *Hispaniola.* All the Company thought it good to inhabit that Countrie, because it was in a temperate climate: And that if it were inhabited, all the Ships of New *Spaine*, of *Peru*, *Santa Martha*, and *Tierra firme*, in their returne for *Spaine*, might well touch there: because it was in their way; and because it was a good Countrie, and fited fit to raise commoditie. The Gouernour, since his intent was to seeke another treasure, like that of *Atabalipa* Lord of *Peru*, was not contented with a good Countrie, nor with Pearles, though many of them were worth their weight in Gold. And if the Countrie had beene diuided among the *Christians*, those which the *Indians* had fished for afterward, would haue beene of more value: for those which they had, because they burned them in the fire, did leese their colour. The Gouernour answered them, that vrged him to inhabit, That in all the Countrie, there were not victuals to sustaine his men one moneth; and that it was needefull to resort to the Port of *Ocus*, where *Maldonado* was to stay for them: and that if no richer Countrie were found, they might returne againe to that whensoeuer they would; and in the meane time the *Indians* would sow their fields, and it would be better furnished with Maiz. He inquired of the *Indians*, whether they had notice of any great Lord farther into the land. They told him, that twelue daies iourney from thence, there was a Prouince called *Chiaha*, subiect to the Lord of *Coça*. Presently the Gouernour determined to seeke that land. And being a sterne man, and of few words, though he was glad to lift and know the opinion of all men, yet after he had deliuered his owne, hee would not be contraried, and alwayes did what liked himselfe, and so all men did condescend vnto his will.

§. II.

SOTOS *further Discoueries in* Florida *and manifold various Aduentures till hee came to* Tulla.

Baggage of the Campe.

THE Gouernour departed from *Cutifa Chiqui* the third day of May. And because the *Indians* had reuolted, and the will of the Ladie was perceiued, that if shee could, shee would depart without giuing any Guides or men for burdens, for the wrongs which the *Christians* had done to the *Indians:* (for there neuer want some among many of a base sort, that for a little gaine doe put themselues and others in danger of vndoing.) The Gouernour commanded her to be kept in safegard, and carried with him, not with so good vsage as shee deserued for the good will she shewed. And he carried her on foot with his bond-women to looke vnto her. In all the Townes where the Gouernour passed, the Lady commanded the *Indians* to come

come and carrie the burdens from one Towne to another. Wee passed through her Countrie an hundred leagues, in which, as wee saw, shee was much obeyed. For the *Indians* did all that shee commanded them with great efficacie and diligence. In seuen dayes spate the Gouernour came to a Prouince called *Chalaque*, the poorest Countrie of Maiz that was seene in *Florida*. The *Indians* fed vpon Roots and Herbes which they seeke in the fields, and vpon wilde beasts, which they kill with their Bowes and Arrowes: and it is a very gentle people. All of them goe naked, and are very leane. There was a Lord, which for a great Present, brought the Gouernour two Deeres skinnes: and there were in that Countrie many wilde Hens. In one Towne they made him a Present of seuen hundred Hens, and so in other Townes they sent him those which they had or could get. From this Prouince to another, which is called *Xualla*, hee spent fiue dayes: here he found very little Maiz; and for this cause, though the people were wearied, and the horses very weake, hee stayed no more but two dayes. From *Ocute* to *Cutifa-chiqui* may bee some hundred and thirtie leagues, whereof eightie are Wildernesse. From *Cutifa-chiqui* to *Xualla*, two hundred and fiftie, and it is an Hilly Countrie. The Gouernour departed from *Xualla* toward *Guaxule*: he passed very rough and high hils. In that iourney, the Lady of *Cutifa-chiqui* (whom the Gouernour carried with him, as is aforesaid, with purpose to carrie her to *Guaxule*, because her Territorie reached thither) going on a day with the bond-women which lead her, went out of the way, and entred into a Wood, saying, shee went to ease her selfe, and so shee deceiued them, and hid her selfe in the Wood; and though they fought her they could not find her. She carried away with her a little cheest made of Canes in manner of a Coffer, which they call *Petaca*, full of vnbored Pearles. Some which could iudge of them, said, that they were of great value. An *Indian* woman that waited on her did carrie them. The Gouernour not to discontent her altogether, left them with her, making account that in *Guaxule* he would aske them of her, when he gaue her leaue to returne: which Coffer shee carried away, and went to *Xualla* with three slaues which fled from the Campe, and one Horseman which remained behind, who falling sicke of an Ague went out of the way, and was lost. This man, whose name was *Alimamos*, dealt with the slaues to change their euill purpose, and returne with him to the *Christians*: which two of them did; and *Alimamos* and they ouertooke the Gouernour fiftie leagues from thence in a Prouince called *Chiaha*, and reported how the Lady remayned in *Xualla* with a slaue of *Andrew de Vasconcelles* which would not come backe with them, and that of a certaintie they liued as man and wife together, and meant to goe both to *Cutifa-chiqui*. Within fiue dayes the Gouernour came to *Guaxule*. The *Indians* there gaue him a Present of three hundred Dogges, because they saw the *Christians* esteeme them, and sought them to feed on them: for among them they are not eaten. In *Guaxule*, and all that way, was very little Maiz. The Gouernour sent from thence an *Indian* with a message to the *Cacique* of *Chiaha*, to desire him to gather some Maiz thither, that he might rest a few dayes in *Chiaha*. The Gouernour departed from *Guaxule*, and in two dayes iourney came to a Towne called *Canasagua*. There met him on the way twentie *Indians* euery one loaden with a basket full of Mulberries: for there be many, and those very good, from *Cutifa-chiqui* thither, and so forward in other Prouinces, and also Nuts and Plums. And the trees grow in the fields without planting or dressing them, and are as bigge and as tanke, as though they grew in Gardens digged and watered. From the time that the Gouernour departed from *Canasagua*, he iourned fiue dayes through a Desert; and two leagues before he came to *Chiaha*, there met him fifteene *Indians* loaden with Maiz, which the *Cacique* had sent; and they told him on his behalfe, that he waited his comming with twentie Barnes full of it; and farther, that himselfe, his Countrie, and subiects, and all things else were at his seruice. On the fift day of Iune, the Gouernour entred into *Chiaha*: The *Cacique* voided his owne houses, in which hee lodged, and receiued him with much ioy.

Chalaque seuen dayes iournie from *Cutifa-chiqui*.

700. Hens.

Xualla fiue dayes off.

Rough and high hils.

Guaxule fiue dayes off.

Canasagua two dayes iourney off.

Great store of Mulberie trees to make silke.

There was in this Towne much Butter in Gourds melted like Oyle: they said it was the fat of Beares. There was found also great store of Oyle of Walnuts, which was cleere as Butter, and of a good taste, and a pot full of Honie of Bees, which neither before nor afterward was seene in all the Countrie. The Towne was in an Hand betweene two armes of a Riuer, and was seated nigh one of them. The Riuer diuideth it selfe into those two branches two Crosse-bow shot aboue the Towne, and meeteth againe a league beneath the same. The plaine betweene both the branches is sometimes one Crosse-bow shot, sometimes two Crosse-bow shot ouer. The branches are very broad, and both of them may be waded ouer. There were all along them very good Medowes, and many fields sowne with Maiz. And because the *Indians* stayed in their Towne, the Gouernour only lodged in the houses of the *Cacique*, and his people in the fields; where there was euer a tree, euery one tooke one for himselfe. Thus the Campe lay separated one from another, and out of order. The Gouernour winked at it, because the *Indians* were in peace, and because it was very hot, and the people should haue suffered great extremitie, if it had not beene so. The horses came thither so weake, that for feeblenesse, they were not able to carry their Masters; because that from *Cutifa-chiqui*, they alwayes trauelled with very little Prouender, and were hunger-starued and tired euer since they came from the Desert of *Ocute*. And because the most of them were not in case to vse in battell, though need should require, they sent

The fat of Beares.

Oyle of Walnuts.

Hony of Bees.

Chiaha seated in an Hand.

The Desert of *Ocute*, *chap.* 8.

Thirtie dayes rest.

them to feed in the night a quarter of a league from the Campe. The *Christians* were there in great danger, because that if at this time the *Indians* had set vpon them, they had beene in euill case to haue defended themselues. The Gouernour rested there thirtie dayes, in which time, because the Countrie was very fruitfull, the horses grew fat. A *Cacique* of a Prouince called *Coste*, came to this Towne to visit the Gouernour. After he had offered himselfe, and passed with him some words of tendring his seruice and courtesie; the Gouernor asking him whether he had notice of any rich Countrie? he said, yea: to wit, that toward the North, there was a Prouince named *Chisca*: and that there was a melting of Copper, and of another metal of the same colour, saue that it was finer, and of a far more perfect colour, and far better to the sight; and that they vsed it not so much, because it was softer. And the selfe same thing was told the Gouernour in *Cutifachiqui*; where we saw some little Hatchets of Copper, which were said to haue a mixture of Gold. But in that part the Countrie was not wel peopled, and they said there were Mountaines, which the horses could not passe: and for that cause, the Gouernour would not goe from *Cutifachiqui* directly thither: And he made account, that trauelling through a peopled Countrie, when his men and horses should bee in better plight, and hee were better certified of the truth of the thing, he would returne toward it, by Mountaines, and a better inhabited Countrie, whereby he might haue better passage. He sent two *Christians* from *Chiaha*, with certain *Indians* which knew the Countrie of *Chisca*, and the language thereof to view it, and to make report of that which they should find; where he told them that he would tarrie for them.

Mines of Copper and Gold in *Chisca* toward the North.

Hatchets of Copper holding Gold.

Chisca is directly North from *Cutifi-chiqui*, which is within two daies of *Santa Helena*.

In seuen dayes he came to *Coste*. The second of Iuly he commanded his Campe to be pitched two Crosse-bow shot from the Towne: and with eight men of his guard he went where hee found the *Cacique*, which to his thinking receiued him with great loue. As he was talking with him, there went from the Campe certaine Footmen to the Towne to seeke some Maiz, and not contented with it, they ransacked and searched the houses, and took what they found. With this despite the *Indians* began to rise and to take their armes: and some of them with cudgels in their hands, ranne vpon fiue or sixe *Christians*, which had done them wrong, and beat them at their pleasure. The Gouernour seeing them all in an vprore, and himselfe among them with so few *Christians*, to escape their hands vsed a stratagem, farre against his owne disposition, being, as he was, very franke and open: and though it grieued him very much that any *Indian* should bee so bold, as with reason, or without reason to despise the *Christians*, he tooke vp a cudgell, and tooke their parts against his owne men; which was a meanes to quiet them: And presently hee sent word by a man very secretly to the Campe, that some armed men should come toward the place where he was; and he tooke the *Cacique* by the hand, vsing very milde words vnto him, and with some principall *Indians* that did accompany him, he drew them out of the Towne into a plaine way, and vnto the sight of the Campe, whither by little and little with good discretion the *Christians* began to come and to gather about them. Thus the Gouernour led the *Cacique*, and his chiefe men vntill he entred with them into the Campe: and neere vnto his Tent, hee commanded them to be put in safe custodie: and told them, that they should not depart without giuing him a guide and *Indians* for burthens, and till certaine sicke *Christians* were come, which he had commanded to come down the Riuer in Canoes from *Chiaha*; and those also which he had sent to the Prouince of *Chisca*: (for they were not returned; and he feared that the *Indians* had slaine the one, and the other.) Within three dayes after, those which were sent to *Chisca* returned, and made report, that the *Indians* had carried them through a Countrie so poore of Maiz, and so rough, and ouer so high Mountaynes, that it was impossible for the Armie to trauell that way; and that seeing the way grew very long; and that they lingred much, they consulted to returne from a little poore Towne, where they saw nothing that was of any profit, and brought an Oxe hide, which the *Indians* gaue them, as thin as a calues skin, and the haire like a soft wool, betweene the course and fine wooll of sheepe. The *Cacique* gaue a guide, and men for burdens, and departed with the Gouernours leaue. The Gouernour departed from *Coste* the ninth of Iuly, and lodged at a Towne called *Tali*.

A wise Stratagem.

Those which were sent to seeke *Chisca* returne.

High Mountaines.

A little poore Towne,

An Oxe Hide with haire like wooll. *cap.* 215. saith so.

Tali, one day from *Coste*.

The *Cacique* commanded prouision necessary for two dayes, while the Gouernour was there, to be brought thither: and at the time of his departure, he gaue him foure women and two men, which he had need of to beare burthens. The Gouernour trauelled sixe dayes through many Townes subiect to the *Cacique* of *Coça*: and as he entred into his Countrie many *Indians* came vnto him euery day from the *Cacique*, and met him on the way with messages, one going, and another comming. He came to *Coça* vpon Friday, the sixe and twentieth of Iuly. The *Cacique* came forth to receiue him, two Crosse-bow shot from the Towne in a chaire, which his principall men carried on their shoulders, sitting vpon a cushion, and couered with a garment of Marterns, of the fashion and bignesse of a womans Huke: hee had on his head a Diadem of feathers, and round about him many *Indians* playing vpon Flutes, and singing.

Many Townes of *Coça*.

Coça.

Iuly 26.

Marterns.

There was in the Barnes, and in the fields great store of Maiz and *French* Beanes: The Countrie was greatly inhabited with many great Townes, and many sowne fields, which reached from the one to the other. It was pleasant, fat, full of good Meadowes vpon Riuers. There were in the fields many Plum-trees, as well of such as grow in *Spaine*, as of the Countrie: and

Many great Townes.

Many Plum-trees of diuers sorts.

wild

wild tall Vines, that runne vp the trees; and beſides theſe, there were other low Vines with bigge and ſweet Grapes; but for want of digging and dreſſing, they had great kernels in them. *The Gouernour* vſed to ſet a guard ouer the *Caciques*, becauſe they ſhould not abſent themſelues, and carried them with him, till he came out of their Countries: becauſe that carrying them along with him, he looked to find people in the Townes, and they gaue him guides, and men to carrie burdens: and before hee went out of their Countries, hee gaue them licenſe to returne to their houſes, and to their Porters likewiſe, aſſoone as hee came to any other Lordſhippe, where they gaue him others. The men of *Coça* ſeeing their Lord detained, tooke it in euill part, and reuolted, and hid themſelues in the Woods, aſwell thoſe of the Towne of the *Cacique*, as thoſe of the other Townes of his principall ſubiects. The Gouernour ſent out foure Captaines, euery one his way to ſeeke them. They tooke many men and women, which were put into chaines: They ſeeing the hurt which they receiued, and how little they gained in abſenting themſelues, came againe, promiſing to doe whatſoeuer they were commanded.

Two ſorts of Grapes. Note.

The Gouernor reſted in *Coça* fiue and twentie dayes. He departed from thence the twentieth of Auguſt to ſeeke a Prouince called *Taſcaluca*: he carried with him the *Cacique* of *Coça*. Hee paſſed that day by a great Towne called *Tallimuchaſe*, the people were fled: hee lodged halfe a league farther neere a Brooke. The next day he came to a Towne called *Ytaua*, ſubiect to *Coça*. He ſtayed there ſixe dayes becauſe of a Riuer that paſſed by it, which at that time was very high; and aſſoone as the Riuer ſuffered him to paſſe, he ſet forward, and lodged at a Towne named *Vlibahali*. There came to him on the way, on the *Caciques* behalfe of that Prouince, ten or twelue principall *Indians* to offer him his ſeruice; all of them had their plumes of feathers, and Bowes and Arrowes. The Gouernour comming to the Towne with twelue Horſemen, and ſome Footmen of his Guard, leauing his people a Croſſe-bow ſhot from the Towne, entred into it, hee found all the *Indians* with their weapons: and as farre as he could gheſſe, they ſeemed to haue ſome euill meaning. It was knowne afterward, that they were determined to take the *Cacique* of *Coça* from the Gouernour, if he had requeſted it. The Gouernour commanded all his people to enter the Towne, which was walled about, and neere vnto it paſſed a ſmall Riuer. The wall, aſwell of that, as of others, which afterward wee ſaw, was of great poſts thruſt deepe into the ground and very rough, and many long railes as bigge as ones armes laid acroſſe betweene them, and the wall was about the height of a Lance, and it was daubed within and without with clay, and had loope-holes. On the otherſide of the Riuer was a Towne, where at that preſent the *Cacique* was. The Gouernour ſent to call him, and he came preſently. After he had paſſed with the Gouernour ſome words of offering his ſeruices, he gaue him ſuch men for his carriages as he needed, and thirtie women for ſlaues. In that place was a *Chriſtian* loſt, called *Mançano*, borne in *Salamanca*, of noble Parentage, which went aſtray to ſeeke for Grapes, whereof there is great ſtore, and thoſe very good.

20. of Auguſt.

Tallimuchaſe, a great Towne.

Ytaua.

A great Riuer.

Vlibahali.

Vlibahali walled about.

The faſhion of their wals.

Great ſtore of good Grapes.

The day that the Gouernour departed from thence, he lodged at a Towne ſubiect to the Lord of *Vlibahali*: and the next day hee came to another Towne called *Toaſi*. The *Indians* gaue the Gouernour thirtie women, and ſuch men for his cariages as hee needed. He trauelled ordinarily fiue or ſixe leagues a day when he trauelled through peopled Countries: and going through Deſerts, he marched as faſt as he could, to eſchew the want of Maiz. From *Toaſi*, paſſing through ſome Townes ſubiect to a *Cacique*, which was Lord of a Prouince called *Talliſe*, he trauelled fiue dayes: He came to *Talliſe* the eighteenth of September: The Towne was great, and ſituated neere vnto a maine Riuer. On the other ſide of the Riuer were other Townes, and many fields ſowne with Maiz. On both ſides it was a very plentifull Countrie, and had ſtore of Maiz: they had voided the Towne. The Gouernour commanded to call the *Cacique*; who came, and betweene them paſſed ſome words of loue and offer of his ſeruices, and he preſented vnto him fortie *Indians*. There came to the Gouernour in this Towne a principall *Indian* in the behalfe of the *Cacique* of *Taſcaluca*.

Toaſi.

Hee trauelled ordinarily fiue or ſixe leagues a day.

Talliſe a great Towne.

Septem. 18.

A maine riuer.

After hee had reſted there twenty dayes, hee departed thence toward *Taſcaluca*. That day when he went from *Taliſſe*, he lodged at a great Towne called *Caſiſte*. And the next day paſſed by another, and came to a ſmall Towne of *Taſcaluca*; and the next day hee camped in a Wood two leagues from the Towne where the *Cacique* reſided, and was at that time. And he ſent the Maſter of the Campe, *Luys de Moſcoſo*, with fifteene Horſemen, to let him knowe how he was comming. The *Cacique* was in his Lodgings vnder a Canopie: and without doores, right againſt his Lodgings, in an high place, they ſpread a Mat for him, and two Cuſhions one vpon another, where he ſate him downe, and his *Indians* placed themſelues round about him, ſomewhat diſtant from him, ſo that they made a place, and a voide roome where hee ſate: and his chiefeſt men were neereſt to him, and one with a ſhadow of Deeres skinne, which kept the Sunne from him, being round, and of the bigneſſe of a Targe, quartered with blacke and white, hauing a rundell in the middeſt: afarre off it ſeemed to be of Taffata, becauſe the colours were very perfect. It was ſet on a ſmall ſtaffe ſtretched wide out. This was the deuice which he carried in his warres. He was a man of a very tall ſtature, of great limmes, and ſpare and well proportioned, and was much feared of his neighbours and ſubiects. Hee was Lord of many Territories and much people:

Caſiſte a great Towne.

Taſcaluca.

In

In his countenance he was graue. After the Master of the Campe had spoken with him, he and those that went with him coursed their Horses, pranling them to and fro, and now and then toward the place where the *Cacique* was, who with much grauitie and dissimulation now and then lifted vp his eyes, and beheld them as it were with disdaine. At the Gouernours comming, hee made no offer at all to rise. The Gouernour tooke him by the hand, and both of them sate down together on a seate which was vnder the Cloth of Estate.

Piache. When he departed from thence, he determined to carrie him along with him for some causes, and at two dayes iourney he came to a Towne called *Piache*, by which there passed a great Riuer.
A great Riuer. The Gouernour demanded Canoas of the *Indians*: they said, they had them not, but that they would make Rafts of canes and drie timber, on which hee might passe well enough: And they made them with all diligence and speed, and they gouerned them; and because the water went very slowe, the Gouernour and his people passed very well.

The course of Soto's trauels, whereby it appeareth that hee iourneyed not farre from Virginia. From the Port *de Spirito Santo* to *Apalache*, which is about an hundred leagues, the Gouernour went from East to West: and from *Apalache* to *Cutifa-chiqui*, which are foure hundred and thirtie leagues, from the South-west to the North-east: and from *Cutifa-chiqui* to *Xualla*, which are about two hundred and fiftie leagues, from the South to the North: and from *Xualla* to *Tascaluca*, which are two hundred and fiftie leagues more, an hundred and ninety of them he trauelled from East to West, to wit, to the Prouince of *Coça*: and the other sixtie from *Coça* to *Tascaluca*, from the North to the South.

Hauing passed the Riuer of *Piache*, a *Christian* went from his companie from thence to seeke a woman-slaue that was runne away from him, and the *Indians* either tooke him captiue, or slue him. The Gouernour vrged the *Cacique* that he should giue account of him, and threatned him, that if he were not found, he would neuer let him loose. The *Cacique* sent an *Indian* from thence to *Manilla*, whither they were trauelling, which was a Towne of a principall *Indian* and his subiect, saying, that he sent him to aduise them to make ready victuals, and men for carriages. But (as afterward appeared) he sent him to assemble all the men of warre thither, that hee had in his Countrie. The Gouernour trauelled three dayes, and the third day he passed all day thorow a peopled Countrie: and he came to *Manilla* vpon Monday the eighteenth of October.
Manilla. 18. of October. He went before the Campe with fifteene Horsemen, and thirtie Footmen. And from the Towne came a *Christian*, whom he had sent to the principall man, three or foure dayes before, because he should not absent himselfe, and also to learne in what sort the *Indians* were: who told him, that he thought they were in an euill purpose: for while he was there, there came many people into the Towne, and many weapons, and that they made great haste to fortifie the wall. *Luys de Moscoso* told the Gouernour, that it would bee good to lodge in the field, seeing the *Indians* were of such dispositions: and he answered, that he would lodge in the Towne, for he was weary of lodging in the field. When he came neere vnto the Towne, the *Cacique* came forth to receiue him with many *Indians* playing vpon Flutes and singing: and after hee had offered himselfe, he presented him with three mantles of Marterns. The Gouernour, with both the *Caciques*, and seuen or eight men of his guard, and three or foure Horsemen, which alighted to accompanie him, entred into the Towne, and sate him downe vnder a Cloth of Estate. The *Cacique* of *Tascaluca* requested him, that he would let him remaine in that Towne, and trouble him no more with trauelling: and seeing he would not giue him leaue, in his talke hee changed his purpose, and dissemblingly fained that hee would speake with some principall *Indians*, and rose vp from the place where he sate with the Gouernour, and entred into a house, where many *Indians* were with their Bowes and Arrowes. The Gouernour when he saw he returned not, called him, and he answered, that he would not come out from thence, neither would hee goe any further then that Towne, and that if he would goe his way in peace, hee should presently depart, and should not seeke to carrie him perforce out of his Countrie and Territorie.

Manilla walled

Three mantles of Marterns.

Baltasar de Gallegos, which stood by, tooke hold of a Gowne of Marterns which hee had on; and he cast it ouer his head, and left it in his hands: and because all of them immediatly began to stirre, *Baltasar de Gallegos* gaue him such a wound with his Coutilas, that hee opened him downe the backe, and presently all the *Indians* with a great crie came out of the houses shooting their Arrowes. The Gouernour considering, that if he taried there, he could not escape, and if he commanded his men to come in, which were without the Towne, the *Indians* within the houses might kill their Horses, and doe much hurt, ranne out of the Towne, and before he came out, he fell twice or thrice, and those that were with him did helpe him vp againe; and hee and those that were with him were sore wounded: and in a moment there were fiue *Christians* slaine in the Towne. The Gouernour came running out of the Towne, crying out, that euery man should stand further off, because from the wall they did them much hurt. The *Indians* seeing that the *Christians* retired, and some of them, or the most part, more then an ordinarie pace, shot with great boldnesse at them, and strooke downe such as they could ouertake. The *Indians* which the *Christians* did leade with them in chaines, had laid down their burthens neere vnto the walls and assoone as the Gouernour and his men were retired, the men of *Manilla* laid them on the *Indians* backes againe, and tooke them into the Towne, and loosed them presently from their

A gowne of Marterns.

chaines,

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chaines; and gaue them Bowes and Arrowes to fight withall. Thus they poſſeſſed themſelues of all the Clothes and Pearles, and all that the *Chriſtians* had, which their ſlaues carried. And becauſe the *Indians* had beene alwaies peaceable vntill wee came to this place, ſome of our men had their weapons in their fardels and remained vnarmed. And from others that had entred the Towne with the Gouernour they had taken Swords and Holbards, and fought with them. When the Gouernour was gotten into the field, he called for an Horſe, and with ſome that accompanied him, he returned and ſlue two or three *Indians*: All the reſt retired themſelues to the Towne, and ſhot with their Bowes from the wall. And thoſe which preſumed of their nimbleneſſe, ſallied forth to fight a ſtones caſt from the wall: And when the *Chriſtians* charged them, they retired themſelues at their leaſure into the Towne. At the time that the broyle beganne, there were in the Towne a Frier, and a Prieſt, and a ſeruant of the Gouernour, with a woman-ſlaue: and they had no time to come out of the Towne: and they tooke an houſe, and ſo remained in the Towne. The *Indians* become Maſters of the place, they ſhut the doore with a field gate: and among them was one Sword which the Gouernours ſeruant had, and with it he ſet himſelfe behind the doore, thruſting at the *Indians* which ſought to come into them: and the Frier and the Prieſt ſtood on the other ſide, each of them with a barre in their hands to beate him downe that firſt came in. The *Indians* ſeeing they could not get in by the doore, beganne to vncouer the houſe top. By this time, all the Horſemen and Footmen which were behind, were come to *Manilla*.

All the clothes and Pearles of the *Chriſtians* were loſt.

As ſoone as the battell and the rereward were come to *Manilla*, the Gouernor commanded all thoſe that were beſt armed to alight, and made foure ſquadrons of Footmen. The *Indians* ſeeing how he was ſetting his men in order concluded with the *Cacique* that hee ſhould goe his way, ſaying vnto him, as after it was knowne by certaine women that were taken there, that he was but one man, and could fight but for one man, and that they had there among them many principall *Indians*, very valiant and expert in feates of Armes, that any one of them was able to order the people there. The Gouernour was informed how there went men out of the Towne, and he commanded the Horſemen to beſet it, and ſent in euery ſquadron of Footmen one Souldier with a fire-brand to ſet fire on the houſes, that the *Indians* might haue no defenſe: all his men being ſet in order, he commanded an Harquebuſe to be ſhot off. The ſigne being giuen, the foure ſquadrons, euery one by it ſelfe with great fury, gaue the onſet, and with great hurt on both ſides they entred the Towne. The Frier and the Prieſt, and thoſe that were with them in the houſe were ſaued, which coſt the liues of two men of account, and valiant, which came thither to ſuccour them. The *Indians* fought with ſuch courage, that many times they draue our men out of the Towne. The fight laſted ſo long, that for wearineſſe and great thirſt many of the *Chriſtians* went to a Poole that was neere the wall, to drinke, which was all ſtained with the bloud of the dead, and then came againe to fight. The Gouernour ſeeing this, entred among the Footmen into the Towne on horſebake, with certaine that accompanied him, and was a meane that the *Chriſtians* came to ſet fire on the houſes, and brake and ouercame the *Indians*, who running out of the Towne from the Footmen, the Horſemen without draue in at the gates againe, where being without all hope of life, they fought valiantly, and after the *Chriſtians* came among them to handy blowes, ſeeing themſelues in great diſtreſſe without any ſuccour, many of them fled into the burning houſes, where one vpon another they were ſmothered and burnt in the fire. The whole number of the *Indians* that died in this Towne, were two thouſand and fiue hundred, little more or leſſe. Of the *Chriſtians* there died eighteene; of which one was *Don Carlos*, brother in law to the Gouernour, and a Nephew of his, and one *Iohn de Gamez*, and *Men Rodriguez Portugals*, and *Iohn Vazquez de Villanoua de Barea Rota*, all men of honour, and of much valour: the reſt were Footmen. Beſides thoſe that were ſlaine, there were an hundred and fiftie wounded with ſeuen hundred wounds of their Arrowes: and it pleaſed God that of very dangerous wounds they were quickly healed. Moreouer, there were twelue Horſes ſlaine, and ſeuenty hurt. All the Clothes which the *Chriſtians* carried with them to clothe themſelues withall, and the ornaments to ſay Maſſe, and the Pearles, were all burnt there: and the *Chriſtians* did ſet them on fire themſelues; becauſe they held for a greater inconuenience, the hurt which the *Indians* might doe them from thoſe houſes, where they had gathered all thoſe goods together, then the loſſe of them. Here the Gouernour vnderſtood, that *Franciſco Maldonado* waited for him at the Port of *Ochuſe*, and that it was ſixe dayes iourney from thence; and he deale with *Iohn Ortiz* to keepe it ſecret, becauſe hee had not accompliſhed that which hee determined to doe; and becauſe the Pearles were burnt there, which he meant to haue ſent to *Cuba* for a ſhew, that the people hearing the newes, might be deſirous to come to that Countrie.

A conſultation of the *Indians* to ſend away their *Cacique*.

The death of 2500. *Indians*.

The Port of *Ochuſe* 6. dayes iourney from *Manilla*.

From the time that the Gouernour entred into *Florida*, vntill his departure from *Manilla*, there died an hundred and two *Chriſtians*, ſome of ſickneſſe, and others which the *Indians* ſlue. He ſtayed in *Manilla*, becauſe of the wounded men, eight and twentie dayes; all which time he lay in the field. It was a well inhabited and a fat Countrie, there were ſome great and walled Townes: and many houſes ſcattered all about the fields, to wit, a Croſſ-bow ſhot or two, the one from the other. Vpon Sunday, the eighteenth of Nouember, when the hurt men were knowne

Great and walled Towns. 18. of Nouember.

knowne to be healed, the Gouernour departed from *Manilla*. Euery one furnished himselfe with Maiz for two dayes, and they trauelled fiue dayes through a Desart: they came to a Prouince called *Pasallaya*, vnto a Towne, named *Taliepatana*: and from thence they went to another, called *Cabusto*: neere vnto it ranne a great Riuer. The *Indians* on the other side cried out, threatning the *Christians* to kill them, if they sought to passe it. The Gouernour commanded his men to make a Barge within the Towne, because the *Indians* should not perceiue it: it was finished in foure dayes, and being ended, hee commanded it to bee carried one night vpon sleds halfe a league vp the Riuer. In the morning there entred into it thirtie men well armed. The *Indians* perceiued what was attempted, and those which were neerest, came to defend the passage. They resisted what they could, till the *Christians* came neere them; and seeing that the Barge came to the shoare, they fled away into the Groues of Canes. The *Christians* mounted on Horsebacke, and went vp the Riuer to make good the passage, whereby the Gouernour and his companie passed the Riuer. There were along the Riuer some Townes well stored with Maiz, and *French* Beanes. From thence to *Chicaça* the Gouernour trauelled fiue dayes through a Desart. He came to a Riuer, where on the other side were *Indians*, to defend the passage. He made another Barge in two dayes; and when it was finished, the Gouernour sent an *Indian* to request the *Cacique* to accept of his friendship, and peaceably to expect his comming: whom the *Indians* that were on the other side the Riuer slue before his face, and presently making a great shout went their way. Hauing passed the Riuer, the next day, being the seuenteenth of December, the Gouernour came to *Chicaça*, a small Towne of twentie houses. And after they were come to *Chicaça*, they were much troubled with cold, because it was now Winter, and it snowed, while most of them were lodged in the field, before they had time to make themselues houses. This Countrie was very well peopled, and the houses scattered like those of *Manilla*, fat and plentifull of Maiz, and the most part of it was fielding: they gathered as much as sufficed to passe the Winter. Some *Indians* were taken, among which was one whom the *Cacique* esteemed greatly. The Gouernour sent an *Indian* to signifie to the *Cacique*, that hee desired to see him and to haue his friendship. The *Cacique* came vnto him, to offer him his person, Countrie and Subiects, and told him, that he would cause two other *Caciques* to come to him in peace; who within few dayes after came with him, and with their *Indians*: The one was called *Alimamu*, the other *Nicala*. They gaue a present vnto the Gouernour of an hundred and fiftie Conies, and of the Countrie garments, to wit, of Mantles of skinnes. The *Cacique* of *Chicaça* came to visite him many times; and sometimes the Gouernour sent to call him, and sent him an Horse to goe and come. He complained vnto him, that a Subiect of his was risen against him, and depriued him of tribute, requesting his aide against him, for he meane to seeke him in his Countrie, and to punish him according to his desert. Which was nothing else but a fained plot. For they determined, as soone as the Gouernour was gone with him, and the Campe was diuided into two parts, the one part of them to set vpon the Gouernour, and the other vpon them that remained in *Chicaça*. Hee went to the Towne where he vsed to keepe his residence, and brought with him two hundred *Indians* with their Bowes and Arrowes. The Gouernour tooke thirtie Horsemen, and eightie Footmen, and they went to *Saquechuma* (for so was the Prouince called of that Chiefe man, which he said had rebelled.) They found a walled Towne, without any men: and those which went with the *Cacique* set fire on the houses, to dissemble their treason. But by reason of the great care and heedfulnesse that was as well in the Gouernours people which hee carried with him, as of those which remained in *Chicaça*, they durst not assault them at that time. The Gouernour inuited the *Cacique*, and certaine principall *Indians*, and gaue them Hogs flesh to eate. And though they did not commonly vse it, yet they were so greedy of it, that euery night there came *Indians* to certaine houses a Crosbow shot from the Campe, where the Hogs lay, and killed, and carried away as many as they could. And three *Indians* were taken in the manner. Two of them the Gouernour commanded to be shot to death with Arrowes; and to cut off the hands of the other; and he sent him so handled to the *Cacique*. Who made as though it grieued him that they had offended the Gouernour, and that he was glad that he had executed that punishment on them. He lay in a plaine Countrie halfe a league from the place, where the *Christians* lodged. Foure Horsemen went a stragling thither, to wit, *Francisco Osorio*, and a seruant of the Marquesse of *Astorga*, called *Reynoso*, and two seruants of the Gouernour, the one his Page called *Ribera*, and the other *Fuentes* his Chamberlaine: and these had taken from the *Indians* some Mantles, wherewith they were offended, and forsooke their houses. The Gouernour knew of it, and commanded them to be apprehended; and condemned to death *Francisco Osorio*, and the Chamberlaine as principals, and all of them to losse of goods. The Friers and Priests and other principall persons were earnest with him to pardon *Francisco Osorio* his life, and to moderate his sentence, which he would not grant for any of them. While he was ready to command them to be drawne to the Market place to cut off their heads, there came certaine *Indians* from the *Cacique*, to complaine of them. *Iohn Ortiz*, at the request of *Baltasar de Gallegos* and other persons, changed their words, and told the Gouernour, that the *Cacique* said, hee had notice how his Lordship held those *Christians* in prison for his sake, and that they were in no fault, neither had

Taliepatana. *Cabusto.* A great Riuer. *Canauerales.* Some Towns. A Riuer. December 17. *Chicaça.* Snowe and much cold. Conies. An *Indian* stratagem. *Saquechuma.* A walled Towne.

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had they done him any wrong, and that if hee would doo him any fauour, hee should set them free. And he told the *Indians*, that the Gouernour said, he had them in prison, and that he would punish them in such sort, that they should be an example to others. Hereupon the Gouernour commanded the prisoners to be loosed. As soone as March was come, he determined to depart from *Chicaça*, and demanded of the *Cacique* two hundred men for carriages. Hee sent him answere, that he would speake with his principall men. Vpon Tuesday the eighth of March, the Gouernour went to the Towne where he was, to aske him for the men: he told him, he would send the next day. As soone as the Gouernour was come to *Chicaça*, he told *Luys de Moscoso* the Camp-master, that hee misliked the *Indians*, and that hee should keepe a strong watch that night, which he remembred but a little. The *Indians* came at the second watch in foure squadrons, euery one by it selfe, and as soone as they were descried, they sounded a Drum, and gaue the assault with a great crie, and with so great celeritie, that presently they entred with the scouts, that were somewhat distant from the Campe. And when they were perceiued of them which were in the Towne, halfe the houses were on fire, which they had kindled. That night three Horsemen chanced to be scouts, two of them were of base callings and the worst men in all the Campe, and the other, which was a Nephew of the Gouernour, which vntill then was held for a tall man, shewed himselfe there as great a coward, as any of them: for all of them ranne away. And the *Indians* without any resistance came and set the Towne on fire; and taried behind the doores for the Christians, which ranne out of the houses, not hauing any leasure to arme themselues; and as they ranne hither and thither amazed with the noise, and blinded with the smoke and flame of the fire, they knew not which way they went, neither could they light vpon their weapons, nor saddle their Horses, neither saw they the *Indians* that shot at them. Many of the Horses were burned in the Stables, and those which could breake their Halters gat loose. The disorder and flight was such, that euery man fled which way he could, without leauing any to resist the *Indians*. But God (which chastiseth his according to his pleasure, and in the greatest necessities and dangers sustaineth them with his hand) so blinded the *Indians*, that they saw not what they had done, and thought that the Horses which ranne loose, were men on Horsebacke, that gathered themselues together to set vpon them. The Gouernour onely rode on Horsebacke, and with him a Souldier called *Tapia*, and set vpon the *Indians*, and striking the first he met with his Lance, the Saddle fell with him, which with haste was euill girded, and so hee fell from his Horse. And all the people that were on foot were fled to a Wood out of the Towne, and there assembled themselues together. And because it was night, and that the *Indians* thought the Horses were men on horsebacke which came to set vpon them, as I said before, they fled; and one onely remayned dead, and that was hee whom the Gouernour slue with his Lance. The Towne lay all burnt to ashes. There died in this hurliburlie eleuen *Christians*, and fiftie Horses; and there remained an hundred Hogges, and foure hundred were burned. If any perchance had saued any clothes from the fire of *Manilla*, here they were burned, and many were clad in shirtes, for they had no leasure to take their Coates. They indured much cold in this place, and the chiefest remedie were great fires. They spent all night in caruings without sleepe: for if they warmed one side, they freezed on the other. Some inuented the weauing of certaine Mats of drie Iuie, and did weare one beneath, and another aboue: many laughed at his deuice, whom afterward necessitie inforced to doo the like. The *Christians* were so spoyled, and in such want of Saddles and weapons which were burned; that if the *Indians* had come the second night, they had ouercome them with little labour. They remoued thence to the Towne where the *Cacique* was wont to lie, because it was in the champaine Countrie. Within eight dayes after, there were many Lances and Saddles made. There were Ash-trees in those parts, whereof they made very good Lances and *Bisayes*.

Chicaza set on fire by the *Indians*.

The increase of Hogs.

The Towne where the *Cacique* lay. Ash trees.

Vpon Wednesday the 19. of March, 1541. after the Gouernour had lodged eight dayes in a Plaine, halfe a league from the place which he had wintered in, after he had set vp a forge, and tempered the Swords which in *Chicaça* were burned, and made many Targets, Saddles, and Lances; on Tuesday night, at the morning watch, many *Indians* came to assault the Campe in three squadrons, euery one by themselues: Those which watched gaue the alarme. The Gouernour with great speed set his men in order in three squadrons, and leauing some to defend the Campe, went out to encounter them. The *Indians* were ouercome and put to flight. The ground was champaine and fit for the *Christians* to take the aduantage of them; and it was now breake of day. But there happened a disorder, whereby there were slaine but three or foure *Indians* in flight: and this it was that a Frier cried out in the Campe without any iust occasion, *To the Campe, To the Campe*. Whereupon the Gouernour and all the rest repaired thither, and the *Indians* had time to saue themselues. There were some taken, by whom the Gouernour informed himselfe of the Countrie, through which he was to passe. The fiue and twentieth of April, hee departed from *Chicaça* and lodged at a small Towne called *Alimamu*. They had very little Maiz, and they were to passe a Desart of seuen dayes iourney. The next day, the Gouernour sent three Captaines euery one his way with Horsemen and Footmen to seeke prouision to passe the Desart. And *Iohn Danusco* the Auditor went with fiftene Horsemen, and fortie Footmen that way.

March, 1541.

April 25. *Alimamu*.

way that the Gouernour was to goe, and found a strong Fort made, where the *Indians* stayed for him, and many of them walked on the top of it with their weapons, hauing their bodies, thighes and armes okered and died with blacke, white, yellow and red, striped like vnto panes, so that they shewed as though they went in hose and doublets: and some of them had Plumes, and others had hornes on their heads, and their faces blacke, and their eyes done round about with streakes of red, to seeme more fierce.

Blacke, white, yellow and red colours.

Iohn Dansco sent three horsemen to aduertise the Gouernour hereof. He came presently: for his intent was to driue them from thence, saying, that if he did it not, they would be emboldned to charge him another time, when they might doe him more harme. Hee made the horsemen to alight, and set his men in foure Squadrons: The signe being giuen, they set vp the *Indians*, which made resistance till the *Christians* came neere the Fort, and assoone as they saw they could not defend themselues, by a place where a Brooke passed neere the Fort, they ran away, and from the otherside they shot some Arrowes: and because at that instant wee knew no ford for the horses to passe, they had time enough to get out of our danger. Three *Indians* were slaine there, and many *Christians* were hurt, whereof within few dayes, there died fifteene by the way.

A Desert of seuen dayes.

The Gouernour was inforced to depart presently toward *Quizquiz*. He trauelled seuen dayes through a Desert of many Marishes and thicke Woods: but it might all bee trauelled on horseback, except some Lakes which they swamme ouer. Hee came to a Towne of the Prouince of *Quizquiz* without being descried, and tooke all the people in it before they came out of their houses.

A Towne of *Quizquiz*.

An old Prophesie.

There came to the Campe sixe principall *Indians*, and said, they came to see what people they were, and that long agoe, they had beene informed by their fore-fathers, That a white people should subdue them: and that therefore they would returne to their *Cacique*, and bid him come presently to obey and serue the Gouernour: and after they had presented him with sixe or seuen skins and Mantles which they brought, they tooke their leaue of him, and returned with the other, which waited for them by the Brookes side. The *Cacique* neuer came againe nor sent other message. And because in the Towne where the Gouernour lodged, there was small store of Maiz, he remoued to another halfe a league from *Rio Grande*, where they found plentie of Maiz: And he went to see the Riuer, and found, that neere vnto it was great store of Timber to make Barges, and good situation of ground to incampe in. Presently he remooued himselfe thither. They made houses, and pitched their Campe in a plaine field a Crosse-bow shot from the Riuer. And thither was gathered all the Maiz of the Townes, which they had lately passed. They began presently to cut and hew downe Timber, and to saw plankes for Barges. The *Indians* came presently downe the Riuer: they leaped on shoare, and declared to the Gouernour, That they were subiects of a great Lord, whose name was *Aquixo*, who was Lord of many Townes, and gouerned many people on the other side of the Riuer, and came to tell him on his behalfe, that the next day he with all his men would come to see, what it would please him to command him. The next day with speed, the *Cacique* came with two hundred Canoes full of *Indians* with their Bowes and Arrowes, painted, and with great plumes of white feathers, and many other colours, with shields in their hands, wherewith they defended the Rowers on both sides, and the men of Warre stood from the head to the sterne, with their Bowes and Arrowes in their hands. The Canoe wherein the *Cacique* was, had a Tilt ouer the sterne, and hee sate vnder the Tilt; and so were other Canoes of the principall *Indians*. And from vnder the Tilt where the chiefe man sat, he gouerned and commanded the other people. All ioyned together, and came within a stones cast of the shoare. From thence the *Cacique* said to the Gouernour, which walked along the Riuers side with others that wayted on him, that he was come thither to visit, to honor, and to obey him; because he knew he was the greatest and mightiest Lord on the Earth: therefore hee would see what he would command him to doe. The Gouernour yeelded him thankes, and requested him to come on shoare, that they might the better communicate together. And without any answere to that point, hee sent him three Canoes, wherein was great store of fish and loaues, made of the substance of Prunes like vnto Brickes. After hee had receiued all, hee thanked him, and prayed him againe to come on shoare. And because the *Caciques* purpose was, to see if with dissimulation he might doe some hurt, when they saw that the Gouernour and his men were in readinesse, they beganne to goe from the shoare: and with a great cry, the Crosse-bowmen which were ready, shot at them, and slue fiue or sixe of them. They retired with great order: none did leaue his Oare, though the next to him were slaine; and shielding themselues, they went farther off. Afterward they came many times and landed: and when any of vs came toward them, they fled vnto their Canoes, which were very pleasant to behold: for they were very great and well made, and had their Tilts, Plumes, Paueses, and Flagges, and with the multitude of people that were in them, they seemed to be a faire Armie of Gallies. In thirtie dayes space, while the Gouernour remayned there, they made foure Barges. Assoone as those that passed first, were on Land on the other side, the Barges returned to the place where the Gouernour was: and within two houres after Sunne rising, all the people were ouer. The Riuer

Aquixo, a great Lord on the West side of *Rio Grande*.

200. Canoes.

Loaues made of Prunes.

Goodly great Canoes.

Foure Barges made.

They passe ouer *Rio Grande*.

was

was almost halfe a league broad. If a man stood still on the other side, it could not bee discerned, whether hee were a man or no. The Riuer was of great depth, and of a strong current: the water was alwayes muddie: there came downe the Riuer continually many trees and timber, which the force of the water and streame brought downe. There was great store of fish in it of sundry sorts, and most of it differing from the fresh water fish of *Spaine*, as hereafter shall bee shewed.

Hauing passed *Rio Grande*, the Gouernour trauelled a league and an halfe, and came to a great Towne of *Aquixo*, which was dispeopled before hee came thither. They espied thirtie *Indians* comming ouer a plaine, which the *Cacique* sent to discouer the *Christians* determination: and assoone as they had sight of them, they tooke themselues to flight. The Horsemen pursued them, and slue eleuen, and tooke fifteene. And because the Towne, whither the Gouernour went, was neere vnto the Riuer, hee sent a Captaine, with as many men as hee thought sufficient to carrie the Barges vp the Riuer. And because in his trauelling by land, many times hee went farre from the Riuer to compasse the creekes that came from it, the *Indians* tooke occasion to set vpon them of the Barges, and put them in great danger, because that by reason of the great current, they durst not leaue the shoare, and from the banke they shot at them. Assoone as the Gouernour was come to the Towne, hee presently sent Crosse-bowmen downe the Riuer, which came to rescue them: and vpon the comming of the Barges to the Towne, hee commanded them to be broken, and to saue the Iron for others, when it should be needfull. He lay there one night, and the day following, he set forward to seeke a Prouince, called *Pacaha*: which he was informed to bee neere vnto *Chisca*, where the *Indians* told him there was gold. Hee passed through great Townes of *Aquixo*, which were all abandoned for feare of the *Christians*. Hee vnderstood by certaine *Indians* that were taken, that three dayes iourney from thence dwelt a great *Cacique*, whose name was *Casqui*. He came to a small Riuer, where a Bridge was made, by which they passed: that day till Sun-set, they went all in water, which in some places came to the waste, and in some to the knees. When they saw themselues on dry land, they were very glad, because they feared they should wander vp and downe as forlorne men all night in the water. At noone they came to the first Towne of *Casqui*: they found the *Indians* careless, because they had no knowledge of them. There were many men and women taken, and store of goods, as Mantles and skinnes, as well in the first Towne, as in another, which stood in a field halfe a league from thence in sight of it; whither the Horsemen ranne. This Countrie is higher, driet, and more champaine, then any part bordering neere the Riuer, that vntill then they had seene. There were in the fields many Walnut-trees, bearing soft shelled Walnuts, in fashion like bullets, and in the houses they found many of them, which the *Indians* had laid vp in store. The trees differed in nothing else from those of *Spaine*, nor from those which we had seene before, but onely that they haue a smaller leafe. There were many Mulberie trees and Plum trees, which bare red Plums like those of *Spaine*, and other gray, somewhat differing, but farre better. And all the trees are all the yeere so fruitfull, as if they were planted in Orchards: and the Woods were very thinne. The Gouernour trauelled two dayes through the Countrie of *Casqui*, before he came to the Towne where the *Cacique* was: and the most of the way was alway by Champaine ground, which was full of great Townes, so that from one Towne, you might see two or three. Hee sent an *Indian* to certifie the *Cacique*, that hee was comming to the place where hee was, with intent to procure his friendship, and to hold him as his brother. Whereunto hee answered, That he should be welcome, and that he would receiue him with speciall good will, and accomplish all that his Lordship would command him. He sent him a Present vpon the way; to wit, skinnes, Mantles, and fish: And after these complements, the Gouernour found all the Townes as he passed, inhabited with people, which peaceably attended his comming, and offered him skinnes, Mantles, and fish. The *Cacique* accompanied with many *Indians* came out of the Towne, and stayed halfe a league on the way to receiue the Gouernour.

Within a while after both of them vsed words of great offers and courtesie the one to the other, and the *Cacique* requested him to lodge in his houses. The Gouernour, to preserue the peace the better, excused himselfe, saying, that hee would lodge in the fields. And because it was very hot, they camped neere certaine trees a quarter of a league from the Towne. The *Cacique* went to his Towne, and came againe with many *Indians* singing. Assoone as they came to the Gouernour, all of them prostrated themselues vpon the ground. Among these came two *Indians* that were blind. The *Cacique* made a speech: that seeing the Gouernour was the Sonne of the Sunne, and a great Lord, he besought him to doe him the fauour to giue sight to those two blind men. The blind men rose vp presently, and very earnestly requested the same of the Gouernour. He answered, *That in the high Heauens was hee that had power to giue them health, and whatsoeuer they could aske of him; whose seruant he was: And that this Lord made the Heauens and the Earth, and man after his owne likenesse, and that hee suffered vpon the Crosse to saue Mankind, and rose againe the third day, and that he died as he was man, and as touching his Diuinitie, he was, and is immortall; and that he ascended into Heauen, where hee standeth with his armes open to receiue all such as turne vnto him: and straight way hee commanded him to make a very high Crosse of wood.*

Pacaha neere vnto Chisca.

Great townes.

The first towne of Casqui.

Walnut trees, with soft shels.

Many Mulberie trees and Plum trees.

Many great Townes.

The chiefe Towne of the Cacique of Casqui.

Spanish Indian Preaching.

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which was set vp in the highest place of the Towne; declaring vnto him, that the Christians *worshipped the same in resemblance and memorie of that whereon Christ suffered. The Gouernour and his men kneeled downe before it, and the* Indians *did the like.* The Gouernour willed him, that from thence-forth he should worship the same, and should aske whatsoeuer they stood in need of, of that Lord that he told him was in Heauen. Then he asked him how farre it was from thence to *Pacaha*: He said, one dayes iournie, and that at the end of his Countrie, there was a Lake like a Brooke which falleth into *Rio Grande*, and that hee would send men before to make a Bridge whereby hee might passe. The same day that the Gouernour departed thence, hee lodged at a Towne belonging to *Casqui*: and the next day he passed in sight of other Townes, and came to the Lake, which was halfe a Crosse-bow shot ouer, of a great depth and current. At the time of his comming, the *Indians* had made an end of the Bridge, which was made of timber, laid one tree after another: and on one side it had a course of stakes higher then the Bridge, for them that passed to take hold on. The *Cacique* of *Casqui* came to the Gouernour, and brought his people with him. The Gouernour sent word by an *Indian* to *Cacique* of *Pacaha*, that though he were enemie to the *Cacique* of *Casqui*, and though he were there, yet hee would doe him no disgrace nor hurt, if hee would attend him peaceably, and imbrace his friendship; but rather would intreate him as a Brother. The *Indian*, which the Gouernour sent, came againe, and said, that the *Cacique* made none account of that which he told him, but fled with all his men out at the other side of the Towne. Presently the Gouernour entred, and ranne before with the Horsemen, that way, by which the *Indians* fled; and at another Towne distant a quarter of a league from thence, they tooke many *Indians*: and assoone as the Horsemen had taken them, they deliuered them to the *Indians* of *Casqui*, whom, because they were their enemies, with much circumspection and reioycing, they brought to the Towne where the *Christians* were: and the greatest griefe they had, was this, that they could not get leaue to kill them. There were found in the Towne many Mantles, and Deere skinnes, Lions skinnes, and Beares skinnes, and many Cats skinnes. Many came so farre poorely apparelled, and there they clothed themselues: of the Mantles, they made them Coates and Cassocks, and some made Gownes, and lined them with Cats skinnes; and likewise their Cassocks. Of the Deeres skinnes, some made them also Ierkins, Shirts, Hose and Shooes: and of the Beare skinnes, they made them very good Clokes: for no water could pierce them. There were Targets of raw Oxe Hides found there, with which Hides they armed their Horses.

A Towne belonging to *Casqui*.
Other townes.
Targets of raw Oxe hides.
Pacaha, a verie great Towne beset with Towres.
Great walled Townes.
Nets found.
The diuers sorts of excellent fish in *Rio Grande*.
Gold & Copper in *Chisca*.
A poore towne
Great store of Oxen toward the North of *Pacaha*.
This is like *Quiuera*.

Vpon Wednesday the nineteenth of Iune, the Gouernour entred into *Pacaha*: He lodged in the Towne, where the *Cacique* vsed to reside, which was very great, walled, and beset with Towres, and many loope-holes were in the Towres and Wall. And in the Towne was great store of old Maiz, and great quantitie of new in the fields. Within a league and halfe a league were great Townes all walled. Where the Gouernour was lodged, was a great Lake, that came neere vnto the wall: and it entred into a ditch that went round about the Towne, wanting but a little to enuiron it round. From the Lake to the great Riuer was made a weare by the which the fish came into it; which the *Cacique* kept for his recreation and sport: with Nets that were found in the Towne, they tooke as much as they would: and tooke they neuer so much, there was no want perceiued. There was also great store of fish in many other Lakes that were thereabout, but it was soft, and not so good as that which came from the Riuer, and the most of it was different from the fresh water fish of *Spaine*. There was a fish which they called *Bagres*: the third part of it was head, and it had on both sides the gils, and along the sides great prickes like very sharpe Awles: those of this kind that were in the Lakes were as bigge as Pikes: and in the Riuer, there were some of an hundred, and of an hundred and fiftie pounds weight, and many of them were taken with the hooke. There was another fish like Barbels; and another like Breames, headed like a delicate fish, called in *Spaine Besugo*, betweene red and grey. This was thereof most esteeme. There was another fish called a Pele fish: it had a snowt of a Cubit long, and at the end of the vpper lip it was made like a Peele. There was another fish like a Welterne Shad: And all of them had scales, except the *Bagres*, and the Pele fish. There was another fish, which somtimes the *Indians* brought vs, of the bignesse of an Hogge, they call it the *Pereo* fish: it had rowes of teeth beneath and aboue.

From thence he sent thirtie Horsemen, and fiftie Footmen to the Prouince of *Caluça*, to see if from thence he might trauell to *Chisca*, where the *Indians* said, there was a worke of Gold and Copper. They trauelled seuen dayes iournie through a Desert, and returned very wearie, eating greene Plums and stalkes of Maiz, which they found in a poore Towne of sixe or seuen houses. From thence forward toward the North, the *Indians* said, That the Countrie was very ill inhabited, because it was very cold: And that there were such store of Oxen, that they could keepe no Corne for them: and that the *Indians* liued vpon their flesh. The Gouernour seeing, that toward that part the Countrie was so poore of Maiz, that in it they could not bee sustained, demanded of the *Indians*, which way it was most inhabited: and they said, they had notice of a great Prouince, and a very plentifull Countrie, which was called *Quigaate*, and it was toward the South.

The

The Gouernour tooke his iournie toward *Quigaute*. The fourth day of Auguſt, hee came to the Towne, where the *Cacique* vſed to keepe his Reſidencie: on the way hee ſent him a Preſent of many Mantles and Skinnes, and not daring to ſtay for him in the Towne, hee abſented himſelfe. The Towne was the greateſt that was ſeene in *Florida*. *Quigaute.* The greateſt Towne ſeene in *Florida.*

They tooke many men and women. Now ſeeing the hurt which they ſuſtained for their Rebellion, they came to ſee what the Gouernour would command them, and paſſed to and fro many times, and brought Preſents of Cloth and Fiſh. The *Cacique* and his two wiues were in the lodging of the Gouernour looſe, and the Halbardiers of his Guard did keepe them. The Gouernour asked them which way the Countrie was moſt inhabited? They ſaid, that toward the South downe the Riuer were great Townes and *Caciques*, which commanded great Countries, and much people: And that toward the North-weſt, there was a Prouince neere to certaine Mountaines that was called *Coligoa*: The Gouernour and all the reſt thought good to goe firſt to *Coligoa*: ſaying, that peraduenture the Mountaines would make ſome difference of ſoile, and that beyond them there might be ſome Gold or Siluer: As for *Quigaute*, *Caſqui*, and *Pacaha*, they were plaine Countries, fat grounds, and full of good Medowes on the Riuers, where the *Indians* ſowed large fields of Maiz. From *Tuſcaluca* to *Rio grande*, or the great Riuer, is about three hundred leagues: it is a very low Countrie, and hath many Lakes. From *Pacaha* to *Quigaute* may bee an hundred leagues. The Gouernour left the *Cacique* of *Quigaute* in his owne Towne: And an *Indian*, which was his Guide, led him through great Woods without any way ſeuen dayes iournie through a Deſert, where at euery lodging, they lodged in Lakes and Pooles in very ſhoald water: there was ſuch ſtore of fiſh, that they killed them with cudgels; and the *Indians* which they carried in chains, with the mud troubled the waters, and the fiſh being therewith, as it were, aſtonied, came to the top of the water, and they tooke as much as they liſted. The *Indians* of *Coligoa* had no knowledge of the *Chriſtians*, and when they came ſo neere the Towne, that the *Indians* ſaw them, they fled vp a Riuer, which paſſed neere the Towne, and ſome leaped into it; but the *Chriſtians* went on both ſides of the Riuer, and tooke them. There were many men and women taken, and the *Cacique* with them. And by his commandement within three dayes came many *Indians* with a Preſent of Mantles and Deeres skinnes, and two Oxe hides: And they reported, that fiue or ſixe leagues from thence toward the North, there were many of theſe Oxen, and that becauſe the Countrie was cold, it was euill inhabited: That the beſt Countrie which they knew, the moſt plentifull, and moſt inhabited, was a Prouince called *Cayas*, lying toward the South. From *Quigaute* to *Coligoa* may be ſortie leagues. It was a fat ſoile and ſo plentifull of Maiz, that they caſt out the old, to bring in the new. There was alſo great plentie of *French* Beanes and Pompions. The *French* Beanes were greater, and better then thoſe of *Spaine*, and likewiſe the Pompions, and being roaſted, they haue almoſt the taſte of Cheſtnuts. The *Cacique* of *Coligoa* gaue a Guide to *Cayas*, and ſtayed behind in his owne Towne. We trauelled fiue dayes, and came to the Prouince of *Paliſema*. The houſe of the *Cacique* was found couered with Deeres skins of diuers colours and workes drawne in them, and with the ſame in manner of Carpets was the ground of the houſe couered. The *Cacique* left it ſo, that the Gouernour might lodge in it, in token that hee ſought peace and his friendſhip. But hee durſt not tarrie his comming. The Gouernour, ſeeing he had abſented himſelfe, ſent a Captaine with Horſemen and Footmen to ſeeke him: He found much people, but by reaſon of the roughneſſe of the Country, he tooke none ſaue a few women and children. The Towne was little and ſcattering, and had very little Maiz. For which cauſe the Gouernour ſpeedily departed from thence. He came to another Towne called *Tatalicoya*, he carried with him the *Cacique* thereof, which guided him to *Cayas*. From *Tatalicoya* are foure dayes iournie to *Cayas*. When he came to *Cayas*, and ſaw the Towne ſcattered; he thought they had told him a lye, and that it was not the Prouince of *Cayas*, becauſe they had informed him that it was well inhabited: He threatned the *Cacique*, charging him to tell him where he was: and he and other *Indians* which were taken neere about that place, affirmed that this was the Towne of *Cayas*, and the beſt that was in that Country, and that though the houſes were diſtant the one from the other, yet the ground that was inhabited was great, and that there was great ſtore of people, and many fields of Maiz. This Towne was called *Tanico*: he pitched his Campe in the beſt part of it neere vnto a Riuer. The ſame day that the Gouernour came thither, he went a league farther with certaine Horſemen, and without finding any, he found many skinnes in a pathway, which the *Cacique* had left there, that they might bee found, in token of peace. For ſo is the cuſtome in that Countrey.

Clothe

Coligoa neere to certaine Mountaines North-weſt.

A new way to take fiſh.

Coligoa. A Riuer.

Two oxe hides Store of oxen toward the North.

The Prouince of *Paliſema.*

Tatalicoya.

Cayas.

Tanico.

The Gouernour reſted a moneth in the Prouince of *Cayas*. In which time the horſes fattened and thriued more, then in other places in a longer time, with the great plentie of Maiz and the leanes thereof, which I thinke was the beſt that hath beene ſeene, and they dranke of a Lake of very hot water, and ſomewhat brackiſh, and they dranke ſo much, that it ſwelled in their bellies when they brought them from the watering. Vntill that time the *Chriſtians* wanted Salt, and there they made good ſtore, which they carried along with them. The *Indians* doe cartie it to other places to exchange it for Skins and Mantles. They make it along the Riuer, which when it

A Lake of hot and ſomewhat brackiſh water

Store of Salt made at *Cayas.*

it ebbeth, leaueth it vpon the vpper part of the sand. And because they cannot make it, without much sand mingled with it, they throw it into certaine baskets which they haue for that purpose, broad at the mouth, and narrow at the bottome, and set it in the Aire vpon a barre, and throw water into it, and set a small Vessell vnder it, wherein it falleth: Beeing strained and set to boyle vpon the fire, when the water is sodden away, the Salt remayneth in the bottome of the Pan. On both sides of the Riuer the Countrie was full of sowne fields, and there was store of Maiz.

Many Oxe hides with wool on them, as soft as sheeps wooll. *Gomara Histor. Gener. cap.* 215.

Immediately the Gouernour with certaine Horsemen and fifty Footmen, departed toward *Tulla*, hee found the Towne abandoned: for the *Indians* durst not tarrie his comming. The *Cacique* came, and eightie *Indians* with him. He brought a Present of many Oxe hides: which, because the Countrie was cold, were very profitable, and serued for Couerlets, because they were very soft, and woolled like sheepe. Not farre from thence toward the North were many Oxen. The *Christians* saw them not, nor came into the Countrie where they were, because those parts were euill inhabited, and had small store of Maiz where they were bred. The *Cacique* of *Tulla* made an Oration to the Gouernour, wherein he excused himselfe, and offered him his Country, subiects, and person. Aswell this *Cacique* as the others, and all those which came to the Gouernour on their behalfe, deliuered their message or speech in so good order, that no Oratour could vtter the same more eloquently.

Many Oxen toward the North.

The great eloquence of the *Indians*.

§. III.

His departure to Autiamque, ORTIZ *his death and disasters following:* SOTO *takes thought and dieth.* MOSCOSCO *succeedeth. They leaue* Florida, *and arriue at* Panuco.

THE Gouernour informed himselfe of all the Countrie round about; and vnderstood, that toward the West was a scattered dwelling, and that toward the South-east were great Townes, especially in a Prouince called *Autiamque*, ten daies iourney from *Tulla*; which might be about eightie leagues; and that it was a plentifull Countrey of Maiz. And because Winter came on, and that they could not trauell two or three moneths in the yeere for cold, waters, and snow: and fearing, that if they should stay so long in the scattered dwelling, they could not be susteined; and also because the *Indians* said, that neere to *Autiamque* was a great water, and according to their relation, the Gouernour thought it was some arme of the Sea: And because hee now desired to send newes of himselfe to *Cuba*, that some supply of men and horses might be sent vnto him: (for it was aboue three yeeres, since *Donna Isabella*, which was in *Hauana*, or any other person in Christendome had heard of him, and by this time hee had lost two hundred and fiftie men, and one hundred and fiftie horses) he determined to winter in *Autiamque*, and the next Spring, to goe to the Sea Coast, and to make two Brigantines, and send one of them to *Cuba*, and the other to *Nueua Espanna*, that that which went in safetie, might giue newes of him: Hoping with the goods which he had in *Cuba*, to furnish himselfe againe, and to attempt the Discouerie and conquest toward the West: for he had not yet come where *Cabeça de Vaca* had beene. Thus hauing sent away the two *Caciques* of *Cayas* and *Tulla*, hee tooke his iournie toward *Autiamque*: He trauelled fiue dayes ouer very rough Mountaines, and came to a Towne called *Quipana*, where no *Indians* could bee taken for the roughnesse of the Countrie: and the Towne being betweene Hils, there was an ambush laid, wherewith they tooke two *Indians*; which told them, that *Autiamque* was sixe dayes iournie from thence, and that there was another Prouince toward the South eight dayes iournie off, plentifull of Maiz, and very well peopled, which was called *Guahata*. But because *Autiamque* was neerer, and the most of the *Indians* agreed of it, the Gouernor made his iournie that way. In three dayes hee came to a Towne called *Anoixi*. He sent a Captaine before with thirtie Horsemen, and fiftie Footmen, and tooke the *Indians* carelesse, he tooke many men and women prisoners. Within two dayes after the Gouernour came to another Towne called *Catamaya*, and lodged in the fields of the Towne. Two *Indians* came with a false message from the *Cacique* to know his determination. He bad them tell their Lord, that hee should come and speake with him. The *Indians* returned and came no more, nor any other message from the *Cacique*. The next day the *Christians* went to the Towne, which was without people: they tooke as much Maiz as they needed. That day they lodged in a Wood; and the next day they came to *Autiamque*. They found much Maiz laid vp in store, and *French* Beanes, and Walnuts and Prunes, great store of all sorts. They tooke some *Indians* which were gathering together the stuffe which their wiues had hidden. This was a Champaine Countrie, and well inhabited. The Gouernor lodged in the best part of the Towne, and commanded presently to make a fence of timber round about the Campe distant from the houses,

A winter of two or three moneths.

Quipana, fiue dayes iournie from *Tulla*.

Guahata.

Anoixi.

Catamaya.

Autiamque sixe dayes iournie from *Quipana*.

ſes, that the *Indians* might not hurt them without by fire. And meaſuring the ground by paces, he appointed euery one his part to doe according to the number of *Indians* which he had: preſently the timber was brought by them; and in three dayes there was an incloſure made of very high and thicke poſts thruſt into the ground, and many rayles laid acroſſe. Hard by this Towne paſſed a Riuer, that came out of the Prouince of *Cayas*; and aboue and beneath it was very well peopled. They ſtayed in *Antiamque* three moneths with great plentie of Maiz, *French* Beanes, Walnuts, Prunes, and Conies: which vntill that time they knew not how to catch. And in *Antiamque* the *Indians* taught them how to take them: which was, with great ſpringes, which lifted vp their feet from the ground: And the ſnare was made with a ſtrong ſtring, whereunto was faſtned a knot of a cane, which ranne cloſe about the necke of the Conie, becauſe they ſhould not gnaw the ſtring. They tooke many in the fields of Maiz, eſpecially when it freezed or ſnowed. The *Chriſtians* ſtayed there one whole moneth ſo incloſed with ſnowe, that they went not out of the Towne: and when they wanted fire-wood, the Gouernour with his Horſmen going and comming many times to the Wood, which was two Croſ-bow ſhot from the Towne, made a path-way, whereby the Footmen went for wood. In this meane ſpace, ſome *Indians* which went looſe, killed many Conies with their Gines, and with their Arrowes. Theſe Conies were of two ſorts, ſome were like thoſe of *Spaine*, and the other of the ſame colour and faſhion, and as bigge as great Hares, longer, and hauing greater loines.

A Riuer.

Three months abode in *Antiamque*.

Froſt and ſnow

A moneth of ſnow.

Conies of two ſorts.

Vpon Monday the ſixt of March, 1542. the Gouernour departed from *Antiamque* to ſeeke *Nilco*, which the *Indians* ſaid was neere the *Great Riuer*, with determination to come to the Sea, and procure ſome ſuccour of Men and Horſes: for he had now but three hundred Men of warre, and fortie Horſes, and ſome of them lame, which did nothing but helpe to make vp the number: and for want of Iron, they had gone aboue a yeere vnſhod: and becauſe they were vſed to it in the plaine Countrie, it did them no great harme. *Iohn Ortiz* died in *Antiamque*; which grieued the Gouernour very much: becauſe that without an Interpreter he feared to enter farre into the Land, where hee might bee loſt: whereby it often happened, that the way that they went one day, and ſometimes two or three dayes, they turned backe, and went aſtray through the wood here and there. The Gouernour ſpent ten dayes in trauelling from *Antiamque* to a Prouince called *Ayays*; and came to a Towne that ſtood neere the Riuer that paſſeth by *Cayas* and *Antiamque*. There hee commanded a Barge to bee made, wherewith hee paſſed the Riuer. When he had paſſed the Riuer, there fell out ſuch weather, that foure dayes he could not trauell for Snow. As ſoone as it gaue ouer ſnowing, he went three dayes iourney through a Wilderneſſe, and a Countrie ſo lowe, and ſo full of Lakes and euill wayes, that he trauelled one time a whole day in water, ſometimes knee deepe, ſometimes to the ſtirrup, and ſometimes they ſwamme. He came to a Towne called *Tutelpinco*, abandoned, and without Maiz: there paſſed by it a Lake, that entred into the Riuer, which carried a great ſtreame and force of water.

March 6. 1542.

The death of *Iohn Ortiz*, and the great miſſe of him, being their Interpreter.

Ayays.

A Riuer.

Great ſnow about the twentieth of March

Tutelpinco.

A great Lake.

The Gouernour went a whole day along the Lake ſeeking paſſage, and could finde none, nor any way that did paſſe to the other ſide. Comming againe at night to the Towne he found two peaceable *Indians*, which ſhewed him the paſſage, and which way hee was to goe. There they made of canes, and of the timber of houſes thatched with canes, rafts wherewith they paſſed the Lake. They trauelled three dayes, and came to a Towne of the Territorie of *Nilco*, called *Tiamo*. There they tooke thirtie *Indians*, and among them two principall men of this Towne. The Gouernour ſent a Captaine with Horſemen and Footmen before to *Nilco*, becauſe the *Indians* might haue no time to carrie away the prouiſion. They paſſed through 3. or 4. great Towns; and in the Towne where the *Cacique* was reſident, which was two leagues from the place where the Gouernour remained, they found many *Indians* with their Bowes and Arrowes, in manner as though they would haue ſtayed to fight, which did compaſſe the Towne; and as ſoone as they ſaw the *Chriſtians* come neere them without misdoubting them, they ſet the *Caciques* houſe on fire, and fled ouer a Lake that paſſed neere the Towne, through which the Horſes could not paſſe.

Rafts wherewith they paſſed the Lake.

Tiamo.

3. or 4. great Townes.

The next day being Wedneſday the nine and twentieth of March, the Gouernour came to *Nilco*: he lodged with all his men in the *Caciques* Towne, which ſtood in a plaine field, which was inhabited for the ſpace of a quarter of a league: and within a league and halfe a league were other very great Townes, wherein was great ſtore of Maiz, of *French* Beanes, of Walnuts, and Prunes. This was the beſt inhabited Countrie, that was ſeene in *Florida*, and had moſt ſtore of Maiz, except *Coça*, and *Apalache*. There came to the Campe an *Indian* accompanied with others, and in the *Caciques* name gaue the Gouernour a Mantle of Marterns skinnes, and a Cordon of Pearles. The Gouernour gaue him a few ſmall Margarites, which are certaine Beades much eſteemed in *Peru*, and other things, wherewith he was very well contented. He promiſed to returne within two dayes, but neuer came againe; but on the contrary the *Indians* came by night in Canoas, and carried away all the Maiz they could, and made them Cabins on the other ſide of the Riuer.

March 29.

Nilco.

Very great Townes.

The beſt Countrie of *Florida*.

Marterns skinnes.

A cordon of Pearles.

This Riuer which paſſed by *Nilco*, was that which paſſed by *Cayas* and *Antiamque*, and fell into *Rio grande*, or the Great Riuer, which paſſed by *Pachaba* and *Aquixo*, neere vnto the Prouince of *Guacheya*. Within few dayes the Gouernour determined to goe to *Guacheya*, to learne

A Riuer falling into *Rio grande*.

there whether the Sea were neere, or whether there were any habitation neere, where he might relieue his companie, while the Brigantines were making, which he meant to ſend to the Land of the *Chriſtians*. He came to *Guachoya* vpon Sunday the ſeuenteenth of Aprill: hee lodged in the Towne of the *Cacique*, which was incloſed about, and ſeated a Croſs-bow ſhot diſtant from the Riuer. Here the Riuer is called *Tamaliſeu*; and in *Nilco*, *Tapatu*; and in *Coça*, *Mico*; and in the Port or Mouth, *Ri*.

Guachoya.

Foure names of *Rio grande.*

The *Cacique* of *Guachoya* brought with him many *Indians* with great ſtore of Fiſh, Dogges, Deeres skinnes, and Mantles. Hee asked him whether he had any notice of the Sea. Hee anſwered, no, nor of any Townes downe the Riuer on that ſide. The Gouernour thought that the *Cacique* lyed vnto him, to rid him out of his owne Townes, and ſent *Iohn Danuſco* with eight Horſemen downe the Riuer, to ſee what habitation there was, and to informe himſelfe, if there were any notice of the Sea. He trauelled eight dayes, and at his returne he ſaid, that in all that time he was not able to goe aboue fourteene or fifteene leagues, becauſe of the great creekes that came out of the Riuer, and groues of Canes, and thicke Woods that were along the bankes of the Riuer, and that he had found no habitation. The Gouernour fell into great dumpes, to ſee how hard it was to get to the Sea: and worſe, becauſe his Men and Horſes euery day diminiſhed, being without ſuccour to ſuſtaine themſelues in the Countrie: and with that thought hee fell ſicke. But before he tooke his bed, he ſent an *Indian* to the *Cacique* of *Quigalta*, to tell him, that he was the Child of the Sunne, and that all the way that he came all men obeyed and ſerued him, that he requeſted him to accept of his friendſhip, and come vnto him; for he would be very glad to ſee him: and in ſigne of loue and obedience to bring ſomething with him of that which in his Councrie was moſt eſteemed. The *Cacique* anſwered by the ſame *Indian*:

The Gouernor falleth ſicke of thought.

A moſt wittie and ſtout anſwer of the *Cacique* of *Quigalta.*

That whereas he ſaid, that he was the Childe of the Sunne, if he would drie vp the Riuer hee would beleeue him: and touching the reſt, that he was wont to viſit none: but rather that all thoſe of whom hee had notice did viſit him, ſerued, obeyed and paid him tributes willingly or perforce: therefore if hee deſired to ſee him, it were beſt he ſhould come thither: that if he came in peace, hee would receiue him with ſpeciall goodwill; and if in warre, in like manner he would attend him in the Towne where he was, and that for him or any other he would not ſhrinke one foote backe.

By that time the *Indian* returned with this anſwere, the Gouernour had betaken himſelfe to bed, being euill handled with Feuers, and was much aggrieued, that hee was not in caſe to paſſe preſently the Riuer, and to ſeek him, to ſee if he could abate that pride of his, conſidering the Riuer went now very ſtrongly in thoſe parts; for it was neere halfe a league bread, and 16. fathoms deepe, & very furious, and ran with a great current; and on both ſides were many *Indians*, and his power was not now ſo great, but that he had need to helpe himſelfe rather by ſlights then force.

The Gouernour felt in himſelfe that the houre approached, wherein he was to leaue this preſent life, and called for the Kings Officers, Captaines and principall perſons. Hee named *Luys de Moſcoſo de Aluarado* his Captaine generall. And preſently he was ſworne by all that were preſent, and elected for Gouernour. The next day, being the one and twentieth of May, 1542. departed out of this life, the valorous, virtuous, and valiant Captaine, *Don Fernando de Soto*, Gouernour of *Cuba*, and Adelantado of *Florida*: whom fortune aduanced, as it vſeth to doe others, that he might haue the higher fall. Hee departed in ſuch a place, and at ſuch a time, as in his ſickneſſe he had but little comfort: and the danger wherein all his people were of periſhing in that Countrie, which appeared before their eyes, was cauſe ſufficient, why euery one of them had neede of comfort, and why they did not viſite nor accompanie him as they ought to haue done. *Luys de Moſcoſo* determined to conceale his death from the *Indians*, becauſe *Ferdinando de Soto* had made them beleeue, That the *Chriſtians* were immortall; and alſo becauſe they tooke him to be hardy, wiſe, and valiant: and if they ſhould knowe that hee was dead, they would be bold to ſet vpon the *Chriſtians*, though they liued peaceably by them. In regard of their diſpoſition, and becauſe they were nothing conſtant, and beleeued all that was told them, the Adelantado made them beleeue, that he knew ſome things that paſſed in ſecret among themſelues, without their knowledge, how, or in what manner he came by them: and that the figure which appeared in a Glaſſe, which he ſhewed them, did tell him whatſoeuer they practiſed and went about: and therefore neither in word nor deed durſt they attempt any thing that might be preiudiciall vnto him.

The death of *Don Ferdinando de Soto*, the 21. of May, 1542. at *Guacoya.*

A wittie ſtratagem.

As ſoone as he was dead, *Luys de Moſcoſo* commanded to put him ſecretly in an houſe, where he remayned three dayes: and remouing him from thence, commanded him to be buried in the night at one of the gates of the Towne within the wall. And as the *Indians* had ſeene him ſick, and miſſed him, ſo did they ſuſpect what might be. And paſſing by the place where he was buried, ſeeing, the earth moued, they looked and ſpake one to another. *Luys de Moſcoſo* vnderſtanding of it, commanded him to be taken vp by night, and to caſt a great deale of ſand into the Mantles, wherein he was winded vp, wherein he was carried in a Canoa, and throwne into the midſt of the Riuer. The *Cacique* of *Guachoya* inquired of him, demanding what was become of his brother and Lord, the Gouernor: *Luys de Moſcoſo* told him, that he was gone to Heauen, as many other times he did: and becauſe he was to ſtay there certaine dayes, he had left him in his place.

The

The *Cacique* thought with himselfe that he was dead; and commanded two young and well proportioned *Indians* to be brought thither; and said, that the vse of that Countrie was, when any Lord died, to kill *Indians*, to waite vpon him, and serue him by the way: and for that purpose by his commandement were those come thither: and prayed *Luys de Moscoso* to command them to be beheaded, that they might attend and serue his Lord and brother. *Luys de Moscoso* told him, that the Gouernour was not dead, but gone to Heauen, and that of his owne *Christian* Souldiers, he had taken such as he needed to serue him, and prayed him to command those *Indians* to be loosed, and not to vse any such bad custome from thenceforth: straightway he commanded them to be loosed, and to get them home to their houses. And one of them would not goe; saying, that he would not serue him, that without desert had iudged him to death, but that hee would serue him as long as he liued, which had saued his life.

This is also the custome of the old Tartars.

All were of opinion, that it was best to goe by land toward the West, because *Nueua Espanna* was that way; holding the Voyage by Sea more dangerous, and of greater hazard, because they could make no ship of any strength to abide a storme, neither had they Master, nor Pilot, Compas, nor Chart, neither knew they how farre the Sea was off, nor had any notice of it; nor whether the Riuer did make any great turning into the Land, or had any great fall from the Rockes, where all of them might be cast away. And some which had seene the Sea-chart, did finde, that from the place where they were, by the Sea-coast to *Nueua Espanna*, might be foure hundred leagues little more or lesse; and said, that though they went somewhat about by Land in seeking a peopled Countrie, if some great Wilderneſſe which they could not passe did not hinder them, by spending that Summer in trauell, finding prouision to passe the Winter in some peopled Countrie, that the next Summer after they might come to some *Christian* Land, and that it might fortune in their trauell by Land, to finde some rich Countrie, where they might doe themselues good. The Gouernour, although he desired to get out of *Florida* in shorter time, seeing the inconueniences they layed before him, in trauelling by Sea, determined to follow that which seemed good to them all.

Their generall resolution to trauell by land Westward.

On Monday the fifth of Iune, he departed from *Guachoya*. The *Cacique* gaue him a Guide to *Chaguate*, and stayed at home in his owne Towne. They passed through a Prouince called *Catalte*: and hauing passed a Wilderneſſe of sixe dayes Iourney, the twentieth day of the moneth he came to *Chaguate*. There he was informed of the habitation that was toward the West. They told him, that three dayes Iourney from thence was a Prouince called *Aguacay*. The Gouernour came to this Towne on Wednesday, the fourth of Iuly. He found the Towne without people, and lodged in it; he stayed there about a day; during which, he made some roades, and tooke many men and women. There they had knowledge of the South Sea.

Iune 5. *Catalte.* *Chaguate.* *Aguacay.* Knowledge of the South Sea.

The next day he came to a small Towne called *Pato*. The fourth day after his departure from *Aguacay* he came to the first habitation of a Prouince called *Amaye*. There an *Indian* was taken, which said that from thence to *Naguatex*, was a day and a halfes Iourney; which they trauelled, finding all the way inhabited places. Hauing passed the peopled Countrie of *Amaye*, on Saturday the twentieth of Iuly they pitched their Campe at noone between *Amaye* and *Naguatex*. The next day he came to the habitation of *Naguatex*, which was very scattering. Within foure dayes he departed thence, and comming to the Riuer, hee could not passe, because it was growne very bigge; which seemed to him a thing of admiration, being at that time that it was, and since it had not rained a moneth before. The *Indians* said, that it increased many times after that manner without rayning in all the Countrie. It was supposed, that it might bee the tide that came into it. It was learned that the floud came alway from aboue, and that the *Indians* of all the Countrie had no knowledge of the Sea.

Pato. *Amaye.* Iuly 20. *Naguatex.* The Riuer growne vnpassable in August at *Naguatex.* Coniectures of a Sea to the Northward.

Hee departed from *Naguatex*, and within three dayes Iourney came to a Towne of foure or fiue houses, which belonged to the *Cacique* of that Prouince, which is called *Nissoone*: it was euill inhabited, and had little Maiz. Two dayes iourney forward the Guides which guided the Gouernour, if they were to goe Westward, guided him to the East; and sometimes went vp and downe through very great Woods out of the way. The Gouernour commanded them to bee hanged vpon a tree: and a woman that they tooke in *Nissoone* guided him, and went backe againe to seeke the way. In two dayes he came to another miserable Towne, called *Lacane*: an *Indian* was taken in that place, and said, that the Countrie of *Noudacao* was a Countrie of great habitation, and the houses scattering the one from the other, as they vse to be in Mountaines, and had great store of Maiz. The *Cacique* came with his men weeping, like them of *Naguatex*: for this is their vse, in token of obedience: he made him a present of much fish, and offered to doe what he would command him.

Nissoone. *Lacane.* *Noudacao.*

The Gouernour departed from *Noudacao* toward *Soacatino*, and in fiue dayes iourney came to a Prouince called *Aays*. That day that the Gouernour departed from thence, the *Indian* that guided him said, that in *Noudacao* he had heard say, that the *Indians* of *Soacatino* had seene other *Christians*, whereof they were all glad; thinking it might be true, and that they might haue entred into those parts by *Nueua Espanna*; and that if it were so, it was in their owne hands to goe out of *Florida*, if they found nothing of profit: for they feared they should lose themselues

Aays.

in

in some wilderneſſe. This *Indian* led him two dayes out of the way. The Gouernour commanded to torture him. He ſaid, that the *Cacique* of *Nondacao*, his Lord, commanded him to guide them ſo, becauſe they were his enemies, and that he was to doe as his Lord commanded him. The Gouernour commanded him to be caſt to the dogs: and another guided him to *Soacatino*, whither he came the day following. It was a very poore Country: there was great want of Maiz in that place. He asked the *Indians* whether they knew of any other *Chriſtians*. They ſaid, that a little from thence toward the South they heard they were. He trauelled twentie dayes through a Country euill inhabited, where they ſuffered great ſcarſitie and trouble. For that little Maiz which the *Indians* had, they had hidden and buried in the woods, where the *Chriſtians*, after they were well wearied with trauell, at the end of their iourney went to ſeeke by digging what they ſhould eate. At laſt, comming to a Prouince that was called *Guaſco*, they found Maiz, wherewith they loaded their horſes, and the *Indians* that they had.

Soacatino.

Twenty daies trauell toward the South.

Guaſco: here they found ſome Turkie ſtones, & mantles of Cotten wooll.

The Indians told them there, that ten daies iournie from thence toward the Weſt, was a Riuer called *Daycao*: whither they went ſometimes a hunting and killing of Deere: and that they had ſeene people on the other ſide, but knew not what habitation was there. There the *Chriſtians* tooke ſuch Maiz as they found and could carry, and going ten daies iournie through a wilderneſſe, they came to the Riuer which the *Indians* had told them of. Ten horſemen which the Gouernour had ſent before, paſſed ouer the ſame, and went in a way that led to the Riuer, and lighted vpon a company of *Indians* that dwelt in very little cabins; who, as ſoone as they ſaw them, tooke themſelues to flight, leauing that which they had; all which was nothing but miſerie and pouertie. The Countrie was ſo poore, that among them all there was not found halfe a pecke of Maiz. The horſemen tooke too *Indians*, and returned with them to the Riuer, where the Gouernour ſtaied for them. He ſought to learne of them what habitation was toward the Weſt. There was none in the Campe that could vnderſtand their language. The Gouernour aſſembled the Captaines and principall perſons, to determine with their aduice what they ſhould doe. And the moſt part ſaid, that they thought it beſt to returne backe to *Rio grande*, or the great Riuer of *Guachoya*; becauſe that id *Nilco* and thereabout was ſtore of Maiz; ſaying, that they would make Pinnaces that winter, and the next Summer paſſe downe the Riuer to the Seaward in them, and comming to the Sea they would goe along the coaſt to *Nueua Eſpanna*. For though it ſeemed a doubtfull thing and difficult, by that which they had already alleadged, yet it was the laſt remedy they had. For by land they could not goe for want of an Interpreter. And they held that the Countrie beyond the Riuer of *Dayaca*, where they were, was that which *Cabeça de Vaca* mentioned in his relation that he paſſed *of the Indians, which liued like the Alarbes, hauing no ſetled place*, and fed vpon *Tunas* and rootes of the fields, and wilde beaſts that they killed. Which if it were ſo, if they ſhould enter into it, and finde not victuals to paſſe the winter, they could not chooſe but periſh. For they were entred already into the beginning of October: and if they ſtaied any longer, they were not able to returne for raine and ſnowes, nor to ſuſtaine themſelues in ſo poore a Countrie. The Gouernour (that deſired long to ſee himſelfe in a place where hee might ſleepe his full ſleepe, rather then to conquer and gouerne a Countrie where ſo many troubles preſented themſelues) preſently returned backe that ſame way that he came.

The Riuer of *Daycao*: which ſeemeth to be *Rio del oro*.

No trauelling by land without an Interpreter.

When that which was determined was publiſhed to the Campe, there were many that were greatly grieued at it: for they held the Sea voyage as doubtfull, for the euill meanes they had, and as great danger as the trauelling by land: and they hoped to finde ſome rich Countrey before they came to the land of the *Chriſtians*, by that which *Cabeça de Vaca* had told the Emperour: and that was this; That after he had found cloathes made of Cotten wooll, hee ſaw Gold and Siluer, and ſtones of great value. And they had not yet come where hee had beene: For vntill that place he alwayes trauelled by the Sea coaſt: and they trauelled farre within the land; and that going toward the Weſt, of neceſſitie they ſhould come where he had beene. For he ſaid, That in a certaine place he trauelled many dayes, and entred into the land toward the North. And in *Guaſco* they had already found ſome Turkie ſtones, and Mantles of Cotten wooll; which the *Indians* ſignified by ſignes that they had from the Weſt: and that holding that courſe they ſhould draw neere to the land of the *Chriſtians*. From *Daycao*, where now they were, to *Rio grande*, or the great Riuer, was one hundred and fiftie leagues: which vnto that place they had gone Weſtward. They departed from *Nilco* in the beginning of December; and all that way, and before from *Chilano*, they endured much trouble; for they paſſed through many waters, and many times it rained with a Northren winde, and was exceeding colde, ſo that they were in open field with water ouer and vnderneath them: and when at the end of their dayes iourney they found dry ground to reſt vpon, they gaue great thankes to God. With this trouble almoſt all the *Indians* that ſerued them died. And after they were in *Minoya*, many *Chriſtians* alſo died: and the moſt part were ſicke of great and dangerous diſeaſes, which had a ſpice of the lethargie.

Gold, Siluer and precious ſtones in *Florida*.

Turkie ſtones and Mantles of Cotten woollfound in *Guaſco*.

150. leagues betweene the Riuer of *Daycao*, and *Rio grande*.

The beginning of December.

Raine with Northren winde exceeding cold.

As ſoone as they came to *Minoya*, the Gouernour commanded them to gather all the chaines together, which euery one had to lead *Indians* in; and to gather all the Iron which they had for their prouiſion, and all the reſt that was in the Campe: and to ſet vp a forge to make nailes, and commanded them to cut downe timber for the Brigandines. And a *Portugall* of *Ceuta*, who hauing

hauing bin a prisoner in *Fez*, had learned to saw timber with a long Saw, which for such purposes they had carried with them, did teach others, which helped them to saw timber. And a *Genowis*, whom it pleased God to preserue (for without him they had neuer come out of the Countrie; for there was neuer another that could make Ships but he) with foure or fiue other *Biscaine* Carpenters, which hewed his plankes and other timbers, made the Brigandines: And two calkers, the one of *Genoa*, the other of *Sardinia* did calke them with the tow of an hearbe like Hempe, whereof before I haue made mention, which there is named Enequen. And because there was not enough of it, they calked them with the flaxe of the Countrie, and with the Mantles, which they rauelled for that purpose. A Cooper made for euery Brigandine two halfe hogsheads, which the Mariners call quarterers, because foure of them hold a Pipe of water. In the moneth of March, when it had not rained a moneth before, the Riuer grew so big, that it came to *Nilco*, which was nine leagues off: and on the other side, the *Indians* said, that it reached other nine leagues into the land. In the towne where the *Christians* were, which was somewhat high ground, where they could best goe, the water reached to the stirrops. They made certaine rafts of timber, and laid many boughes vpon them, whereon they set their horses, and in the houses they did the like. But seeing that nothing preuailed, they went vp to the lofts: and if they went out of the houses, it was in Canoes, or on horseback in those places where the ground was highest. So they were two moneths, and could doe nothing, during which time the Riuer decreased not. The *Indians* ceased not to come vnto the Brigantines as they were wont, and came in Canoes. At that time the Gouernour feared they would set vpon him. He commanded his men to take an *Indian* secretly of those that came to the Towne, and stay him till the rest were gone: and they tooke one. The Gouernour commanded him to be put to torture, to make him confesse whether the *Indians* did practise any treason or no. Hee confessed that the *Caciques* of *Nilco*, *Guachoya*, and *Taguanate*, and others, which in all were about twenty *Caciques*, with a great number of people, determined to come vpon him; and that three dayes before, they would send a great present of fish to colour their great treason and malice, and on the very day they would send some *Indians* before with another present. And these with those which were our slaues, which were of their conspiracie also, should set the houses on fire, and first of all possesse themselues of the lances which stood at the doores of the houses; and the *Caciques* with all their men should be neere the Towne in ambush in the wood, and when they saw the fire kindled, should come, and make an end of the conquest. The Gouernour commanded the *Indian* to be kept in a chaine, and the selfe same day that he spake of, there came thirty *Indians* with fish. Hee commanded their right hands to be cut off, and sent them so backe to the *Cacique* of *Guachoya*, whose men they were. He sent him word, that he and the rest should come when they would, for he desired nothing more, and that he should know, that they taught not any thing which he knew not before they thought of it. Hereupon they all were put in a very great feare: And the *Caciques* of *Nilco* and *Taguanate* came to excuse themselues; and a few dayes after came he of *Guachoya*. The Brigandines being finished in the moneth of Iune, the *Indians* hauing told vs, That the Riuer increased but once a yeare, when the Snowes did melt, in the time wherein I mentioned, it had already increased, being now in Summer, and hauing not rained a long time, it pleased God that the flood came vp to the Towne to seeke the Brigandines, from whence they carried them by water to the Riuer. Which if they had gone by land, had beene in danger of breaking and splitting their keeles, and to be all vndone; because that for want of Iron, the spikes were short, and the plankes and timber were very weake. They shipped two and twenty of the best Horses that were in the Campe, the rest they made dried flesh of; and dressed the Hogges which they had in like manner. They departed from *Mineya* the second day of Iuly 1543.

There went from *Mineya* three hundred twenty and two *Spaniards* in seuen Brigandines, well made, saue that the plankes were thin, because the nailes were short, and were not pitched, nor had any decks to keepe the water from comming in. In stead of decks they laid plankes, whereon the Marriners might run to trim their sailes, and the people might refresh themselues aboue and below. They sailed downe the Riuer seuenteene dayes; which may be two hundred and fiftie leagues iourney, little more or lesse; and neere vnto the Sea the Riuer is diuided into two armes; each of them is a league and a halfe broad. By the way the *Indians* set on them: slew some, and wounded many.

The eighteenth of Iuly, they went forth to Sea with faire and prosperous weather for their voyage. They sailed with a reasonable good winde that day and the night following, and the next day till euening long, alwaies in fresh water, whereat they wondred much; for they were very farre from land. But the force of the current of the Riuer is so great, and the coast there is so shallow and gentle, that the fresh water entreth farre into the Sea.

They indured an intolerable storme first, and after that the torment of an infinite swarme of Moskitos which fell vpon them, which as soone as they had stung the flesh, it so infected it, as

Enequen is an herbe like Hempe.

Flaxe of the Countrie.

The mighty increasing of the Riuer for two moneths space, to wit, all March and Aprill.

The grand conspiracie of the *Indians* against the *Christians*.

Note well.

Thirty *Indians* of the *Caciques* of *Guachoya* haue their right hands cut off.

The Riuer increaseth but once a yeare when the snowes doe melt in March & April.

A miraculous accident.

They saile downe *Rio Grande* from *Mineya* 17. daies before they came to the mouth thereof. This Author accounteth but 300. lost, but *Inca*. l. 6. reckoneth 700. saying, that he carried with him from *Cuba* 1000 Hee addeth, that *Iuan Ponce de Leon*, the first discouerer of *Florida*, lost himselfe and 80. men. *Lucas Vasques* was also slaine there with aboue 220. *Pamphilo de Narnaez* went with 400 *Spaniards*, of which not aboue foure escaped, &c. *Donna Isabella Sotos* wife died also with griefe. So fatall hath *Florida* beene to *Spaine*, that (I hope) *Virginia* may haue the greater dowry for her *English* husband.

They sailed 17. daies down the Riuer, which is about 252. leagues. Fresh water almost two daies sailing in the Sea. A swarme of grieuous Moskitoes.

though

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though they had beene venomous. For the sayles which were white seemed blacke with them. Those which rowed, vnlesse others kept them away, were not able to rowe. Hauing passed the feare and danger of the storme, beholding the deformities of their faces, and the blowes which they gaue themselues to driue them away, one of them laughed at another. They met all together in the creeke, where the two Brigandines were, which outwent their fellowes. There was found a skumme, which they call *Copee*, which the Sea casteth vp, and it is like Pitch, wherewith in some places, where Pitch is wanting, they pitch their ships: there they pitched their Brigandines. They rested two dayes, and then eftsoones proceeded on their Voyage. They sailed two dayes more, and landed in a Bay or arme of the Sea, where they stayed two dayes.

A scum of the Sea like Pitch called Copee.

Another deep Bay.

From the time that they put out of *Rio Grande*, to the Sea, at their departure from *Florida*, vntill they arriued in the Riuer of *Panuco*, were two and fiftie dayes. They came into the Riuer of *Panuco* the tenth of September, 1543. There arriued there of those that came out of *Florida*, three hundred and eleuen *Christians*.

They arriued in the Riuer of *Panuco*, 1543. Septemb. 10. 311. *Christians* arriued at *Panuco*.

From the Port *de Spiritu Santo*, where they landed when they entred into *Florida*, to the Prouince of *Ocuste*, which may be foure hundred leagues, little more or lesse, is a very plaine Countrie, and hath many Lakes and thicke Woods, and in some places they are of wilde Pine-trees; and is a weake soyle: There is in it neither Mountaine nor Hill. The Countrie of *Ocuste* is more fat and fruitfull; it hath thinner Woods, and very goodly Medowes vpon the Riuers. From *Ocuste* to *Cutifachiqui* may be an hundred and thirty leagues: eightie leagues thereof are Desart, and haue many Groues of wilde Pine-trees. Through the Wildernesse great Riuers doe passe. From *Cutifachiqui* to *Xuala*, may bee two hundred and fifty leagues: it is all an hilly Countrie. *Cutifachiqui* and *Xuala* stand both in plaine ground, high, and haue goodly Medowes on the Riuers. From thence forward to *Chiaha*, *Coça*, and *Talise*, is plaine ground, drie and fat, and very plentifull of Maiz. From *Xuala* to *Tascaluça* may be two hundred and fifty leagues. From *Tascaluça* to *Rio Grande*, or the Great Riuer, may be three hundred leagues: the Countrie is lowe, and full of Lakes. From *Rio Grande* forward, the Countrie is higher and more champaine, and best peopled of all the Land of *Florida*. And along the Riuer from *Aquixo* to *Pacaha*, and *Coligoa*, are an hundred and fifty leagues: the Countrie is plaine, and the woods thinne, and in some places champaine, very fruitfull and pleasant. From *Coligoa* to *Autiamque* are two hundred and fifty leagues of hilly Countrie. From *Autiamque* to *Aguacay*, may bee two hundred and thirtie leagues of plaine ground. From *Aguacay* to the Riuer of *Daycao* an hundred and twentie leagues, all hilly Countrie.

Ocuste.
Cutifachiqui.
Xuala.
Chiaha, Coça, and *Talise.*
Tascaluça.
Rio Grande.
Aquixo.
Coligoa.
Autiamque.
Aguacay.

From the Port *de Spiritu Santo* vnto *Apalache*, they trauelled from East to West, and North-west. From *Cutifachiqui* to *Xuala* from South to North. From *Xuala* to *Coça* from East to West. From *Coça* to *Tascaluça*, and to *Rio Grande*, as farre as the Prouince of *Quizquiz* and *Aquixo* from East to West. From *Aquixo* to *Pacaha* to the North. From *Pacaha* to *Talla* from East to West: and from *Talla* to *Autiamque* from North to South, to the Prouince of *Guachoya* and *Daycao*, *&c.*

This Relation of the discouery of *Florida* was printed in the house of *Andrew de Burgos*, Printer and Gentleman of the house of my Lord Cardinall the Infant. It was finished the tenth of February, in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and seuen, in the Noble and most loyall Citie of *Euora*.

CHAP. III.

Diuers expeditions from Mexico *and other parts of* New Spaine *and* New Biskay, *especially to the more Northerly parts of* America, *by diuers* Spaniards *in a hundred yeares space.*

§. I.

The Relation of NVNNO di GVSMAN *written to* CHARLES *the fift Emperour; translated out of* RAMVSIOS *third Tome, and abridged.*

I Writ fom *Mechuacan* to your Maiestie (after I had written from *Mexico*) that I went thence with one hundred and fiftie horsemen, and as many footemen well armed, and with twelue small Peeces of artillery, and 7. or 8000. * *Indians* our friends, and all necessaries for the discouery and conquest of the Countrey from the *Terlichichemechi* which continue with *New Spaine*. I arriued at the Riuer of the *purification of Saint Mary*, so called, for passing it on that day. And because that Countrey was of the enemies, I determined to plant there three great Crosses, which I had carried

* *Ant de Mendoza* writeth to the Emperour, that hee had 14000. *Indians* and 400. horsemen.

Mechuacan.

Crosses erected.

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carried with me, well wrought and of good proportion, which after Masse said in Procession with Trumpets, the Captaines and I carried on our shoulders, and planted one on the Riuer, and the second before a Church of the *Purification*, then begun to be builded, and the third before the way which I was to passe, * to the which Crosses with all deuotion wee after made due prayer. This done, the standerds of the Crosse began to be directed in the land of those infidels, which had not beene done since the *Christians* entred those parts. Incontinently some people met vs in peace, yeelding themselues and promising seruice. Meane while the Church was finished and walled about, that fifteene or twenty horsemen might lodge within. There Masse was said, and a Sermon was preached; after which certaine ordinances were red for good orders to be kept in the Armie. After this, on the seuenth of February possession was taken in your Maiesties name of that *New Discouery*, and on the foureteenth was made the request which is accustomed to be made.

* *Alle quari*, to or at the which.

In regard of accusations made against *Caconci* Lord of *Mechmacan* for rebellion and conspiracie to haue slaine vs, I marched against him and found the information true, besides other inormities in sacrificing *Indians* and *Christians*, as he had vsed to doe before he was a *Christian*, whereupon I condemned him to the fire, as may be seene in the processe made against him. Hauing executed this man and pacified the Countrie, I left a *Spaniard* in a fortresse there built by the *Indians*, and trauelled six daies in a Countrie not inhabited, three of them downe the Riuer, leauing at euery lodging place a Crosse. On the sixt day we came to the Prouince *Cuinco*, full of good Townes and abounding in victuals. The people had at first armed themselues for resistance, but when I sent *Barim* against them, they were all fled to the Mountaines. The light horse tooke some of the slowest not without making some defence. I sent them word not to be afraid, but to returne to their houses and giue their obedience, which they refusing, I marched against them with three squadrons, and sent the Ouerseer on one part, and Captaine *Ognate* on the other, and I was at their backes. The Ouerseer found none but women and children. *Ognate* incountred with about one hundred men with their Bowes and Arrowes wounded slightly two horses and three men, but many of them were slaine, others taken with women and children about fiue hundred, which I caused to be kept together, lest the *Indians* should sacrifice them after their wont. The *Cacique* was fled to the next Prouince, called *Cuinaquire*, of another signiorie and language. Because hee came not at my sending, I went to seeke him. Entring that Prouince where were many Townes, and great store of Maiz and Fruites, wee found many people dead, sacrificed, which had out of the former Prouince retired thither for feare of vs, with many peeces of flesh which they vse to eate. I sent many prisoners to their friends to let them see that I came not to slay them. The language of this people none of ours could vnderstand. The Ouerseer encountred three hundred armed with Bowes and Arrowes, which the day before had killed foure of our *Indians*: they set vpon ours singing, and killed a Horse, but hauing lost one hundred of their company, the rest escaped. I found my men cutting the Horse in peeces, that the enemies might see no signe of him, whereby they might know that a Horse could dye. I sent the Campe Master to discouer the foord: three *Indians* set on him, one of which had a two hand sword of wood, which gaue him two blowes, but the *Indian* was slaine. I moued forwards, and discouered many inhabited places. Another skirmish happened with the *Indians* wherein aboue one hundred of them were slaine. All the Countrie is full of Maiz, Kidney-beanes, Hens, Parrats, Palmitos: there growes much Cotten, and some shewes appeared of Gold and Siluer found with some of the inhabitants.

Caconci Lord of *Mechmacan* burned.

Cuindo.

Cuinquire. Wretched hollpirality.

Courageous *Indian.*

I procured the *Cacique* to come to me with all his principall men, whom I entertained with much kindnesse, and made a speech to them, giuing them to vnderstand *what God was, and the Pope, and what they ought to doe to be saued: and how the King of* Castile *was the Minister of God in earth, and Lord of all those parts subiect to him; and that to me in his royall name they were to yeelde obedience and seruice; and that they should abstaine from sacrificing & adoration to Idols and Diuels, which they had hetherto done, because God alone was to be worshipped, feared and serued, and after him they ought to serue and obey on earth the King of* Castile. The *Cacique* answered that till that houre hee had neuer knowne any thing of that which I had spoken, nor had euer heard of any but me that which I declared; but that he now conceiued great pleasure to haue vnderstood it, and that *from henceforth he would hold for God the King of* Castile, *and would worship him.* I answered that hee ought not so to doe, for the King of *Castile* was a mortall man as we our selues are, but that hee was Lord and Soueraigne ouer vs all, and giuen to vs of God to rule and gouerne vs, and we were to serue and obey him. And God aboue, which created heauen and earth, and all things visible and inuisible, is he which ought to be worshipped, feared, and serued aboue all things, forasmuch as he giueth vs, and of his hands we hold the life and being which we haue, and he is able to take it from vs at his pleasure.

Spaniſh preaching to conuert Infidels.

Indian simplicitie.

In this manner he stood aduised of that which he ought to doe, although their wit and capacitie be very small, and their will much disagreeing, by reason of their ancient customs of seruing the Diuell. But seeing all things must haue a beginning and labour, and herein especially the

the grace of God is necessary and the holy Ghost to be infused; it is to be beleeued and hoped of his infinite gentlenesse and mercy, that hauing directed your Maiestie to discouer this place and conquest, in vertue thereof and good fortune, after that of God, all things shall be done prosperously, and he will suffer to giue to this Nation knowledge of the truth. And if it be not so suddenly done, yet the way shall be opened, and the Countrie conuersed in, and inhabited of *Christians*, which adore and laud his holy Name, where before, the Deuill was adored with so many idolatries; and the Baners of his most holy Crosse shall be fixed in all those Countries, that when he shall send his Grace, those Nations may be prepared to receiue it. I gaue to that *Cacique* all the people which I had taken, and they beganne to reinhabite their houses, and after a most sumptuous Crosse placed there, and possession of those Prouinces taken in your Maiesties name,

Cuiseo. I departed by the way of another Prouince called *Cuiseo*, situate on the other side of a great Riuer issuing out of a great Lake. After a battell with this People, wherein we preuailed by our Artillerie, the *Cacique* sent a Messenger to me, by whom I sent him word, that we came thither to haue them our friends, and to take possession of that Countrie, in the name of the King of *Castile*. Hauing obtayned prouisions, and passing further, in an Iland in the Riuer happened a hard skirmish, in which diuers were hurt, many of theirs slaine and taken, and the rest fled. The last which was taken, and which fought most couragiously, was a man in habite of a woman;

Sodomite professed. which confessed, that from a childe he had gotten his liuing by that filthinesse, for which I caused him to be burned.

Returning to the Campe, I caused the principall Lords of the Countrie to come to me, and pacified them, giuing them clothes, restoring the prisoners, and bidding them returne to their habitations: giuing them to vnderstand on behalfe of the King of *Castile*, *That he was Lord and the Minister of God in Earth, in which God, the King and all men of the world are to beleeue, to adore, feare and serue him as God alone, maker and Creator of all things: and on Earth to be vassals, and to obey the commandements of the King of* Castile, *as his Minister: and to mee in his Royall name, and that they should not worship Idols, nor eate mans flesh.* They answered me, that so they would doe, and their sacrificing to Idols hitherto grew from hence, that they knew not what God was; and because the Deuill commanded them to obserue those formes, and desired flesh and bloud of them, giuing them to vnderstand, that he was the Lord of all the world, whereupon for feare they had committed this errour, which henceforth they would cease to doe. Great are the sinnes of all men liuing, seeing God permits so great abominations to bee committed against his diuine Maiestie, and that such a multitude of soules are lost, and remaine blinde as brute beasts,

Note well this Diuinitie. and worse: for they follow their naturall course, which these haue lost: *although some not onely publish the warre which is made vpon them to be vniust, but also seeke to disturbe it, being the most worthie and holy worke, and of most merit, (with the punishing of that Nation) that nothing can be done in the seruice of God greater, howsoeuer it be done by the hands of great sinners, and especially by mee who am the greatest of all, since that nothing is hidden from his heate, and as the mercifull and giuer of all good, I hope in his infinite clemency, that he will receiue my meane desire, and small paine and labour,*

Preachiag by the Sword a worthie, holy, meritorious, satisfactory worke. *in diminution of my sinnes; and will permit by his infinite bountie and grace, and because your Maiestie doth all for the seruice of God which it doth, whose charge is is to guide the enterprise in such manner, that the beginning be with manifesting his Name, where before, that of the Enemie was serued wholly, and adored. Bee it knowne to your Maiestie, that whersoeuer I come, I giue all the people to vnderstand what God is, and who your Maiestie is.* The Towne aboue this place or ford of the Riuer is

Guarzebi. called *Guanzebi*, where a Crosse was planted.

Tonola a free State. Departing toward the Prouince of *Tonola*, I sent the Ouerseer to the Prouince of *Cuynaccaro*, on the other side of the Riuer. The Seniory of that Prouince (for they had no particular Lord) sent Messengers that they expected mee in peace, and would giue mee what I would, howsoeuer *Coiula*, *Coiutla*, and *Cuynaccaro*, the three neighbour Prouinces were foules, and resolued vpon warre, These fought with vs so valiantly, that some one *Indian* would turne his head against a Light-horseman, and taking his Lance with one hand, with the other would lay on him with a club which they vse; others would lay hold on the Bridles, and those which haue beene in *New Spaine*, and other parts, testifie that more couragious *Indians* haue not beene seene. They vse Bowes, Arrowes, Clubs, and two-hand Swords of wood, a Sling, and some Targets. The most of them feare the Horses, holding opinion that they would eate them, and a thousand of them haue beene afraid of three Horsemen; yet neuertheless some are thus hardy. The Countrie is temperate, they are great Sacrificers, haue Siluer, and some Gold: but I made shew not to care for it, and said I had no need of Gold, but that they should serue, and not sacrifice as before. In the place of the victorie was erected a faire Church called, *The victorie of the Crosse*, and a Crosse of sixtie foot long there erected. *Zapatula* receiued me in peace, *Aximocuntla* people fled, yet sent store of victuals, as did also *Ixtatlan*.

Cuinaccaro, Coiula, and *Coiutla.*

Valiant *Indians.*

Zapatula. Aximocuntla.

Our *Indians* in our march had slaine and sacrificed certaine women and children, the signes whereof I found, it being a thing impossible to remedie, notwithstanding all the punishment I inflicted, howsoeuer some say, they are good *Christians*. And let your Maiestie beleeue, that they doe at this present time as they did before, but secretly. And for this, and for other iust causes

Indian Christianitie but in name and names.

which

which I haue written to your Maiestie, there ought not so much libertie be giuen them, nor more then that which is accustomed to their state and liuing; for to doe otherwise, is to giue occasion to them to be bad, and especially this People is of such nature, that they must be very much holden vnder, and made to feare, that they may be good *Christians*.

Christians for feare.

From *Xalpa* three Embassadors came to me, with offer of peace, subiection, and certaine Siluer plates, and an Idoll made of Cotton, and full of bloud, and a Rasor of stone in the midst, wherewith they sacrificed, which was burned in their sight, to their great amazement, who thought it would haue destroyed all. Against Mandie Thursday a Church was erected of reeds in a day, and deuout Procession was then made of more then thirtie Disciplinants. On Easter Tuesday I departed thence to *Tesspano*, thence by Mount *Amec.* to *Teulinchano*, a strong place, being all of stone cut round, where euery Lord of the Prouince ought to haue a house wherein to sacrifice; there had beene a great Idoll of Gold, destroyed in other warres. The Palaces were of stone engrauen, some pieces of eighteene spannes, with great Statues of men, with other things like those of *Mexico*. The Courts of the Palaces were spacious, and faire, with Fountaines of good water. Thence I sent Captaine *Verdugo* to *Xaltenango*, thorow a Valley of sixe leagues, but the people were fled to the Mountaines. A Crosse was planted, and Masse said for the seruice of God, there where the Deuill had so long beene serued, and had receiued so many Sacrifices. I diuided the Armie, one part to goe to *Mechuacan* (another Prouince, not that of New *Spaine*) neere to the South Sea I marched with the other to *Guatatlan*, and there planted a Crosse on a Hill, and thence to *Tetitlan*, accompanied with the *Caciques* of the Countrie; thence to *Xalisco*. Heere the way was so bad that in fifteene dayes I rode not three, and many beasts were lost.

Bloudy Idoll.

Bloudy Procession.

Teulinchan.

Xaltenango.

Mechuacan on the South Sea.

Xalisco.

I sent to the principall Lords of *Xalisco*, to whom I made the request accustomed. They were all retired to the Mountaines. Finding my selfe neere the Sea, I tooke possession thereof for your Maiestie. At *Tepique* two of the Lords of *Xalisco* came to me in peace, and to yeeld obedience, as three other Townes had done neere the Sea, where are said to bee Mines of Gold. There I made Officers in your Maiesties name, as being a new Discouerie and Conquest separate from New *Spaine*, that there might be some to receiue your Maiesties fifths. Two Crosses were erected in *Xalisco* and two in *Tepeque*, a place well watered, and very fertile. In marching from thence a great and dangerous battell was giuen vs by the *Indians*, wherein we obtained victorie. They wounded fiftie Horses, of which onely sixe died (one Horse I assure your Maiestie, is worth aboue foure hundred Pezos) diuers of the principall Commanders were wounded also. The next day I made a Procession with a *Te Deum*. Thence I passed the great Riuer of the *Trinitie*, to come to *Omitlan*, the chiefe of that Prouince. The Countrie is very hot, and the Riuer full of Crocodiles, and there are many venomous Scorpions. Here was erected one Church, and two Crosses. *Aztatlan* is three dayes iourney hence where they prepare to giue mee battell. From thence ten dayes further I shall goe to finde the *Amazons*, which some say dwell in the Sea, some in an arme of the Sea, and that they are rich, and accounted of the people for Goddesses, and whiter then other women. They vse Bowes, Arrowes and Targets: haue many and great Townes; at a certaine time admit them to accompanie them, which bring vp the males, as these the female issue, &c. From *Omitlan* a Prouince of *Mechuacan* of the greater *Spaine*, on the eighth of Iuly, 1530.

Tepique a new Prouince.

Amazonian Dreames.

I had thought but for prolixitie, here to haue added Aluarados *Conquests the other way from* Mexico, *two of whose Letters are extant in* Ramusio. *The later of them is dated from the Citie of Saint* Iago, *which hee founded. Hee writes that hee was well entertained in* Guatimala, *and passed alongst with diuers fortunes, foure hundred leagues from* Mexico *conquering; and let your Lordship beleeue mee, this Countrie is better inhabited and peopled then all that which your Lordship hath hitherto gouerned. In this Prouince I haue found a* Vulcan, *the most dreadfull thing that euer was seene; which casteth forth stones as great as a house, burning in light flames, which falling, breake in pieces, and couer all that fiery Mountaine. Threescore leagues before wee saw another Vulcan, which sends forth a fearefull smoake, ascending vp to Heauen, and the body of the smoake encompasseth halfe a league. None drinke of the streames which runne downe from it, for the Brimstone sent. And especially there comes thence one principall Riuer, very faire, but so hot, that certaine of my companie were not able to passe it, which were to make out-roades into certaine places; and searching a Ford, found another cold Riuer running into it, and where they met together, the Ford was temperate and passable. I beseech your Lordship to grant mee the fauour to bee Gouernour of this Citie, &c. From Saint* Iago, *July* 28. 1524.

Pet. Aluarados Letters to Cortes which hath sent him on this Discouery and Conquest. Two most terrible Vulcans.

§. II.

The Voyages of Frier Marco de Niça, *Don* Fr. Vasquez de Coronado, *Don* Antonio de Espeio, *and diuers into New* Mexico, *and the adioyning Coasts and Lands.*

Lop. Gomara. hist. gen. c. 212.

THere arose some strife betwixt *Don Antonio de Mendoza* Vice-roy of *New Spaine*, and *Cortes*, each striuing to exceed the other in New Discoueries, and complaining of each other to the Emperour. Whiles *Cortez* went to that end into *Spaine*, *Mendoza* hearing somewhat by *Dorantez*, one of *Naruaez* his companions in the former inland Discoueries from *Florida*, sent both Frier *Marco de Niça*, with *Steph.* a *Negro* of *Dorantez*, and afterwards Captaine *Francis Vasquez de Coronado*, by Land as likewise *Ferdinando Alarchon* by Sea. *Cortez* also sent *Francis Ulloa* with a Fleet of three ships for discouerie of the same Sea, commonly called the South Sea. The Voyages *Ramusio* hath published at large in *Italian*, and Master *Hakluyt* out of him in *English*. I shall borow leaue to collect out of them and *Gomara*, and F. *Iuan Gonzales de Mendoza*, and others, some breefe heads of things agreeing to our purpose for the better knowledge of the Northerne *America*.

Topira.

Francis Vasquez de Coronado Gouernour of *Nueua Galicia*, *Anno* 1539. writes, that hee arriued in the Prouince of *Topira*, where the *Indians* were fled into the Mountaines for feare of the *Christians*. They haue houses of stone, store of Gold, Emeralds, and other Iewels; haue strong armour of Siluer fashioned in shapes of beasts, worship herbs and birds, and sing songs to them. Neere thereto is another Prouince where the people goe naked. Their Priests which they call *Chichimechas* keepe in the woods without houses, and eate things giuen of almes by the people. Both men and women goe naked; the men tye their priuie member to the knee; they haue Temples couered with straw, the windowes full of dead mens skulls. They haue in a ditch before the Temple the figure of a Serpent of diuers metals, with his tayle in his mouth. One euery yeere is sacrificed by lot, crowned with flowers and layd in that ditch, and fire put to him; which his death he takes patiently, and the yeere following is worshipped with hymnes, and after that his head is set vp with the rest. They sacrifice their prisoners burning them in another ditch without such ceremonies.

Impious pieties.

F. *Marco de Nigas* Voyage to *Cebola.*

Frier *Marco de Niça* went from Saint *Michael* in *Culuacan*, two hundred leagues from *Mexico*, with *Stephen* the *Negro*, and other *Indians*, and came to *Petatlan*, and thence passed a Desart foure dayes, and came to certaine *Indians*, which made much of him, sought to touch his garments, and called him *Hayota*, that is, *A man comne from Heauen*. Thence he trauelled to *Vacapa*, fortie leagues from the Sea (of *California*) and thence to *Ceuola*, which in thirty dayes iourney: hee learned that the people by the Sea haue store of Pearles, and Targets of Kow-hides. By the way he had vnderstanding of the Kingdomes of *Totonteac* and *Acus*. They shewed him an hide halfe as big againe as the hide of an Oxe, and said, it was the skinne of a beast which had but one horne vpon his fore-head, bending toward his breast, and that out of the same goeth a point forward with which he breakes any thing that he runneth against. The colour of the hide was as of a Goat-skinne, the haire a finger thicke. He passed thorow two Desarts. The men of *Ceuola* slue *Stephen* the *Negro*. Frier *Marke* went within sight of it, and sayth it is a faire Citie seated at the foot of a Hill. Vpon this newes Captaine *Vasquez* aforesaid in Aprill, 1540. trauelled with 400. Horsemen, and a great Armie of *Spaniards* and others; many of which died of famine both *Indians* and Horses. The wayes were so rough, that the Sheepe and Dambes which they carried for their prouision lost their hoofes. The sixe and twentieth of May hee arriued in the Valley of *Coracones*, fiue dayes iourney from the Westerne Sea, and thence hee went to *Chichiloale*, and with much trauaile to *Ceuola*, which is the name of a Prouince in which are seuen Cities neere together: their houses are of stone foure or fiue stories high; they vse Ladders in stead of staires, and haue Cellers vnder the ground made for Winter in manner of Stoues. The seuen Cities are but small Townes with in foure leagues together. In one were two hundred houses compassed with walls, and some three hundred other vnwalled. They goe for the most part naked, vse painted Mantles, seeme not witty enough to build such houses; haue good quantitie of Turquesses, some Emeralds also and Granates, great *Gunnes* Corkes; and season (in Summer) as in *Mexico*; many beasts, as Tigres, Beares, Lions, Porkespicks, and certaine Sheepe as big as Horses, with very great hornes and little tayles. I haue seene their hornes so great that it is a wonder. I haue seene the heads of wilde Goats, pawes of Beares and skinnes of wilde Boares. There is game of Deere, Ounces, and very great Stags, Hares, Conies. He sent the Vice-roy an embroidered garment of Needle-worke wrought by those *Indians*, and clothes painted by them with the pictures of the beasts of the Countrey. It is very cold in Winter, although it be in 37. degrees and a halfe. The snow continueth seuen moneths, in so much that the people vse furred Mantles, and other winter prouisions. The Souldiers seeing little here to bee had, were offended with the Friers which had commended *Sinola*, and loth to returne emptie to *Mexico*, they proceeded to *Acuco*, and *Cardenas* with his troope of Horse went thence to the Sea, *Vasquez* with the

An vnknowne kinde of Vnicorne.

Expedition of *Don Francisco Vasquez.*

Ill wayes.

Cibola.

Sheepe as big as Horses, with huge hornes.

Indian emprotderie.

* I haue a Map made in *Mexico*, 1585. which placeth *Cibola* in 30. and an halfe, and describeth in *New Mexico*, on *Rio del Norte* about 50. Townes with *Spanish* names, standing neere each other, from 32. to 33. and a little more. But the Prouince of *Cibola* he maketh to be another.

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the rest to *Tignex*, on the banke of a great Riuer. There they had newes of *Axa* and *Quiuira*. They heard of a bearded rich King also called *Tatarrax*, whom they would visit; they burne a Towne, and lost thirtie Horses in their way, and spent 45. dayes in siege of a Towne, which dranke snowe in stead of water and burned their goods to preuent the *Spanish* spoyle, then issuing by force with their wiues and children, few escaping: and diuers *Spaniards* alſo were slaine, and 80. wounded, besides Horses. They burnt the Towne and marched to *Cicuic*, horse and men passing ouer the Riuer vpon the Ice being in 37. degrees: and foure leagues from thence met with a new kind of Kine wilde and fierce, of which they slue 80. the first day for their prouision. From *Cicuic* they went to *Quiuira* neere 300. leagues, thorow woodlesse Plaines, making heapes of Oxe-dung for way-markes against their returne. All that Plaine is as full of bunch-backed Kine as *Serena* in *Spaine* of Sheepe, and no other people but the Herd-men. It hailed one day stones as big as Oranges *. At length they came to *Quiuira* and there found King *Tatarrax*, a hoary man, naked and with a brasse Iewell at his necke; whereat not a little vexed to see themselues gulled with reports of riches, and the Crosse worshipped, and Queene of Heauen, of which they saw no signe, they returned to *Mexico*, and there arriued in March, 1542. *Vasquez* fell from his Horse in *Tignex*, and withall out of his wits.

Strange Kine.

Great haile.
* *Melangole.*

Quiuira is in 40. degrees temperate, well watered, and hath store of fruits. They are apparelled with Oxe hides, and Deeres skinne. They saw ships on the coast with Alcatrazes of Gold and Siluer in their Prowes, which they esteemed to bee of *China*, making signes that they had sayled thirtie dayes. Some Friers returned to *Quiuira*, and were slaine. As for those bunch-backed Kine, they are the food of the Natiues, which drinke the bloud hot, and eate the fat, and often ruine the flesh raw. They wander in companies, as the *Alarbes* (and *Tartars*) following the pastures according to the seasons. That which they eate not raw, they rost, or warme rather at a fire of Oxe-dung, and holding the flesh with his teeth, cut it with Rasors of stone. These Oxen are of the bignesse of our Bulls, but their hornes lesse, with a great bunch on their fore-shoulders, and more haire on their fore-parts then behind, which is like wooll; a mane like a Horses on their backe bone, and long haire from the knees downward, with store of long haire at the chinne and throat, a long flocke also at the end of the males tailes. The Horses fled from them, of which they slue some, being enraged. They are meat, drinke, shooes, houses, fire, vessels, and their Masters whole substance. Other creatures as big as Horses the *Spaniards* for their fine wooll called Sheepe; one of their hornes ordinarily weighed fiftie pounds. There are also great Dogs which will fight with a Bull, able to carrie fiftie pounds weight in their huntings and remouals.

Quiuira described out of *Gomara*.

Ships seene.

The bunch-backed Oxen described.

Sheepe with hornes of fifty pounds.

Great Dogs: such the Sauages had in *Frobushers* voyage.

Anno 1581. Frier *Augustine Rodz*, with two other Friers, and eight Souldiers trauelled from the Mines of Saint *Barbara* to *Los Tignex*, two hundred and fifty leagues Northwards, where, vpon occasion of one of the Friers being slaine, the Souldiers returned. The two Friers and a *Mestizo* stayed. Whereupon the *Franciscans* carefull of their two Brethren, procured *Antonio de Espeio*, a rich *Mexican*, with Frier *Bernardine Beltran*, and others, licensed to follow him to set forth on the said Discouerie, in Nouember, *Anno* 1582. with an hundred and fifteene Horses, and store of prouisions. Hee passed the *Conchos*, and the *Passaguates*, and *Tobosos*, and *Iumanes*, (finding many Siluer Mines in the way) and then came to people, which for want of Language they could not name, and heard by one of the *Conchos*, of a great Lake, and Townes neere it, with houses of three or foure stories, but went not thither. Fifteene dayes they trauelled thorow Woods of Pine-trees, and two thorow Woods of Poplars and Walnuts, still keeping by the *Riuer of the North*, as they called it, till they came to a Countrie which they called *New Mexico*. They came to ten Townes situate on both sides the Riuer, which vsed them kindly. Their houses are of foure stories, well built, with Stoues for Winter: their apparel of Cotton, and Deeres skinnes; both men and women ware Boots and Shooes with soles of Neats leather. Each house had an Oratorie for the Deuill, where they set him meate, for whose ease (as they say) they erect Chappels also in the high-way. Thence they came to *Tignex* in which were sixteene Townes: in *Poala* they had slaine the two Friers, and now therefore fled to the Mountaines. They found many Hennes in the Countrey, and many metals. Hearing that there were rich Townes Eastwards, they trauelled two dayes, and found eleuen Townes, and (as they thought) fortie thousand people. There are signes of rich Mines. They heard of a Prouince *Quires*, sixe leagues higher vp the Riuer, which they visited, and found fiue Townes. They saw there a Pie in a Cage, and certaine tirasols or shadowes, such as they vse in *China*, in which were painted the Sunne, Moone and Starres. They found themselues in 37. degrees and a halfe. Fourteene leagues more to the North, they came to the *Cuames*, which had fiue Townes; the greatest was *Cia*, with eight Market places, the houses plaistered and painted with diuers colours, the people many and more ciuill then any they had seene.

Antonio de Espeio his New *Mexico*.

Rodz his Voyage to *Tignex*.

Neats leather Shooes.

Friers slaine.

Hennes many.

Quires.

Painted Vmbrellas.

Note the neerenesse of *Virginia*.

They trauelled thence North-westward to a Countrie which had seuen great Townes, and in them thirtie thousand soules. Fifteene leagues further Westward they came to *Acoma*, a Towne of sixe thousand persons, seated on a Rocke fifty paces high, without any passage to it

Acoma.

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but by ſtaires hewen in the Roéke; all their water was kept in Ciſternes. They trauelled hence foure and twentie leagues Weſtward to *Zuny* or *Cibola*, where *Vaſquez* had beene, and erected Croſſes, ſtill ſtanding. Three *Indians* of his Armie were ſtill aliue here, which told *Eſpeio*, of a great Lake ſixtie dayes iourney thence, vpon the bankes whereof were many Townes which had ſtore of Gold. Whereupon, the reſt returning, hee with nine companions determined to goe thither, and came to a populous Prouince, called *Mohotze*, and being well entertained, hee perſwaded the *Indians* to build a Fort, to ſecure them from the Horſes, which hee ſaid would otherwiſe eate them; which they did. Here he left ſome of his companie, and went to diſcouer certaine rich Mines, whereof he had heard, fiue and fortie leagues Weſtward; which hee found rich of Siluer. He had further intelligence alſo of that great Lake, and hauing trauelled twelue leagues to the *Hubates* and *Tamos*, populous Prouinces, being ſo few, they returned in Iuly, 1583. by another way, downe a Riuer called, *De las Vacas*, or Of Kine, an hundred and twenty leagues, ſtill meeting with ſtore of thoſe cattell, and thence to *Conchos*, and ſo to the Valley of Saint *Bartholmew* in New *Biſcay*.

Mohotze.

Pretie policy.

10

Canos Letter is in Mast. *Hakl.*

Bartholmew Cano writ from *Mexico*, in May, 1590. that *Rodrigo del Rio*, Gouernour of New *Biſcay* was ſent by the Vice-roy with fiue hundred *Spaniards* to the conqueſt of *Cibola*.

Francis de Vlloas Voyage in the South Sea. *California.*

NOw for *Cortez* his three ſhips, they ſet forth from *Acapulco*, the eighth of Iuly, 1539. and ſayled alongſt the coaſt Northwards to Cape *Roxo*, (as they ſtiled it, and ſo to the Riuer of Saint *Croſſes*, which coaſt ſome thought to bee part of the Continent; others to bee but broken Lands or Ilands: and ſayled ſo farre in the ſame, that I am loth to follow them, the particulars being both in *Ramuſio*, and Maſter *Hakluyts*. *Fernando Alarchon*, *Anno* 1540. was ſent by *Mendoza* the Vice-roy, with two ſhips, who ſayth, hee went to the bottome of the Bay (of *California*) and ſayled vp the Riuer farre into the Countrie. I remit the deſirous Reader to the Authours aforeſaid. To mee, *Ulloa* the Marqueſſes Generall ſeemes to make *California* nothing but Ilands, and to haue ſayled within a great way, and after out of them: this other æmulous Diſcouerer would ſeeme to finde it a Bay, and therefore goeth vp the Riuer; later Maps make it an Iland, as wee haue ſaid; a Letter 1595. from *Los Angelos*, calleth them Ilands, and ſayth, they are rich, and that the Vice-roy ſent to conquer them. But I am Sea-ſicke, and therefore returne to our Land-diſcouerers. In which wee haue a *Ieſuite* firſt, to entertaine you, and after that, a Letter of later Newes of *Onnates* Diſcoueries in thoſe Northerne parts of *America*. All which may be of vſe one day, when our *Virginian* Plantation (which bluſheth to ſee ſo little done after eighteene yeeres continued habitation, with ſo much coſt, and ſo many liues and liuelihoods ſpent thereon) ſhall lift vp her head with more viue alacritie, and ſhake her glorious lockes, and diſparkle her triumphant lookes, thorow the inland Countries to the Weſterne Ocean. And indeed for *Virginias* ſake wee haue ſo long held you in *Spaniſh* diſcourſes, of whoſe Acts this Chapter had beene the laſt, but that the leauen which leaueneth in ſo great part the *Spaniſh* lumpe may be knowne, to awaken *Engliſh* vigilance to preuent it in themſelues (they had a faire caueat 1588.) and to auoide the like with others, I ſhall adde to theſe their Diſcoueries a *Spaniſh* Trauueller, Frier, Biſhop, to diſcouer their Diſcouerers; which ſhall caſt vp the *American* parcels, the particular relations of which you haue had already, and yeeld you the totall ſumme for a concluſion to our *Spaniſh-Indian* Peregrinations.

F. *Alarchons* Voyage.

Letter in Maſter *Hakl.*

§. III.

Extracts out of certaine Letters of Father Martin Perez *of the Societie of* Ieſus, *from the new Miſſion of the Prouince of* Cinoloa *to the Fathers of* Mexico, *dated in the moneth of December*, 1591. *With a Letter added, written* 1605. *of later Diſcoueries.*

Tanteca. Iuly 6. 1590.

SInce my laſt Letters, dated the ſixth of Iuly, among the *Tanteca*, on which day wee came into this Prouince of *Cinoloa*, being guided by the Gouernour *Roderigo del Rio*, we paſſed and trauelled through diuers Caſtles, Countrie Villages, Mines of Metall, Shepheards houſes, Townes of *Spaniards*, and certaine Signiories, helping our neighbours by our accuſtomed duties, ſo that wee were alwaies full of buſineſſe. Wee paſſed ouer in eight dayes the rough and hard and painefull Mountaine *Tepeſnan*, ſeeing no liuing creature, ſaue certaine Fowles. The cauſe whereof is, the force of certaine Muskitos, which trouble Horſes, whereof is exceeding abundance in all the Mountaine, which were moſt noiſome to our Horſes. There met vs certaine *Cuimechi*, which are warlike *Indians*, which offered vs bountifully ſuch as they had, without doing vs any harme. There are almoſt an infinite number of theſe, which wander diſperſed vp and downe, doing nothing elſe but hunt and ſeeke their food. And it was told vs, that three thouſand of them were aſſembled in a part of the hill, which beſought the Gouernour,

Tepeſnan a mightie high Mountaine.

Cuimechi warlike *Indians.*

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Gouernour, that he would cause them to be taught and instructed in the *Christian* Faith. Their Minister, which was but onely one, came to visite vs. There met vs also a certaine *Spanish* Captaine, which had the gouernment of six Castles or Countrie Villages in a part of the Mountaine, who knowing well enough what the societie ment by these missions, wrote vnto the father Visitor, requesting him to grant him one of the Fathers, by whose trauell twenty thousand soules might be instructed, which he would recommend vnto him.

These and other Villages we passed by not without griefe, because it was resolued already among vs, that we should stay in no other place, but in this Prouince. A few dayes before our comming thither we wrote to six or seuen *Spaniards*, which dwell there without any Priest, and heard Masse onely once a yeare, to wit, when any Priest, dwelling thirtie or forty leagues off, came vnto them, to confesse and absolue them being penitent; who being accompanied with most of the chiefe *Indians*, met vs with exceeding great ioy and gladnesse, aboue twenty leagues distant from their dwellings, and accompanied vs vnto the second Riuer of this Prouince, wherein the towne of Saint *Philip* and *Iacob* standeth. This Prouince is from *Mexico* aboue three hundred leagues, and is extended towards the North. On the right hand it hath the Mountaines of the *Tepessanes*, on the left hand the *Mediterrane* Sea, or the Gulfe of *California*: on another part it stretcheth euen to *Cibola* and *California*, which are Prouinces toward the West, very great and well inhabited. On one side, which regardeth the North, new *Mexico* is but two dayes iourney distant from the vttermost Riuer of this Prouince (as we were entormed by the Gouernour) which is so famous and renowned, and so full of *Pagan* superstition, whereof diuers haue often written.

The towne of Saint *Philip* and *Iacob* on the second Riuer of *Cinoloa*. It is but 190. leagues indeed from *Mexico*.

Often writing of new *Mexico*.

They measure and diuide the Prouince of *Cinaloa* with eight great Riuers which runne through the same. The reason of that diuision is this, because all the Castels and Villages of the inhabitants are setled neere the bankes and brinkes of the Riuers, which are replenished with fish, and which in short space doe fall into the *Mediterrane* Sea, or Gulfe of *California*. The soyle is apt for tillage and fruitfull, and bringeth forth such things as are sowne in it. The ayre is cleere and wholesome. The Pesants and husband men reape twice a yeare, and among other things, store of Beanes, Gourds, Maiz, and such kinde of Pulse, whereof wee and they eate so plentifully, that there is no speech of the rising of the price of things, or of Famine; nay rather a great part of the old crop perisheth oftentimes, and they cast away their old Maiz, to make roome for the new. They haue great store of Cotten Wooll, whereof they make excellent cloathes, wherewith they are apparelled. Their apparell is a peece of cloath tyed vpon their shoulders, wherewith as with a cloak they couer their whole body, after the manner of the *Mexicans*.

Cotten woolle.

Their apparel.

True it is, that though they be all workemen, yet for the most part of the yeare they are not couered, but goe naked; yet all of them weare a broad girdle of the said Cotten cloath cunningly and artificially wrought, with figures of diuers colours in the same, which the shels of Cockles and Oysters ioyned artificially with bones doe make. Moreouer, they thrust many threds through their eares, whereon they hang earerings; for which purpose they bore the eares of their children as soone as they be borne in many places, and hang earerings, round Stones, and Corall in them, so that each eare is laden with fiftie of these Ornaments at least, for which cause they alwayes sleepe not lying on their sides, but with their face vpward. The women are decently couered from their waste downeward, being all the rest naked. The men as well as the women weare long haire; the women haue it hanging downe their shoulders, the men often bound vp and tyed in diuers knots: they thrust Corals in it, adorned with diuers feathers and cockle shels, which adde a certaine beautie and ornament to the head. They weare many round Beades of diuers colours about their neckes. They are of great stature, and higher then the *Spaniards* by a hand-full, so that as wee sate vpright vpon our horses, without standing on tiptoe, they easily could embrace vs. They are valiant and strong, which the warres which they had with the *Spaniards* doe easily shew, wherein though they sustained no small damages, yet were they not vnreuenged, nor without the bloud of their aduersaries. When they would fight resolutely for their vttermost libertie, they denounced and appointed the day of battell. Their weapons are Bowes and poysoned Arrowes, and a kinde of clubbe of hard wood, wherewith they neede not to strike twice to braine a man. They vse also certaine short iauelins made of red wood, so hard and sharpe, that they are not inferiour to our armed speares. And as fearefull and terrible as they be to their enemies, so quiet and peaceable are they among themselues and their neigbours, and you shall seldome finde a quarrellour or contentious person. The *Spaniards* after certaine conflicts at length made friendship with them, leauing their Countrie to them: but those eight *Spaniards*, whom I mentioned before, liue quietly among them: and though they be called Lords, yet are they contented with such things as the *Indians* giue them, offering no violence nor molestation to any man.

Their great Stature.

Their valour.

Their weapons.

Eight *Spaniards* liuing in *Cinaloa*.

Vpon our comming into these Countries, the *Indians* stirred vp with the fame of new men,

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came by flockes vnto our lodging, and witnessed their loue, with exceeding great signification of good will, with salutation and words, which yet we vnderstood not, staying so long with vs till they were friendly dismissed by vs: neither neglected they the opportunitie offred vpon the first occasion, to shew how greatly they affected the *Christian* religion; for assoone as we entred into the first Villages of this Prouince, the day following there assembled a great number of old and yong folkes to be baptized, which was a great comfort vnto vs; we christened full foure-scoore boyes and girles; we raised the mindes of the rest with good hopes, that assoone as they were instructed with necessary doctrine, they should be partakers of the same Sacrament. Wee found foure hundred *Christians*, which hauing bin baptized by the *Franciscane* Fathers, which came into these parts twelue yeares past, when at length they were slaine by the Inhabitants were left destitute of a teacher; neither can all of them be instructed by vs, vnlesse some helpe be sent vs; for besides that the people are many, they also differ in language and tongues, although there be two chiefe and most generall.

Readinesse to heare the Gospell.

Foure hundred baptized by *Franciscans*, (slaine there) twelue yeares before.

Difference of language.

We learne two tongues with great celeritie, which albeit they be not so vulgar and generall, yet are they more necessary: and we haue profited so much in three moneths, that wee could easily vnderstand the *Indians* when they spake. Wherefore wee began to instuct in the Catechisme, and with godly speeches to exhort the Nation, to keepe them within the compasse of their duetie, and to deliuer them of all feare: when they see that they receiue of vs the seruice and formes of praying to God, not in a strange but in their owne language; the which together with the Catechisme they learne with great care and shortnesse of time. And now wee haue Christened aboue sixteene hundred, as well those of yeares as boyes; besides those foure hundred, which being christened by the aforesaid Fathers, almost in their infancie, and fully twelue yeares neglected, had scarsely any shew of Christendome, but were married with Pagans after their Countrey fashion. From many of them we tooke away their Concubines, because such is the custome of this Nation, that they take as many as they are able to keepe. Many of them we likewise married.

Instruction in the Catechisme

And why doe you teach *Babylon*, or to babble in a strange tongue here, instead of praying?

Sixteene hundred newly Christened.

Concubines.

There are also many more which desire to be baptized, but since the people be exceeding many, and the workemen but two onely, we are not able to sustaine the labour. The last of Nouember I visited the people of this tract or Riuer, and in the space of twelue or thirteene miles, there are foure thousand *Indians* at the least, which vse Bowes and Arrowes, besides women and children. Among these are certaine of bad name and fame, which haue familiarity and acquaintance with the Diuell, with whom they commit abominable and very horrible sinnes.

Familiarity with the Diuel

Many of them fled into the Mountaines, that their children might not be Christened, because the Diuell had reported abroad, that all they should die that were Baptized. Notwithstanding in seuen or eight dayes we Christened two hundred and fortie children. Necessitie enforced me to leaue them, and to goe to another place, to helpe our neighbours: yet I am greatly desirous to returne moued with a certaine pitie, because I see this people so strongly possessed by the Diuell being vtterly ignorant of the faith.

240. children Christened.

There are now thirteene Churches in these three Riuers, besides those which are erected by little and little, neither haue we any more holy Vestments for them, then those which we carry about with vs, and one other furniture of an Altar, which belongeth to the *Spaniards*: we haue neuer a Bell in any of these Churches. We furnished an Alter with one Crosse and certaine paper Images, which were brought hither from *Culhuacan*, because we want other furniture, which we looke from your Reuerencies, and it will be very profitable, since this Nation is so delighted with outward ornaments.

Thirteene Churches in three Riuers.

Culhuacan.

We celebrated the dedication of a Church at *Petatlan*, on the day of the conception of the Virgin, the Mother of God. In the same I set vp a certaine small Image consecrated to the conception of the blessed Virgin: We went on Procession, wherein the Boyes sang the *Te Deum laudamus* in the vulgar language: I added a Prayer, and then red Masse, because the singers are yet ignorant of Song, and can sing nothing else but Amen, with a rude and vntuned voyce. Many of the *Pagans* were present, which were inuited to this holy day from other places, and were almost amazed beholding these first beginnings, wishing that the like solemnitie might be kept in their Villages. As farre as hitherto we are able to gather, the *Indians* the inhabitants of these and the neighbour *Pagan* Castles, where there is greater store of people, and lesse diuersitie of languages, are quicke and prompt, tractable, and of easier conuersion, then any that I haue hitherto seene or knowne. I could wish that I might sometime liue priuately with my selfe, but such is the concourse of commers, that they loue me not thus quiet, and though I be silent, yet they minister diuers speeches, inquiring of our things, and rehearsing their owne, and come to vs in the night to prayer. They are ingenious and docile, although they haue no teacher, by whose instruction this force of nature should be exercised. They liue in Castles and Countrey villages, in houses ioyned neere the one to the other, and builded of chalke and timber, which they adore with Mats and couerings of reedes.

Petatlan in 25. degrees and a halfe.

The Christianity there taught.

Their houses

In the marriages which they make, when they take many wiues, it seemeth not inconueni-

ent

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ent or indecent vnto them, to take their ſiſter, mother, or daughter, becauſe they thinke that this maketh much for domeſticall peace, and that thereby all emulation may be auoided. And though they make no account of affinitie, yet they haue exceeding great regard of conſanguinitie. They loue their children moſt tenderly for a certaine time, and teach them nothing elſe but ſuch things as they know themſelues, and neuer beate them nor chaſtiſe them for any thing, and ſo they liue like beaſts. They marrie them at their time; and this is the forme of their marriage: The Parents of each partie meete together, and after conferences had betweene them, they dance according to their Countrie cuſtome, and giuing hands returne home; if the Bridegroome or Bride be vnder age, they ſtay certaine moneths and ſometime a yeare, neuer ſeeing one the other: afterward at time conuenient the Father of the ſpouſe giueth an houſe to his daughter and ſon in law, with furniture thereto belonging.

Their plurality and inceſts in marriages.

The bad education of their children.

Forme of Marriages.

They alſo make the Bridegroome a Knight, if he be of a worthy familie, with diuers rites, whereof theſe be the chiefeſt ceremonies: They deliuer him a Bowe, and inſtruct him how to vſe his new weapons; and to ſhew a ſigne of his induſtrie and abilitie, he is turned out to ſome yong Lyon or wilde beaſt, which when he hath killed, he is aduanced to ſome honour and dignitie, whereby he excelleth others which are not Knights. Among the things belonging to policie, this is one which they doe obſerue; that they adopt other mens children for their owne; but this adoption into another familie hath very ſeuere and dangerous ceremonies, for they thruſt a ſticke into their mouthes into the bottome of their throates, wherewith they are almoſt choaked; if it fall out well, they vomit vp all the meate in their ſtomacke, and ſo they paſſe ouer into the right of another man. Whatſoeuer time remaineth from labour and trauaile they ſpend in a play, which is like to Dice, but conſiſteth of diuers ſignes. They play with exceeding great moderation and patience of minde, being moſt cunning in this kinde of ſport, no oath is heard among them, nor any contentions or brabling word, though they looſe their apparell and all that they haue, and goe home naked, as ſometime it falleth out.

Their forme of making Knights.

Adoption.

Their quietneſſe and kinde play.

When they be ſicke, if the diſeaſe be ſore and dangerous, they digge a place for their buriall, and ſometimes it ſtandeth fiue or ſixe dayes open, which cuſtome was very profitable to a certaine woman; for when I came into a certaine Village, and ſaw the ground digged very deeply, knowing what the matter was, I came vnto her lying on her Couch and ſicke, and hauing inſtructed her in the Catechiſme which I had written in the vulgar Tongue, in the principles of Chriſtian Religion, I baptiſed her, but ſhe recouered. Now the cauſe why they open the places of their burials is this, That preſently they may couer the bodie or aſhes of him that is dead (for ſomtimes they burne the bodies with all the houſe and houſehold ſtuffe.) They ſprinkle the Sepulchre with a certaine duſt, whereof they make a drinke, and bring meate with them, and after they haue wept ouer the Graue, they make themſelues drunke, the Kinſfolke of the dead making a Feaſt for them that doe aſſiſt them. And theſe be their Funerals.

Their burials.

The Vicar of the Church of *Culiacan*, which is fortie two leagues from *Cinoloa*, where the foreſaid Fathers liue, in his Letters ſent to a certaine friend writeth after this manner: In *Cinaloa* the Fathers labour painfully in the Lord in conuerting the *Indians* vnto the Faith ſo fruitfully and happily, that we all hold it for a Miracle. Neither can it be beleeued, both with what celeritie they haue learned and ſpeak the tongue of that Countrie, and with what facilitie and contentment. The Inhabitants come to bee baptized, and deſire to bee inſtructed in the Articles of our faith. Doubtleſſe it is the worke of God; wherefore the Diuine Maieſtie doth fauour and promote the ſame.

A Letter written from *Valladolid* by LVDOVICVS TRIBALDVS TOLETVS to Maſter RICHARD HAKLVYT, tranſlated out of *Latine*, touching IVAN de ONATE his Diſcoueries in new *Mexico*, fiue hundred leagues to the North from the old *Mexico*.

VVHen you ſhall ſee the Engliſh *returned home out of our* Spaine, *and can finde no Letters ſent vnto you from vs, perhaps, and that worthily you will accuſe vs of breach of our friendſhip, and alſo as little mindfull of our promiſe. Yet we as free from this fault ſalute you moſt willingly. For it is not long ſince we arriued here, that is to ſay in this Court, a little after the departure of your Countrimen into* England. *Yet we made our iourney by Sea and by Land indifferent pleaſantly and according to our deſire. After we had reſted our ſelues a ſmall while, we deſired nothing more then to viſit* Andrew Garſia Ceſpedes, *a man for many reſpects linked vnto vs in moſt ſtraight bands of friendſhip. He greatly reioyced of your good will toward him: And ſhewed me a certaine briefe yet very perſpicuous Relation of things atchieued by* Don Iuan de Onate, *among the* Indians *of New* Mexico.

Their burials.

Don Iuan de Onate his firſt relation.

For therein is written, that he departed from old *Mexico* in the yeere 1599. with an Armie and carriages of fiue thouſand men, in which number boyes, women, youngmen and Souldiers

5000. men 1599

are

500. leagues trauell.

are included. He carried also great store of victuals with him, flockes of Sheepe and Goates, Herds of Oxen, and all things necessarie for life, also Horses and Armour, and other things which in these kind of Expeditions ought to be prouided. Therefore hauing trauelled through diuers Countries fiue hundred leagues, hee found diuers Nations by the way, noble for their builded Townes and reasonable ciuill manners. All which he receiued into the friendship of the King of *Spaine*, and they openly testified the same by publike instruments, and giuing of their faith. And when with his company he came vnto a Towne very strong by situation of the place, built vpon a most high and mightie Rocke, and was freely receiued by the Inhabitants, giuing their right hands to each other, they courteously supplied them with all things necessarie for their relieue, and promised within a while after that they would furnish them with more, sufficient to make a very long iournie. When *Onate* had waited for this thing, at the day appointed hee sent his Nephew by his sister with a few Souldiers, who entring the Towne, came into the Market place, where almost all the multitude of the Townesmen were assembled together. Now while hee with his company was busie in buying of things, suddenly the Traitours from all parts rushed vpon him and his fellowes vnawares, and by most wicked treason cut off the Captaines head and sixe others; the rest being wounded hardly escaped by flight from so great a multitude that assaulted them, yet some of the enemies were slaine and thrust through. When speedily the fame hereof came to *Onate*, taking with him a choice number of Souldiers, in a great furie he came vnto the Towne, besiged it, and after a long fight by maine force he tooke the same, slue most part, tooke the rest, burnt the Towne and razed it to the ground, that no tokens might remaine of so great a wickednesse committed against him. The Townes name was *Acoma*: and none of our men was slaine in the siege thereof.

Treacherous people.

Their Towne taken. *Acoma* is in 32. degrees, and two third parts

After this he easily proceeded forward on his iournie as he did before, till he came to a mightie great Citie: he inforced this City with the villages adioyning to sweare obedience to the King of *Spaine*, not altogether vnwilling, yet feared by the example and ruine of the towne that was destroyed. From hence he came to a greater Citie, which likewise after hee had obtained it by great friendship he sent certain men from thence to search out the oxen of *Cibola*, long since known by the report of one, (to wit of *Vasquez de Coronado*) whether they were such indeed or no. Who when they had found a great multitude of these oxen, and would compasse them about, and force them into certaine inclosures or toiles, their enterprize preuailed but a little: they are so wild and so swift. Yet after they had killed many of them, bringing store of them with them, as though they had bin Deere, returning to their company and General, to the great admiration of all men, they declared the wildnesse and innumerable number of these Oxen.

A mighty city.

Another greater Citie. *Cibola* is in 33. degrees.

The Towne of Saint *Iohn*.

Sundry Mynes of gold and siluer newly found.

A second Discouerie 1602.

The most famous Riuer of the North discouered. *Antonie de Espio vno Rio mas que otro leguas de ancho.*

The Lake of *Conibas*. *Auia vna lagnua o lago muy guade. Anton. de Espeio.*

A faire and goodly Citie.

A fterward employing of themselues to keepe those things which they had gotten, they builded a Towne, which they called Saint *Iohns* Towne, and entring into very great friendship with the people which they had lately discouered, after they had found certaine very rich Mynes of gold and siluer, being laden with store of other riches, they determined to liue pleasantly and quietly, and to end their trauels, with singular profit of the Inhabitants in the Christian Religion, and abiuring of their Idols, which in former time they worshipped most religiously.

At length within these two yeeres, leauing his fellowes there, *Onate* vndertooke a new Discouerie toward that most famous Riuer of the North, which at length he discouered, being euerywhere courteously entertained by the Inhabitants. At last he came to the Lake whereof long since, haue gone many reports. This is the Lake of *Conibas*, on the brinke whereof hee beheld a farre off a Citie seuen leagues long, and aboue two leagues broad. The houses of this Citie were separated the one from the other, and trimly and artificially builded, adorned with many trees and most goodly Gardens; and often diuided with streames running betweene them. Yet none of the Inhabitants did appeare. Therefore being not furnished with a sufficient Armie, he kept his Souldiers about him in a strong place, yet he sent certaine Horsemen into the Towne to view it: who after they had ridden by a certaine space through certaine exceeding faire streets of the Citie, and could see none of the Citizens, at length came to an exceeding great Market place, which was filled with an exceeding great company of men, fortified with Rampiers and other fortifications in manner of a Fortresse. Therefore perceiuing themselues to be vnequall to so infinite a number, they retired backe to their fellowes without attempting any thing, and so returned home to their owne houses vnder the conduct of *Onate*, defferring the assaulting of so great a Towne vntill a more conuenient time: and now they keepe those places diligently, which they haue alreadie found, and doing violence to none of the Inhabitants, they liue in all happinesse and prosperitie.

Westerne coast of *America* discouered neere Cape *California*, which it seemes at this time was more perfectly discouered to be an Iland, as you see in M. *Brigs* his Map.

Moreouer, other newes is brought from New *Spaine*, to wit, that by the commandement of the Vice-roy, the Coasts of the South Sea toward Cape *Mendocino* are discouered, and that exceeding faire and large Hauens are found neere the *Californias*, which hitherto no man knew, and that Castles are there to be builded and fortified, fit to withstand the force of the enemie: which I haue painted with the precise longitudes and latitudes, annexed vnto them.

There is no newes come of the Voyage to the Iland lately found out toward *Nona Guinea*. If any newes come, I will carefully aduertise you thereof.

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It remaineth, that I speake somewhat of the instruction which I promised you, and now send vnto you: to wit, that the same was sent to the West *Indies*, and that according to the precepts therein contained, all things are obserued very exactly, and written to the Councell of the *Indies*: and that *Cespedes* our friend hauing diligently read ouer these Writings, hath written an excellent Volume; but he hath not obtained leaue to publish the same: for they will not haue all these things particularly to come to light.

And these be the things which I now thought good to write vnto you, my *Haklyt*, meaning to haue written more, if there had beene any fresher things to haue written of. Neither haue I yet sought out all those that might informe me of these new Discoueries: for I could not yet doe it by reason of the shortnesse of the time. I hope hereafter I shall haue leisure: and I know you will commend mee for my friendship towards you. Farewell from *Valladolid* the Nones of Iuly 1605.

TO THE READER.

After so many other Spanish *Discourses and Discoueries, I haue added for a* Spanish *farewell this of* Bartholomew de las Casas *a zealous* Dominican *Frier, after made Bishop of* Chiapa, *touching the excesses committed by some* Spaniards *in the Continent and Ilands of* America, *from their first Discouerie till the yeere* 1542. *in which this was written; the rather beere annexed, as our conclusion of* Spanish *Relations. The occasion (it seemeth) was his godly zeale of conuerting soules to Iesus Christ from the power of* Ethnike *darknesse, which was hindered by a worse darknesse in those which professed themselues children of Light, and had the name and Sacraments of* Christians. *For it beeing then the custome, as you haue seene in* Soto, *and others before, to get so much of the* American *Regions in Partition, Commendam, or a Commission from the King (then* Charles *the fifth Emperour) to* discouer and pacifie, *as their stile hath it, that is, as the Popes Bull prescribeth, to* bring into *Spanish* subiection, and to conuert to the Christian Faith, *so much as their Commission limited, paying the fifth part of whatsoeuer they got to the Crowne; they abusing the Emperours lenitie, and concealing their out-rages, proceeded in conuerting, as that word is deriued from* conuerrere, *not from* conuertere, *and in such course as this Author expresseth, if he and other Diuines which made complaint thereof to the Emperour bee to be credited. Neither is it incredible for the maine part of the Historie (we see their owne Iournals insinuate as much in milder and closer termes) how soeuer his zeale flings forth fiery tearmes, and paints out their Acts in the blackest Inke, and most Hyperbolicall Phrases. The Issue was the alteration of gouernment in the* Indies, *by the gentlenesse of the Kings of* Spaine, *which freed them from slauerie, and tooke better order both for their bodily and spirituall estate, as before wee haue read in* Herera. *And if any thinke that I publish this in disgrace of that Nation; I answere, Euery Nation (We see it at home) hath many euill men, many Deuill-men. Againe, I aske whether the Authour (himselfe a* Spaniard *and Diuine) intended not the honour and good of his Countrie thereby: which also was effected, euill manners prouoking good Lawes. And indeed it is as much honour to this Bishop and the Bishop of* Mexico, *with other* Spaniards *that shewed their zeale of reformation herein, as also to the Kings of* Spaine *which haue effected it; as the doing it is shame to other* Spaniards, *and the generalitie here touched. The like abuses of* Sauages *in* Brasill, *you haue seene by* Portugals, *complained of by Iesuites, sup. l. 7. c. 2. For my part I honour vertue in a* Spaniard, *in a Frier, in a Iesuite: and haue in all this voluminous storie not beene more carefull to shew the euill acts of* Spaniards, Portugals, Dutch *in quarrels twixt them and vs, then to make knowne whatsoeuer good in any of them, when occasion was offered. And so farre am I from delighting to thrust my finger in sores (which yet I doe on necessitie, euen with the* English *also) that I haue left out many many inuectiues and bitter Epithetes of this Author, abridging him after my wont, and lopping of such superfluities, which rather were the fruit of his zeale, then the flowre of his History. I could also haue added the names of those which he here calleth Tyrants, the Captaines in those Expeditions: but he spared them, as then liuing, and in* Herera *before you haue them, which yet is angry with* Ramusio *for that wherein this storie doth excuse him, the concealment of their names being best commendation of such men. In these prunings and omission of some things (in their owne places, before related) aboue a third part is left out, and yet more then enough left to testifie that Mans heart giuen ouer to couetousnesse or other vice, is a bottomlesse Hell,* wicked and deceitfull aboue all; who can search it? *The colours which the* Spaniards *pretended for such executions, were the Man-eatings, Sodomies, Idolatries and other vices of* Americans; *perhaps made worse in the telling, and certainly with worse vices in this sort punished by vniustest Iustice in respect of the* Spaniards, *whose vniustice is neuertheless most iust in regard of God, which knoweth how to punish sinne by sinne, by Sinners. This Booke is extant in* Spanish, Latine, Dutch, *and in* English *also printed* 1583. *when as peace was yet betwixt* England *and* Spaine, *which* English *Copie I haue followed.*

The

The Prologue of the Bishop Frier BARTHOLOMEW delas CASAS *or* CASAVS, *to the most high and mightie Prince, Our Lord* Don PHILIP *Prince of* Spaine.

MOst high and mightie Lord, as God by his Prouidence hath for the guiding and commoditie of mankind in this World, in Realmes and Prouinces, appointed Kings to be as Fathers, and as *Homer* nameth them *Shepherds*, and so consequently the most noble and principall members of Common-weales: so can we not iustly doubt by reason of the good wils that Kings and Princes haue to minister Iustice, but that if there be any things amisse, either any violences or iniuries committed, the only cause that they are not redressed, is, for that Princes haue no notice of the same. For certainly if they knew of them, they would imploy all diligence and indeuour in the remedie thereof. Whereof it seemeth that mention is made in the holy Scripture, in the *Prouerbs* of *Solomon*, where it is said, *Rex qui sedet in solio Iudicij dissipat omne malum intuitu suo.* For it is sufficiently to be presupposed euen of the kindly and naturall vertue of a King, that the only notice that hee taketh of any mischiefe tormenting his Kingdome, is sufficient to procure him, if it bee possible, to roote out the same as beeing a thing that he cannot tollerate euen one only moment of time.

Considering therefore with my selfe most mightie Lord the great mischiefes, damages and losses (the like whereof it is not to be thought, were euer committed by Mankind) of so large and great Kingdomes, or to speake more truely, of this so new World of the *Indies*, which God and holy Church haue committed and commended vnto the King of *Castile*, to the end they might gouerne, conuert, and procure their prosperitie as well temporally as spiritually. I therefore (I say) being a man of experience, and fiftie yeeres of age or more, considering these euils, as hauing seene them committed, at my being in those Countries: Also that your Highnesse hauing information of some notable particularities, might bee mooued most earnestly to desire his Maiestie, not to grant or permit to those Tyrants such conquests as they haue found out, and which they doe so name, (whereunto if they might bee suffered they would returne) seeing that of themselues, and being made against this *Indian*, peaceable, lowly and milde Nation which offendeth none, they be wicked, tyrannous, and by all Lawes either Naturall, Humane or Diuine, vtterly condemned, detested and accursed: I thought it best, least my selfe might become also guiltie, by concealing the losse of an infinite number both of souls & bodies which are so committed, to cause a few of their dealings which of late I had selected from among infinite others, and that might truly be reported to be printed, to the end your Highnesse might with more ease peruse and reade them ouer. Also whereas your Highnesse Master the Archbishop of *Tolete*, when hee was Bishop of *Carthagena* required them at my hands, and then presented them to your Highnesse: peraduenture by reason of such great Voyages as your Highnesse tooke vpon you, both by Sea and by Land for matters of Estate wherein you haue beene busied, it may bee you haue not perused, either haue forgotten them, and in the meane time the rash and disordinate desire of those which thinke it nothing to doe wrong, to shed such abundance of mans bloud, to make desolate these so large Countries of their naturall Inhabitants and Owners, by slaying infinite persons, either to purloine such incredible treasures, do daily augment, these Tyrants proceeding vnder al counterfeit titles and colours in their instant and importunate sute, namely, to haue the said Conquests permitted and granted vnto them: Which in truth cannot bee granted without transgressing the Law both of Nature and of God, and so consequently not without incurring mortall sinne, worthy most terrible and euerlasting torments: I thought it expedient to doe your Highnesse seruice in this briefe Summarie of a most large Historie, that might and ought to bee written of such slaughters and spoiles as they haue made and perpetrated. Which I beseech your Highnesse to receiue and reade ouer, with that Royall clemencie and courtesie, wherewith you vse to accept and peruse the workes of such your seruants, as no other desire, but faithfully to employ themselues to the common commoditie, and to procure the prosperitie of the Royall Estate.

This Summarie being perused, and the vildnesse of the iniquitie committed against these poore innocent people, in that they are slaine and hewed in pieces without desert, only through the auarice ambition of those that pretend to the doing of such execrable deeds, being considered. It may please your Highnesse to desire, and effectually to perswade his Maiestie to denie any whosoeuer shall demand or require so hurtfull and detestable enterprises: yea, euen to burie any such suite or petition in the infernall pit of perpetuall silence, thereby shewing such terrour and dislike as hereafter no man may bee so bold, as once to name or speake thereof. And this (most mightie Lord) is very expedient and necessarie, to the end God may prosper, preserue and make the estate of the Royall Crowne of *Castile* for euer to flourish both spiritually and temporally.

CHAP.

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CHAP. IIII.

A briefe Narration of the destruction of the Indies *by the* Spaniards: *written by a Frier* BART. de las CASAS *a* Spaniard, *and Bishop of* Chiapa *in* America.

THe *Indies* were discouered the yeere 1492. and inhabited by the *Spanish* the yeere next after ensuing: so as it is about fortie nine yeeres sithence that the *Spaniards* some of them went into those parts. And the first Land that they entred to inhabite, was the great and most fertile Ile of *Hispaniola*, which containeth sixe hundred leagues in compasse. There are other great and infinite Iles round about, and in the Confines on all sides: which we haue seene the most peopled, and the fullest of their owne native people, as any other Countrie in the World may be. The firme Land lying off from this Iland two hundred and fiftie leagues, and somewhat ouer at the most, containeth in length on the Sea Coast more then ten thousand leagues: which are alreadie discouered, and daily be discouered more and more, all full of people, as an Emmote hill of Emmots. Insomuch, as by that which since, vnto the yeere the fortieth and one hath beene discouered: It seemeth that God hath bestowed in that same Countrie, the gulfe or the greatest portion of Mankind.

God created all these innumerable multitudes in euery sort, very simple, without subtletie, or craft, without malice, very obedient, and very faithfull to their naturall Liege Lords, and to the *Spaniards* whom they serue, very humble, very patient, very desirous of peace making, and peacefull, without brawles and strugglings, without quarrels, without strife, without rancour or hatred, by no meanes desirous of reuengement.

They are also people very gentle, and very tender, and of an easie complexion, and which can sustaine no trauell, and doe die very soone of any disease whatsoeuer, in such sort as the very children of Princes and Noblemen brought vp amongst vs, in all commodities, ease, and delicatenesse, are not more soft then those of that Countrie: yea, although they bee the children of Labourers. They are also very poore folke, which possesse little, neither yet doe so much as desire to haue much worldly goods, and therefore neither are they proud, ambitious, nor couetous. Their diet is such (as it seemeth) that of the holy Fathers in the Desert hath not bin more scarce, nor more straight, nor lesse daintie, nor lesse sumptuous. Their apparelling is commonly to goe naked: all saue their shamefast parts alone couered. And when they be clothed, at the most, it is but a of a Mantle of Bombacie of an ell and a halfe, or two ells of linnen square. Their lodging is vpon a Mat, and those which haue the best: sleepe as it were vpon a Net fastened at the foure corners, which they call in the Language of the Ile of *Hispaniola*, *Hamaca*. They haue their vnderstanding very pure and quicke, being teachable and capeable of all good Learning, very apt to receiue our holy Catholike Faith, and to be instructed in good and vertuous manners, hauing lesse incumberances and disturbances to the attaining thereunto, then all the folke of the world besides, and are so enflamed, ardent, and importune to know and vnderstand the matters of the faith after they haue but begunne once to taste them, as likewise the exercise of the Sacraments of the Church, and the diuine Seruice: that in truth, the religious men haue need of a singular patience to support them. And to make an end, I haue heard many *Spaniards* many times hold this as assured, and that which they could not denie, concerning the good nature which they saw in them. Vndoubtedly these folkes should bee the happiest in the World, if onely they knew God.

Vpon these Lambes so meeke, so qualified and endued of their Maker and Creator, as hath bin said, entred the *Spanish* incontinent as they knew them, as, Wolues, as Lions, and as Tigres most cruell of long time famished: and haue not done in those quarters these fortie yeeres past, neither yet doe at this present, ought else saue teare them in pieces, kill them, martyr them, afflict them, torment them, and destroy them by strange sorts of cruelties neuer neither seene, nor read, nor heard of the like (of the which some shall be set downe hereafter) so farforth that of aboue three Millions of soules that were in the Ile of *Hispaniola*, and that we haue seene, there are not now two hundred natiues of the Countrey. The Ile of *Cuba*, the which is in length as farre as from *Valladolid* vntill *Rome*, is at this day as it were all waste. Saint *Iohns* Ile, and that of *Iamayca*, both of them very great, very fertill, and very faire: are desolate. Likewise the Iles of *Lucayos*, neere to the Ile of *Hispaniola*, and of the North side vnto that of *Cuba*, in number being aboue three score Ilands, together with those which they call the Iles of *Geanis*, one with another, great and little, whereof the very worst is fertiler then the Kings Garden at *Ciuill*, and the Countrie the healthsomest in the World: there were in these same Iles more then fiue hundred thousand soules, and at this day there is not one only creature. For they haue beene all of them slaine, after that they had drawne them out from thence to labour in their Minerals in the Ile of *Hispaniola*, where there were no more left of the Natiues of that Iland. A ship riding for the space of three yeeres betwixt all these Ilands, to the end, after the ioining of this kind of Vin-

Three Millions perished in *Hispaniola*, *Oviedo* hath but 1600000.

500000. lost in the *Lucayes*.

tage, to gleane and cull the remainder of these folke (for there was a good *Christian* moued with pittie and compassion, to conuert and win vnto Christ such as might be found) there were not found but eleuen persons which I saw: other Iles more then thirty, neere to the Ile of Saint *Iohn* haue likewise bin dispeopled and marred. All these Iles containe aboue two thousand leagues of land, and are all dispeopled and laid waste.

As touching the maine firme land, we are certaine that our *Spaniards*, by their cruelties and cursed doings haue dispeopled and made desolate more then ten Realmes greater then all *Spaine*, comprising also therewith *Aragon* & *Portugall*, and twise as much or more land then there is from *Seuill* to *Ierusalem*, which are aboue a thousand leagues: which Realmes as yet vnto this present day remaine in a wilderneſſe and vtter desolation, hauing bin before time as well peopled as was possible. We are able to yeelde a good and certaine accompt, that there is within the space of the said fortie yeares, by those said tyrannies and diuelliſh doings of the *Spaniards*, doen to death vniustly and tyrannously more then twelue Milions of soules, men, women, and children. And I doe verily beleeue, and thinke not to mistake therein, that there are dead more then fifteene Millions of soules.

*12. or 15. miles See the end of this discourse.

The cause why the *Spaniſh* haue destroyed such an infinite of soules, hath beene onely, that they haue held it for their last scope and marke to get Gold, and to enrich themselues in a short time, and to mount at one leape to very high estates, in no wise agreeable to their persons: or to say in a word, the cause hereof hath beene their auarice and ambition. And by this meanes haue died so many Millions without faith and without Sacraments.

Of the Ile of Hiſpaniola.

In the Ile *Hiſpaniola*, which was the first (as we haue said) where the *Spaniards* arriued, began the great slaughters and spoyles of people: the *Spaniards* hauing begun to take their wiues and children of the *Indies*, for to serue their turne and to vſe them ill, and hauing begun to eate their victuals, gotten by their sweate and trauell; not contenting themselues with that which the *Indians* gaue them of their owne good will, euery one after their abilitie, the which is algates very small, forasmuch as they are accustomed to haue no more store then they haue ordinarily neede of, and that such as they get with little trauell: And that which might suffice for three households, reckoning ten persons for each household for a moneths space, one *Spaniard* would eate and destroy in a day.

Now after sundry other forces, violences, and torments, which they wrought against them: the *Indians* began to perceiue that those were not men discended from heauen. Some of them therefore hid their victuals, others hid their wiues and children, some others fled into the Mountaines, to separate themselues a farre off from a Nation of so hard natured and ghastly conuersation. The *Spaniards* buffeted them with their fists and bastonades; pressing also to lay hands vpon the Lords of the Townes. And these cases ended in so great an hazard and desperateneſſe, that a *Spaniſh* Captaine durst aduenture to rauish forcibly the wife of the greatest King and Lord of this Ile. Since which time the *Indians* began to search meanes to cast the *Spaniards* out of their lands, and set themselues in armes: but what kinde of armes? very feeble and weake to withstand or resist, and of lesse defence. The *Spaniards* with their Horses, their Speares and Lances, began to commit murders, and strange cruelties: they entred into Townes, Borowes, and Villages, sparing neither children nor old men, neither women with childe, neither them that lay In, but that they ripped their bellies, and cut them in peeces, as if they had beene opening of Lambes shut vp in their fold. They laid wagers with such as with one thrust of a sword would paunch or bowell a man in the middest, or with one blow of a sword would most readily, and most deliuerly cut off his head, or that would best pierce his entrals at one stroake. They tooke the little soules by the heeles, ramping them from the mothers dugges, and crushed their heads against the clifts. Others they cast into the Riuers laughing and mocking, and when they tumbled into the water, they said, now shift for thy selfe such a pnes corpes. They put others, together with their mothers, and all that they met, to the edge of the sword. They made certaine Gibbets long and low, in such sort, that the feete of the hanged on, touched in a manner the ground, euery one enough for thirteene, in honour and worship of our Sauiour and his twelue Apostles (as they vsed to speake) and setting to fire, burned them all quicke that were fastened. Vnto all others, whom they vsed to take and reserue aliue, cutting off their two hands as neere as might be, and so letting them hang, they said, Get you with these Letters, to carry tydings to those which are fled by the Mountaines. They murdered commonly the Lords and Nobility on this fashion; They made certaine grates of pearches laid on pickforkes, and made a little fire vnderneath, to the intent, that by little and little yelling and despairing in these torments, they might giue vp the Ghost.

Ambition.

Cruelty.

Torments.

One time I saw foure or fiue of the principall Lords roasted and broyled vpon these gredirons. Also I thinke that there were two or three of these gredirons, garnished with the like furniture, and for that they cryed out pitiously, which thing troubled the Captaine that he could not

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not then sleepe: he commanded to strangle them. The Sergeant, which was worse then the Hangman that burned them (I know his name and friends in *Siuil*) would not haue them strangled, but himselfe putting Bullets in their mouthes, to the end that they should not cry, put to the fire, vntill they were softly roasted after his desire. I haue seene all the aforesaid things and others infinite. And forasmuch, as all the people which could flee, hid themselues in the Mountaines, and mounted on the tops of them, fled from the men so without all manhood, emptie of all pitie, behauing them as sauage beasts, the slaughterers and deadly enemies of mankinde: they taught their Hounds, fierce Dogs, to teare them in peeces at the first view, and in the space that one may say a *Credo*, assailed and deuoured an *Indian* as if it had beene a Swine. These Dogges wrought great destructions and slaughters. And forasmuch as sometimes, although seldome, when the *Indians* put to death some *Spaniards* vpon good right and Law of due Iustice: they made a Lawe betweene them, that for one *Spaniard* they had to slay an hundred *Indians*. Dogges.

There were in this Ile *Hispaniola*, fiue great principall Realmes, and fiue very mighty Kings, vnto whom almost all other Lords obayed, which were without number. There were also certaine Lords of other seuerall Prouinces, which did not acknowledge for soueraigne any of these Kings: One Realme was named *Magua*, which is as much to say, as the *Kingdome of the plaine*. This Plaine is one of the most famous and most admirable things of all that is in the world. For it containeth fourescore leagues of ground, from the South Sea vnto the North sea, hauing in breadth fiue leagues, and eight vnto ten. The Realmes which were in this Ile of *Hispaniola*.

It hath on one side and other exceeding high Mountaines. There entreth into it aboue thirty thousand Riuers and Lakes, of the which twelue are as great as *Ebro*, and *Duero*, and *Guadalquemir*. And all the Riuers which issue out of a Mountaine which is towards the West, in number about fiue and twenty thousand, are very rich of Gold. In the which Mountaine or Mountaines, is contained the Prouince of *Cibao*, from whence the Mines of *Cibao* take their names, and from whence commeth the same exquisite Gold and fine of foure and twenty Karrets, which is so renowned in these parts. The King & Lord of this Realme was called *Guarionex*, which had vnder him his Vassals & Lieges so great and mighty, that euery one of them was able to set forth threescore thousand men of armes for the seruice of the King *Guarionex*. Of the which Lords I haue known some certain. This *Guarionex* was very obedient and vertuous, naturally desirous of peace, and well affectioned to the deuotion of the Kings of *Castile*, and his people gaue by his commandement, euery housekeeper a certaine kinde of Drum full of Gold: but afterwards being not able to fill the Drum, cut it off by the middest, and gaue the halfe thereof full. For the *Indians* of that Ile had little or none industrie or practise to gather or draw Gold out of the Mines. The *Cacique* presented vnto the King of *Castile* his seruice, in causing to be manured all the lands from the *Isabella*, where the *Spanish* first sited, vnto the Towne of Saint *Domingo*, which are fiftie leagues large, on condition that he should exact of them no Gold: for hee said (and hee said the truth) that his Subiects had not the skill to draw it out. As for the manuring which he said he would procure to be done: I know that he could haue done it very easily, and with great readinesse, and that it would haue beene worth vnto the King euery yeere more then three Millions of Castillans, besides that it would haue caused, that at this houre there had bin aboue fiftie Cities greater then *Siuill*. Great Riuers in *Spaine*. 25000. Riuers rich in Gold: *Cibao*.

The paiment that they made to this good King and Lord, so gracious and so redoubted, was to dishonour him in the person of his wife, an euill *Christian*, a Captaine rauishing her. This King could haue attended the time and opportunitie to auenge himselfe in leuying some armie: but he aduised to withdraw himselfe rather, and onely to hide him out of the way, thus being banished from his Realme and state, into a Prouince of the *Cignaios*, where there was a great Lord his vassall. After that the *Spaniards* were ware of his absence, and he could no longer hide himselfe: they make warre against the Lord which had giuen him entertainment, and make great slaughters through the Countrey as they goe, till in the end they found and tooke him, thrusting him loden with chaines and irons into a Ship, to carry him to *Castile*: which Ship was lost vpon the Sea, and there were with him drowned many *Spaniards*, and a great quantity of Gold, amongst the which also was the great wedge of Gold, like vnto a great loafe, weying three thousand six hundreth Castillans. Thus it pleased God to wreake vengeance of matters so lewd and so enormous. The greatest peece of Gold which euer was found naturall lost.

The other Realme was called of *Marien*, where is at this day the Port at one of the bounds of the plaine, towards the North: and it is farre greater then the Realme of *Portugall*, and much fertiler, worthy to be inhabited, hauing great Mountaines, and Mines of Gold, and Copper very rich. The King was called *Guacanagari*, which had vnder him many great Lords, of the which I haue knowne and seene sundry. In this Kings Countrey arriued first the old Admirall, when he discouered the *Indies*, whom at that time that he discouered the Ile, the said *Guacanagari* receiued so graciously, bountifully, and curteously with all the *Spaniards* who were with him, in giuing him all entertainement and succour, for at the very instant was the Ship lost (which the Admirall was carried in) that hee could not haue bin better made off in his owne Countrie of his owne Father. This did I vnderstand of the Admirals owne mouth. This King *Marien*.

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dyed, in flying the slaughters and cruelties of the *Spaniards* through the Mountaines, being destroyed and depriued of his estate. And all the other Lords his subiects dyed in the tyrannie and seruitude that shall be declared hereafter.

Maguana. The third Realme and dominion was *Maguana*, a Countrie also admirable, very healthfull, and very fertile, where the best Sugar of the Ile at this day is made.

The King of this Countrie was named *Caonabo*, who surpassed all the others in strength and state, in grauitie, and in the ceremonies of his seruice. The *Spaniards* tooke this King with great subtiltie and malice, euen as he was in his owne house, doubting of nothing. They conueied him afterwards into a Ship to carry him to *Castile*; but as there attended them six other Ships in the port, all ready to hoise vp saile: behold how God by his iust iudgement, would declare, that it, with other things, was an exceeding great iniquitie and vniust, by sending the same night a tempest, which sunke and drenched that Nauie with the *Spaniards* that were within. There died also with them the said *Caonabo*, charged with bolts and irons.

The Prince had three or foure brothers valiant men, and couragious like himselfe, who considering the imprisonment of their Lord & brother so against all equitie, together with the wasts and slaughters which the *Spaniards* made in other Realmes, and specially after that they had heard that the King their brother was dead, they put themselues in armes to encounter the *Spaniards*, and to auenge the wrong; who on the otherside meeting with them on horsebacke; so they rage in discomfitures and massacres, that the one moytie of this Realme hath beene thereby desolate and displeopled.

Xaragua. The fourth Realme is the same which is named of *Xaragua*. This Realme was as it were the centre or middle point, or to speake of, as the Court of this Isle, the diamond ouer all the other Realmes in language and polished speech, in policie and good manners, the best composed and ordered. For as much as there were many noble Lords and Gentlemen, the people also being the best made and most beautifull. The King had to name *Behechio*, which had a sister called *Anacaona*. These two, the brother and sister, had done great seruices to the Kings of *Castile*, and great good turnes to the *Spaniards*, deliuering them from sundry dangers of death.

After the decease of *Behechio*, *Anacaona* remained sole Soueraigne of the Realme. At a time came into this Realme the Gouernour of this Ile with threescore Horses, and more then three hundreth footemen (the horsemen alone had beene enough to spoyle and ouerrunne not this Ile alone, but all the firme land withall:) And to him came, being called, more then three hundred Lords vnder assurance, of whom the chiefest, he fraudulently caused to be conueyed into a house of thatch, and commanded to set to fire. Now on this wise were these Lords burned all aliue: all the rest of the Lords, with other folke infinite, were smitten to death with their Speares and Swords. But the Soueraigne Lady *Anacaona*, to doe her honour, they hanged. It happened that certaine *Spaniards*, either of pittie or of couetousnesse, hauing taken and detained certaine yong striplings to make them their Pages; because they would not haue them slaine, and setting them behinde them on their horse backes; another *Spaniard* came behinde, which stabbed them through with a speare. If so be any childe or boy tombled downe to the ground, another *Spaniard* came and cut off his legges. Some certaine of these *Indians* which could escape this crueltie so vnnaturall, passed ouer vnto a little Ile neere vnto the other, within an eight leagues. The Gouernour condemned all those which had passed the water, to become slaues; because they had fled from their butcherie.

Higuey. The fifth Realme was called *Higuey*, ouer the which raigned an ancient Queene named *Higuanama*, whom the *Spaniards* hanged vp. The people were infinite whom I saw burnt aliue, and rent in peeces, and tormented diuersly and strangely, and whom I saw made slaues, euen so many as they tooke aliue. And now for as much as there are so many particularities in these Massacres and destruction of those peoples, that they cannot conueniently be compriſed in writing (yea I doe verily beleeue, that of a number of things to be spoken of, there cannot be disciphered of a thousand parts one:) I will onely in that which concerneth the warres aboue mentioned, conclude, auerre, and iustifie in conscience, and as before God, that of all others, which I ouerpasse to speake of, or shall be able to speake of, the *Indians* neuer gaue no more occasion or cause, then might a conuent of good religious persons well ordered, why they should be robbed and slaine, and why those that escaped the death, should be retained in a perpetuall captiuitie and bondage. I affirme yet moreouer, for ought that I can beleeue or coniecture, that, during all the time that all this huge number of these Islanders haue beene murdered and made away vtterly, they neuer committed against the *Spaniards* any one mortall offence, punishable by the law of man. And concerning offences, of the which the punishment is reserued vnto God, as are desire of reuengement, hatred and rancour, which these people might beare against enemies so capitall as were the *Spaniards*, that very few persons haue beene attached with the blemish, and lesse violent and forcible did I finde them, by the good experience I had of them, then children of tenne or twelue yeares of age. And I know for certaine and infallible, that the *Indians* had euermore most iust cause of warre against the *Spaniards*; but the *Spaniards* neuer had any iust cause of warre against the *Indians*, but they were all diabolicall and most vnrighteous

more

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more then can be spoken of any tyrant that is on the whole earth. And I affirme the selfe same for all their other acts and gests by them done throughout all the *Indies*.

The warres atchieued, and all the men done to death thereby, reserued commonly the yong folke, women, and children (the which they departed among them, in giuing to one thirtie, to another fortie, and to another an hundreth, or two hundreth, according as euery one had the fauour of the head tyrant, whom they called the Gouernour) they gaue them to the *Spaniards* vpon that condition and colour, that they would teach them the Catholike faith, they themselues who tooke vpon them this charge of soules, commonly all idiots, or vtterly ignorant persons, barbarous men, extreamely couetous and vicious.

Now the carke and care that these had of them, was to send the men vnto the Mines, to make them dreine them out Gold, which is an intollerable trauell; and the women they bestowed into the Countrie to their Farmes, to manure and till the ground, which is a sore trauell, euen for the very men, the ablest and mightiest. They gaue to eate neither to one nor other, nought saue grasses and such like things of no substance; in such sort as the milke of the breasts of the wiues new deliuered of their childebirth dried vp; and thus dried vp in a small season, all the little creatures their yong children. Further, by reason of the separation and not cohabiting of the men with their wiues, the generation ceased betweene them. The men died with toyle and famine in the Minerals: these the women died of the same in the fields. By these meanes were consumed and brought to their ends so huge a number of the folke of this Iland. By the like might be abolished and exterpate all the inhabitants of the world. *Gens sine generatione perit.*

As touching loding, they laid vpon them fourescore or an hundreth pounds waight, which they should carrie an hundreth or two hundreth leagues: The *Spanish* also causing themselues to be carried in Lyters vpon mens armes, or beds made by the *Indians*, in fashion of Nets. For they serued their turnes with them to transport their carriages and baggage as beasts, whereby they had vpon their backes and shoulders, whales and gals as poore galled beasts. Also as touching whippings, bastonading, buffeting, blowes with the fist, cursing, and a thousand other kindes of torments, which they practised vpon them during the time that they trauailed, of a truth, they cannot be recounted in a long season, nor written in a great deale of paper, and they should be euen to affright men withall.

It is to be noted, that the destruction of these Iles and lands, began after the decease of the most gracious Queene, dame *Isabel*, which was the yeare one thousand fiue hundred and foure. For before there were laid waste in this Ile, but certaine Prouinces by vniust warre, and that not wholly altogether, & these for the more part, or in a manner all were concealed from the knowledge of the Queene (vnto who it may please God to giue his holy glory) forasmuch as she had a great desire, and a zeale admirable, that those people might be saued and prosper, as we do know good examples, the which we haue seene with our eyes, and felt with our hands. Further note here, that in what part of the *Indies* the *Spanish* haue come, they haue euermore exercised against the *Indians*; these innocent peoples, the cruelties aforesaid, and oppressions abominable, and inuented day by day new torments, huger and monstrouser, becomming euery day more cruell, wherefore God also gaue them ouer to fall headlong downe with a more extreame downfall into a reprobate sense.

Of the two Iles Saint Iohn, *and* Iamayca.

THe *Spanish* passed ouer the Ile of Saint *Iohn*, and to the end of *Iamaica* which were like Gardens for Bees) 1509. setting before them the same end which they had in the Ile *Hispaniola*, and committing the robberies and crimes aforesaid, adioyning thereunto many great and notable cruelties, killing, burning, rosting and casting them to the Dogs: furthermore, afterwards oppressing, and vexing them in their Minerals and other trauell, vnto the rooting out of those poore innocents which were in these two Iles, by supputation six hundred thousand soules; yea I beleeue that they were more then a Million, although there be not at this day in either Ile two hundred persons, and all perished without faith and without Sacraments. 600000. or a Million in S. *Iohn* and *Iamaica*.

Of the Ile of Cuba.

IN the yeare 1511. they passed to the Ile of *Cuba* (where were great Prouinces, and great multitudes of people) they both began and concluded with them after the fashion afore spoken, yea worse and farre more cruelly. There came to passe in this Iland matters worth the noting: A *Cacique*, named *Hathuey*, which had conueied himselfe from the Ile *Hispaniola* to *Cuba*, with many of his people, to auoide the calamities & practises so vnnaturall of the *Spanish*: when as certain *Indians* had told him tidings that the *Spaniards* were comming towards *Cuba*, he assembled his men, and bespake them: Now you know that the *Spaniards* are comming on this side, and yee know also by experience, how they haue entreated such, and such, and the people of *Hayti* (meaning Dances made to Gold.

thereby *Hiſpaniola*) hither they come to doe the like here. Wot yee why they doe it? they anſwered, no, vnleſſe it be that they are by nature voide of humanitie. He replied: They do it not onely for that; but becauſe they haue a God whom they honour, and doe demand very much, and to the end to haue from vs as well as others to honour him withall, they doe their vttermoſt to ſubdue vs. He had then by him a little Cheſt full of Gold and Iewels, and ſaid, Behold here the God of the *Spaniards*, let vs doe to him, if it ſo ſeeme you good, *Aretes* (which are windleſſes and dances) thus doing, we ſhall pleaſe him, and he will command the *Spaniards* that they ſhall doe vs no harme: They anſwered all with a loud voyce: Well ſaid Sir, well ſaid. Thus then they danced before it, vntill they were weary, then quoth the Lord *Hathuey*, Take wee heede how euer the world goe, if we keepe him, to the end that he be taken away from vs, in the end they will kill vs; wherefore let vs caſt him into the Riuer: whereunto they all agreed, and ſo they caſt it into a great Riuer there.

Hathuey burned.

This Lord and *Cacique* went alwayes flying the *Spaniſh*, incontinent as they were arriued at the Ile of *Cuba*, as he which knew them but too well, and defended himſelfe when he met them. In the end he was taken, and onely for becauſe that hee fled from a Nation ſo vniuſt and cruell, and that he defended himſelfe from ſuch as would kill him, and oppreſſe him euen vnto the death, with all his folke, he was burned aliue. Now as he was faſtned to the ſtake, a religious man of Saint *Francis* order, a deuout perſon, ſpake to him ſomewhat of God and of our Faith, which things this ſaid Lord had neuer heard of, yet might be ſufficient for the time which the butchers gaue him, that if he would beleeue thoſe things which were ſpoken to him, hee ſhould goe to heauen, where is glory and reſt euerlaſting, that if he did not beleeue, hee ſhould goe to hell, there to be tormented perpetually. The Lord after hauing a little paused to thinke of the matter, demanded of the Religious man, whether that the *Spaniards* went to heauen; who anſwered, yea; ſuch of them that were good. The *Cacique* anſwered againe immediately without any further deliberation, that he would not goe to heauen, but that he would goe to hell, to the end, not to come in the place where ſuch people ſhould be, and to the end not to ſee a Nation ſo cruell. Loe here the praiſes and honour which God and our faith haue receiued of the *Spaniards*, which haue gone to the *Indies*.

His choiſe to goe to hell, and why.

One time the *Indians* came to meete vs, and to receiue vs with victuals, and delicate cheere, and with all entertainment ten leagues of a great Citie, and being come at the place, they preſented vs with a great quantity of fiſh, and of bread, and other meate, together with all that they could doe for vs to the vttermoſt. See incontinent the Diuell, which put himſelfe into the *Spaniards*, to put them all to the edge of the ſword in my preſence, without any cauſe whatſoeuer, more then three thouſand ſoules, which were ſet before vs, men, women, and children. I ſaw there ſo great cruelties, that neuer any man liuing either haue or ſhall ſee the like.

3000. ſlaine.

Another time, but a few dayes after the premiſſes. I ſent meſſengers vnto all the Lords of the Prouince of *Hauana*, aſſuring them, that they ſhould not neede to feare (for they had heard of my credit) and that without withdrawing themſelues, they ſhould come to receiue vs, and that there ſhould be done vnto them no diſpleaſure: for all the Countrie was afraid, by reaſon of the miſchiefes and murderings paſſed, and this did I by the aduice of the Captaine himſelfe. After that we were come into the Prouince, one and twenty Lords and *Caciques* came to receiue vs, whom the Captaine apprehended incontinently, breaking the ſafe conduct which I had made them, and intending the day next following to burne them aliue, ſaying that it was expedient ſo to doe, for that otherwiſe thoſe Lords one day, would doe vs a ſhrewd turne. I found my ſelfe in a great deale of trouble to ſaue them from the fire; howbeit in the end they eſcaped.

After that the *Indians* of this Iland were thus brought into bondage and calamitie, like vnto thoſe of the Ile of *Hiſpaniola*, and that they ſaw that they died and periſhed all without remedy: ſome of them began to flye into the Mountaines, others quite deſperate hanged themſelues, and there hung together husbands with their wiues, hanging with them their little children. And through the crueltie of one only *Spaniard*, which was a great tyrant, and one whom I know, there hung themſelues more then two hundred *Indians*: and in this faſhion died an infinite of people.

Out of the frying-pan into the fire.

There was in this Ile an officer of the Kings, to whom they gaue for his ſhare three hundred *Indians*, of whom at the end of three moneths there died by him in the trauell of the Mines, two hundred and ſixty: in ſuch ſort, that there remained now but thirty, which was the tenth part. Afterwards they gaue him as many more, and more, and thoſe alſo hee made hauocke of in like manner, and ſtill as many as they gaue him, ſo many he ſlew, vntill he died himſelfe, and that the Diuell carried him away.

6000. Infants loſt.

In three or foure moneths (my ſelfe being preſent) there died more then ſixe thouſand children, by reaſon that they had plucked away from them their fathers and mothers, which they ſent into the Mines. I beheld alſo other things frightfull. Shortly after they reſolued to climbe after thoſe which were in the Mountaines, where they wrought alſo ghaſtly ſlaughters, and thus laid waſte all this Ile; which we beheld not long after, and it is great pitie to ſee it ſo diſpeopled and deſolate as it is.

Of

Of Terra Firma, *or the firme land.*

IN the yeere 1514. there landed in the Maine a mischieuous Gouernour. Hee not onely wasted or dispeopled the Sea Coast, but sacked also great Realmes and Countries, making hauocks by slaying and murdering of peoples, infinite to be numbred, and sending them to Hell. He ouerranne and harried most of the places in the Land, from *Darien* vpward, vnto the Realme and Prouinces of *Nicaragua* within being, which are more then fiue hundred leagues of the best, and most fertile ground in the whole World, where there were a good number of great Lords, with a number of Townes, Boroughes, and Villages, and store of gold in more abundance then was to be found on the earth vntill that present.

This Gouernour with his men, found our new sorts of cruelties and torments, to cause them to discouer and giue him gold. There was a Captaine of his, which slue in one walke and course which was made by his commandement, to rob and roote out more then fortie thousand soules, putting them to the edge of the Sword, burning them, and giuing them to the Dogges, and tormenting them diuersly: which also a Religious man of the Order of Saint *Francis*, who went with him, beheld with his eies, and had to name *Frier Francis of Saint Romane.*

The most pernicious blindnesse, which hath alwaies possessed those who haue gouerned the *Indians*, in stead of the care which they should haue for the conuersion and saluation came to that passe, as to command orders to bee set downe vnto the *Indians* to receiue the faith, and render themselues vnto the obedience of the King of *Castile*, or otherwise to bid them battle with fire and Sword, and to slay them or make them slaues: he commanded (or peraduenture the theeues, whom he dispatched to doe the execution, did it of their heads) when they were purposed to goe a rouing and robbing of any place, where they knew that there was any gold, the *Indians* being in their Townes and dwelling houses, without mistrusting any thing, the wicked *Spaniards* would goe after the guize of Theeues, vnto within halfe a league neere some Towne, Borough, or Village, and there by themselues alone, and by night make a reading, publication, or Proclamation of the said Ordinances, saying thus, *O yes*, Caciques *and* Indians *of this firme Land of such a place; Be it knowne vnto you, that there is one God, one Pope, one King of* Castile, *which is Lord of theese Lands: make your appearance, all delay set aside, here to doe him homage, &c. Which if you shall not accomplish: Be it knowne vnto you, that we will make warre vpon you, and we will kill you, and make you slaues.* Hereupon at the fourth watch in the morning, the poore Innocents, sleeping yet with their wiues and children: these Tyrants set vpon the place, casting fire on the houses which commonly were thatched, and so burne vp all quicke men, women and children, more suddenly then that they could of a great many be perceiued. They massacred at the instant those that seemed them good; and those whom they tooke prisoners, they caused them cruelly to die vpon the Racke, to make them to tell in what places there were any more Gold then they found with them: and others which remained aliue, they made them slaues, marking them with a hot Iron, so after the fire being out and quenched, they goe seeke the gold in their houses. This is then the deportment in these affaires of this person, with all the bond of his vngodly *Christians*, which he trained from the fourteenth yeere, vnto the one and twentie, or two and twentieth yeere, sending in these Exploits sixe or moe of his Seruants or Souldiers, by whom he receiued as many shares, ouer and besides his Captaines Generals part, which hee leuied of all the Gold, of all the Pearles, and of all the Iewels which they tooke of those whom they made their slaues. The selfe-same did the Kings Officers, euerie one sending forth as many seruants as he could.

God and King abused.

The Bishop also, which was the chiefe in the Realme, he sent his seruants to haue his share in the bootie: They spoiled more gold within the time, and in this Realme, as farre forth as I am able to reckon, then would amount to a Million of Ducates, yea, I beleeue, that I make my reckoning with the least. Yet will it be found, that of all this great theeuing, they neuer sent to the King ought saue three thousand Castillans, hauing thereabout killed and destroyed aboue eight hundred thousand soules. The other Tyrant Gouernours which succeeded after, vnto the yeere thirtie and three, slue or at least wise consented, for all those which remained to slay them in that tyrannicall sluerie.

800000. *Indians* slaine.

Amongst an infinite sort of mischiefes, which this Gouernour did, nor consented vnto the doing during the time of his gouernment, this was one: To wit, that a *Cacike* or Lord giuing him, either of his good will, or which is rather to be thought for feare, the weight of nine thousand Ducates: the *Spaniards* not content withall, tooke the said Lord, and tied him to a stake, setting him on the earth, his feet stretched vp; against the which they set fire to cause him to giue them some more gold. The Lord sent to his house, whence there were brought, yet moreouer three thousand Castillans. They goe afresh to giue him new torments. And when the Lord gaue them no more, either because he had it not, or because he would giue them no more, they bent his feet against the fire, vntill that the verie marrow sprang out, and trilled downe the soles of his feete: so as hee therewith died. They haue oftentimes exercised these kinde of torments towards the Lords, to make them giue them gold, wherewith they haue also slaine them.

Another time, a certaine companie of *Spaniards*, vsing their thefts and robberies, came to a Mountaine, where were assembled and hid a number of people, hauing shunned those men so pernicious and horrible: whom incontinent entring vpon, they tooke about three or fourescore, as well women as maids, hauing killed as many as they could kill. The morrow after, there assembled a great companie of *Indians*, to pursue the *Spaniards*, warring against them for the great desire they had to recouer their wiues and daughters.

The *Spaniards* perceiuing the *Indians* to approach so neere vpon them, would not so forgoe their prey, but stabd their Swords thorow the bellies of the wiues and wenches, leaning but one alone aliue of all the fourescore. The *Indians* felt their hearts to burst for sorrow and griefe which they suffered, yelling out in cries and speaking such words: O wicked men, O yee the cruell *Spaniards*: doe yee kill *Las Iras*: They terme *Iras* in that Countrie the women: as if they would say, to kill women, those be acts of abominable men, and cruell as beasts.

There was about ten or fifteene leagues from *Ieanama*, a great Lord named *Paris*, which was very rich of gold: The *Spaniards* went thither, whom this Lord receiued as if they had beene his owne brethren, and made a Present vnto the Captaine of fiftie thousand Castillans of his owne voluntarie accord. It seemed vnto the Captaine and the other *Spaniards*, that he which gaue such a great summe of his owne will, should haue a great treasure, which should be the end and easing of their trauels. They pretend in words to depart: but they returne at the fourth watch of the morning, setting vpon the Towne which mistrusted nothing set it on fire, whereby was burnt and slaine a great number of people, and by this meanes they brought away in the spoile fiftie, or threescore thousand Castillans moe. The *Cacike* or Lord escaped without being slaine or taken, and leuied incontinent as many of his as he could. And at the end of three or foure daies ouertaketh the *Spaniards* which had taken from him an hundred and thirtie, or fortie thousand Castillans, and set vpon them valiantly, killing fiftie *Spaniards*, and recouering all the gold which they had taken from him. The others saued themselues by running away, being well charged with blowes and wounded. Not long after, diuers of the *Spanish* returne against the said *Cacike*, and discomfite him with an infinite number of his people. Those which were not slaine, they put them to the ordinarie bondage: in such sort, as that there is not at this day, neither tracke nor token, that there hath beene liuing there either people, or so much as one man alone borne of woman within thirtie leagues of the Land, which was before notably peopled and gouerned by diuers Lords. There is no reckoning able to be made of the murders which this Caitiffe with his companie committed in these Realmes which he so dispeopled.

Of the Prouince of Nicaragua.

THe yeere 1522. or twentie three, this Tyrant went farther into the Land: to bring vnder his yoke the most fertile Prouince of *Nicaragua*, and so in thither he entred in an euill houre. There is no man which is able worthily and sufficiently to speake of the fertiltie, healthsomenesse, prosperitie, and frequencie, of those Nations that there were.

He sent fiftie Horsemen, and caused to slay all the people of this Prouince, (which is greater then the Countie of *Rossillon*) with the Sword: in such sort, as that hee left aliue, nor man, nor woman, nor old, nor young, for the least cause in the World: as if they came not incontinent at his command: or if they did not bring him so many load of Maiz, which signifieth in that Countrie bread Corne: or if they did not bring him so many *Indians* to serue him and others of his company: for the Countrie lay leuell, as was said, and no creature could escape his horses and deuillish rage. He sent *Spaniards* to make out rodes, that is to say, to go a theeuing into other Prouinces: and gaue leaue to those Rouers, to carrie with them as many *Indians* of this peaceable people as they listed, and that they should serue them, whom they put to the chaine, to the end they should not giue ouer the burdens of three or fourescore pounds weight, wherewith they loaded them, whereof it came to passe oftentimes that of foure thousand *Indians*, there returned not home to their houses six aliue: but euen fell downe starke dead in the high way: and when any were so wearie that they could march no farther for the weight of their burdens, or that some of them fell sicke, or fainted for hunger or thirst, because it should not need to stand so long as to vnlocke the chaine, and to make the speedier dispatch, hee cut off the head from the shoulders, and so the head tumbled downe one way, and the bodie another. Now consider with your selues, what the other poore soules might thinke the whiles.

He was the cause that the *Indians* sowed not their grounds one whole yeeres continuance. So as now, when they wanted bread, the *Spaniards* tooke away from the *Indians* their Maiz, which they had in store for prouision, to nourish them and their children: whereby there died of famine more then twentie or thirtie thousand soules. And it came to passe, that a woman falne mad with the famine slue her Sonne to eate him.

Cause and extremitie of famine.

They haue discomfited and oppressed in this Prouince a great number of people, and hastened their death in causing them to beare boords and timber vnto the Hauen thirty leagues distance, to make ships with: and sent them to go seeke Honie and Wax amiddest the Mountaines, where the

the Tigres deuoured them: Yea they haue laden women with childe, and women new deliuered or lying in, with burdens enough for beasts.

The greatest plague which hath most dispeopled this Prouince, hath beene the licence which the Gouernour gaue to the *Spaniards*, to demand or exact of the *Caciks* and Lords of the countrie slaues. They did giue them euery foure or fiue moneths, or as oftentimes as euery one could obtaine licence of the Gouernour fiftie slaues: with threatnings, that if they gaue them not, they would burne them aliue, or cause them to be eaten with Dogges. Now ordinarily the *Indians* doe not keepe slaues, and it is much if one *Cacike* doe keepe two, three or foure: Wherefore to serue this turne, they went to their subiects, and tooke first all the Orphelins, and afterwards they exacted of him that had two children one, and of him that had three, two: and in this manner was the *Cacicke* faine to furnish still to the number that the Tyrant imposed, with the great weeping and crying of the people: for they are people that doe loue (as it seemeth) tenderly their children. And for because that this was done continually, they dispeopled from the yeere 23. vnto the yeere 33. all this Realme. For there went for sixe or seuen yeeres space, fiue or sixe ships at a time, carrying forth great numbers of those *Indians*, for to sell them for slaues at *Ioanama* and *Peru*: where they all died not long after. For it is a thing proued and experimented a thousand times, that when the *Indians* are transported from their naturall Countrey, they soone end their liues: besides that these giue them not their sustenance, neither yet diminish they of their toile, as neither doe they buy them, for ought else but to toile. They haue by this manner of doing drawne out of this Prouince of the *Indies*, whom they haue made slaues, being as free borne as I am, more then fiue hundred thousand soules. And by the Deuillish warres which the *Spanish* haue made on them, and the hideous thraldome that they haue laid vpon them, they haue broughe to their deaths, other fiftie or threescore thousand persons, and do yet daily make hauocke of them at this present. All these slaughters haue beene accomplished within the space of fourteene yeeres. There may be left at this day in all this Prouinces of *Nicaragua*, the number of about foure or fiue thousand persons, which they also cause to die as yet euery day, through bondages and oppressions ordinarily and personall, hauing beene the Countrey the most peopled in the World, as I haue alreadie said.

Tribute slaues.

500000. *Indians* transported.
50000. slaues.

Of New Spaine.

IN the yeere 1517. was New *Spaine* discouered: at the Discouerie whereof were committed great disorders and slaughters of the *Indians*, by those which had the doing of that Exploite. The yeere 1518. there went *Spanish Christians* (as they terme themselues) to rob and slay, notwithstanding that they said they went to people the Countrie. Sithence that yeere, 1518. vnto this present yeere 1542. the vniust dealings, the violencie, and the Tyrannies which the *Spaniards* haue wrought against the *Indians*, are mounted to the highest degree of extremitie: those selfe-same *Spaniards*, hauing thorowly lost the feare of God, and of the King, and forgotten themselues. For the discomfitures, cruelties, slaughters, spoiles, the destructions of Cities, pillages, violences, and Tyrannies which they haue made in so many Realmes, and so great haue been such and so horrible, that all the things which we haue spoken of, are nothing in comparison of those which haue beene done and executed from the yeere 1518. vnto the yeere 1542. and as yet at this time, this moneth current of September, are in doing and committing the most grieuousest, and the most abominablest of all: in such sort that the rule which wee set downe before is verified: That is, *That from the beginning they haue alwaies proceeded from euill to worse, and haue gone beyond themselues in the most greatest disorders and deuillish doings.*

In the former discourse of *Hereta*, you may find the names of all these first planters, or as this Author reckoneth, supplanters; which did rather depopulate then people whole Prouinces. I could haue added their names, but was loth to doe more then the Author had done then; whiles many of them liued: yea his most passionate and bitter inuectiues I haue taken out, only minding the Storie, therein also mollifying many things.

In such wise, as that since the first entring into New *Spaine*, which was on the eighe day of Aprill, in the eighteenth yeere vnto the thirtieth yeere, which make twelue yeeres complete: the slaughters and the destructions haue neuer ceassed, which the bloudie and cruell hands of the *Spaniards* haue continually executed in foure hundred and fiftie leagues of Land or thereabout in compasse, round about *Mexico*, and the Neighbour Regions round about, such as the which might containe foure or fiue great Realmes, as great and a great deale farre fertiler then is *Spaine*. All this Countrie was more peopled with Inhabitants, then *Toledo*, and *Siuill*, and *Valledolid*, and *Samagoca*, with *Barcelona*. For that there hath not beene commonly in those Cities, nor neuer were such a world of people, when they haue beene peopled with the most, as there was then in the said Country, which containeth in the whole compasse more then 1800. leagues: during the time of the aboue mentioned twelue yeeres, the *Spaniards* haue slaine and done to death in the said 450. leagues of Land what men, what women, what young and little children, more then foure Millions of soules, with the dint of the Sword and Speare, and by fire, during (I say) the *Conquests* (as they call them.) Neither yet doe I here comprize those, whom they haue slaine, and doe slay as yet euery day, in the aforesaid slauerie and oppression ordinarie.

Foure Millions slaine.

Amongst other Murders and Massacres they committed this one which I am now to speake of, in a great Citie more then of a thirtie thousand houshold, which is called *Cholula*: that is, that comming before them the Lords of the Countrie and places neere adioyning, and first and for-

Of New *Spaine* in particular.

formost the Priests with their chiefe high Priest in procession, to receiue the *Spaniards* with great solemnitie and reuerence, so conducting them in the middest of them, towards their Lodgings in the Citie, in the houses and place of the Lord, or other principall Lords of the Citie: the *Spaniards* aduised with themselues to make a massacre, or a chastise (as they speake) to the end, to raise and plant a dread of their cruelties in euery corner of all that Countrie.

Now this hath beene alwaies their customary manner of doing, in euery the Regions which they haue entred into, to execute incontinent vpon their first arriuall, some notable cruell butcherie, to the end, that those poore and innocent Lambes should tremble for feare which they should haue of them: in this wise they sent first to summon all the Lords and Noblemen of the Citie, and of all the places subiect vnto the same Citie: who so soone as they came to speake with the Captaine of the *Spaniards*, were incontinent apprehended before that any body might perceiue the matter, to be able thereupon to beare tidings thereof vnto others. Then were demanded of them fiue or sixe thousand *Indians*, to carry the lodings and carriages of the *Spaniards*: which *Indians* came forthwith, and were bestowed into the base Courts of the Houses. It was a pitifull case to see these poore folke, what time they made them ready to beare the carriages of the *Spaniard*. They come all naked, only their secret parts couered, hauing euery one vpon their shoulder a Net with a small deale of victuall: they bow themselues euery one, and hold their backes cowred downe like a sort of Ellie Lambes, presenting themselues to the Swords: and thus being all assembled in the base Court, together with others, one part of the *Spanish* all armed, bestowe themselues at the gates to hemme them in, whiles the rest put these poore Sheepe to the edge of the Sword and the Speares, in such sort, that there could not escape away one only person, but that he was cruelly put to death: saiuing that after a two or three dayes you might haue seene come forth sundry all couered with bloud which had hid and saued themselues vnder the dead bodies of their fellowes, and now presenting themselues before the *Spaniards*, asking them mercy and the saiuing of their liues: they found in them no pitie nor compassion any whit at all, but were all hewed in pieces.

All the Lords which were aboue and vnderneath, were all bound, the Captaine commanding them to be brent quicke being bound vnto stakes pitched into the ground. Howbeit one Lord, which might be peraduenture the principall and King of the Countrie saued himselfe, and cast himselfe with thirtie or fortie other men into a Temple thereby, which was as good vnto them as a Fort, which they call in their Language, *Qowe*: and there he defended himselfe a good part of the day. But the *Spaniards*, whose hands nothing can escape specially armed for the warre, cast fire on the Temple, and burned all those which were within.

The *Mexican* cruelties are before related, and therefore here omitted.

From *Cholula* they went to *Mexico*. The King *Motenzuma* sent to meet them a thousand of presents, and Lords, and people, making ioy and mirth by the way.

After great and abhominable tyrannies committed in the Citie of *Mexico*, and in other Cities, and the Countrey, ten, fifteene, and twenty leagues compasse of *Mexico*: this tyrannie and pestilence aduanced it selfe forward, to waste also, infect, and lay desolate the Prouince of *Panuco*. It was a thing to be wondred at of the world, of people that there were, and the spoyles and slaughters there done. Afterward they wasted also after the selfe manner, all the Prouince of *Tuttepeke*, and the Prouince of *Ipelzingo*, and the Prouince of *Columa*: each Prouince contayning more ground then the Realme of *Leon* and *Castile*.

This Captaine tyrant, with this gorgeous and pretended title, dispatched two other Captaines, as very tyrants and farre more cruell, and lesse pitifull then himselfe, into great Realmes most flourishing, and most fertile, and full of people, to wit, the Realme of *Guatimala*, which lieth to the Seaward on the South side, and the same of *Naco*, and *Honduras*, otherwise called *Guaymura*, which coasteth on the Sea on the North side, confronting and confining the one with the other, three hundred leagues distance from *Mexico*. He sent the one by Land, and the other by Sea: both the one and the other carried with them a many of troopes to serue on horsebacke and a foot.

He which went by Sea, committed exceeding pillings, cruelties, and disorders amongst the people on the Sea-coast.

The Prouinces and Realmes of *Naco* and *Honduras*, which resembled a Paradise of pleasures: and were more peopled, frequented, and inhabited, then any Countrey in the world: now of late, wee comming along thereby, haue seene them so dispeopled and destroyed, that who so should see them, his heart would cleaue for sorrow, ware hee neuer so flinty. They haue slaine within these eleuen yeeres, more then two millions of soules, hauing not left in more then an hundred leagues of the Countrey square, but two thousand persons, whom they slay as yet daily in the said ordinary bondage.

Two millions slaine.

The great tyrant and Captaine, which went to *Guatimala* (as hath beene said, exceeded all) from the Prouinces neere to *Mexico*, (according as himselfe wrote in a Letter to the principall Tyrant which had sent him) distant from the Realme of *Guatimala* foure hundred leagues (keeping the way by him traced) as he went, slue, robbed, burned and destroyed all the Countrey, whersoeuer he became, vnder the shadow of title aboue mentioned, saying: that they should

submit

ſubmit themſelues vnto them, in the name of the King of *Spaine*, who was vnto them vnknowne, and of whom they had neuer heard ſpeake: and which thoſe Nations there eſteemed more vniuſt and more cruell then they his men were. And the Tyrants giuing them no reſpite of time to deliberate, they fling vpon the poore folke, in a manner as ſoone as the meſſage was done, putting all to fire and bloud.

Pretence of rebellion againſt that Prince to which they neuer had beene ſubiect.

Of the Prouince and Realme of Guatimala.

NO ſooner arriued hee into this ſaid Realme: but that hee beganne with great ſlaughter of the Inhabitants. This notwithſtanding the chiefe Lord came to receiue him, being carried in a Lighter, with Trumpets and Tabours, reioycings, and diſports, accompanied with a great number of the Lords of the Citie of *Vtlatan*, head Citie of the whole Realme, doing them alſo ſeruice with all they had, but ſpecially in giuing them food abundantly, and whatſoeuer they demanded beſides. The *Spaniſh* lodged this night without the Citie, foraſmuch as the ſame ſeemed vnto them ſtrong, and there might be thereby danger.

This Captaine called to him the next morrow the chiefe Lord, with other great Lords, who being come as meeke ſheepe, he apprehended them all, and commanded them to giue him certaine ſummes of gold. They anſwering that they had none, foraſmuch as the Countrie yeelded none: he commandeth incontinent to burne them aliue, without hauing committed any crime whatſoeuer, and without any other forme of Proceſſe or ſentence.

As the Lords of all theſe Prouinces perceiued, that they had burned their ſoueraigne Lords, onely becauſe they gaue them no Gold, they fled all to the Mountaines, commanding their Subiects to goe to the *Spaniards*, and to ſerue them as their Lords, but that they ſhould not diſcouer them, nor giue them intelligence where they were. With this, loe all the people of the Countrey, preſenting them, and proteſting to be theirs, and to ſerue them as their Lords: The Captaine made anſwere that he would not accept of them, but that he would kill them if they told not where were their Lords. The *Indians* anſwered, they could not tell ought: but as touching themſelues they were content, that they ſhould employ them to their ſeruice, with their wiues and children: and that they ſhould vſe their houſes, and that there they might kill, or doe whatſoeuer them pleaſed.

It is a wonderfull thing, that the *Spaniards* went to their Villages and Burrowes, and finding there theſe ſilly people at their worke, with their wiues and children, neither miſdoubting any thing, they pierced them with their Boare-ſpeares, and hackled them to pieces. They came to one Burrow great and mighty, which held it ſelfe more aſſured then any other, becauſe of their innocency: whom the *Spaniſh* laid deſolate in a manner all whole, in the ſpace of two houres, putting to the edge of the ſword, children, with women, and aged perſons, and all thoſe which could not eſcape by fleeing.

The *Indians* aduiſed betweene them to digge certaine ditches in the middeſt of the wayes, to make their Horſes tumble into, and piercing their bellies with Pikes ſharpned and brent at one end, there beſtowed of purpoſe, and couered ouer ſo orderly with greene turfe, that it ſeemed there was no ſuch matter.

There fell in Horſes once or twice: for the *Spaniards* afterwards could beware of them. But now to auenge them, they made a Law, that as many *Indians* as might bee taken aliue, ſhould be flung into the ſame pits. Hereupon they caſt in women with child, and women new deliuered of child-birth, and old folke as many as they could come by, vntill that the ditches were filled vp. It was a lamentable thing to behold the women with their children ſtabbed with theſe pickes. All beſides, they ſlue with thruſt of Speares, and edge of Sword. They caſt of them alſo to fleſh fraunching Dogs, which tare them and deuoured them. They brent a Lord at a great fire of quicke flames: ſaying, they would herein doe him honour. And they perſiſted in theſe butcheries ſo vnnaturall, about ſeuen yeeres, from the yeere 24. vntill the yeere 31.

The *Indians* which eſcaped, with all other of the Countrie ſeeing all the miſchiefes of the *Spaniſh*, began to aſſemble, and put themſelues in Armes: whereupon the *Spaniards* worke great diſcomfitures and ſlaughters, returning to *Guatimala*, where they builded a Citie, the which God of a iuſt iudgement hath reuerſed with three ouerwhelmings falling all three together: the one was with water, the other with earth, and the third with ſtones, of the bigneſſe of ten or twentie Oxen. By ſuch like meanes all the Lords, and the men that were able to beare Armes being ſlaine: thoſe which remayned, were reduced into the Diabolicall ſeruitude aforeſaid, being made tributary ſlaues or villaines regardant, but giuing for their tribute ſonnes and daughters, for they will haue none other kinde of bond-men. And ſo the *Spaniards* ſending whole ſhips laden with them to *Peru*, to ſell them, with their other ſlaughters, haue deſtroyed and laid deſart an whole Realme, of an hundred leagues ſquare, or aboue, a Countrie the moſt bleſſefull, and peopled the moſt that might be in the world. For the Tyrant himſelfe wrote hereof, that it was more peopled then *Mexico*: and herein he ſaid the truth. He hath done to death, with his conſorts and confreres, more then foure or fiue millions of ſoules in fifteene or ſixteene yeeres ſpace,

Guatimala deſtroyed with Earth-quakes.

Foure or fiue millions ſlaine

space, from the yeere 24. vnto the yeere 40. and yet at this houre they slay and destroy those that remayne.

This Tyrant had a custome, when as he went to make warre vpon any Citie or Prouince: to carrie thither of the *Indians* already vnder-yoaked, as many as hee could, to make warre vpon the other *Indians*: and as he gaue vnto a ten or twentie thousand men which hee led along no sustenance, he allowed them to eate the *Indians* which they tooke: And so by this meanes hee had in his Campe an ordinary shambles of mans flesh, where in his presence they killed and rosted children. They killed men onely to haue off from them their hands and their feete, which parts they held to be the daintiest morsels.

Shambles of mans flesh.

He was the death of an infinite sort of the *Indians* in making of ships, the which hee transported after this rate great store of Artilerie, which hee loded vpon the shoulders of these poore folke going naked: whereby I haue seeue very many fall downe in the high way, by reason of their great burdens. He vndid whole households, by taking from the men their wiues and daughters: the which afterwards he dispersed in gifts to his Mariners and Souldiers to please them withall, who led them along with them in their Nauies. Hee stuffed all the ships with *Indians*, where they died for thirst and hunger. He made two Nauies, either of a great number of ships, with the which he consumed as with fire and lightning flashing from Heauen all those peoples.

Of new Spaine, *and* Panuco, *and* Xalisco.

AFter the exceeding cruelties and slaughters aforesaid, and the others which I haue omitted, which haue beene executed in the Prouinces of New *Spaine* and *Panuco*: there came to *Panuco* another Tyrant, cruell and vnbrideled, in the yeere 1525. Who in committing very many cruelties, and in branding many for slaues, after the manner aforesaid, which were all free, and in sending very many ships laden to *Cuba*, and *Hispaniola*, where they might best make merchandise of them, he atchieued the desolation of this Prouince.

800. *Indians* giuen for a Mare.

And it hath come to passe in his time, that there hath beene giuen for one Mare, eight hundred *Indians* soules partakers of reason. And this man from this roome was promoted to be President of *Mexico*, and of all the Prouince of New *Spaine*, and there were promoted with him other Tyrants, to the offices of Auditorships: in the which dignities they set forward also this Countrie into so extreme a desolation, that if God had not kept them by meanes of the resistance of the religious men of Saint *Francis* Order, and if that there had not beene prouided with all speed a Court of Audience, and the Kings Counsell in those parts friend to all vertue, they had layd waste all New *Spaine*, as they haue done the Ile of *Nispaniola*. There was a man, amongst those of the companie of this Captaine, who to the end to enclose a Garden of his, with a wall: kept in his workes eight thousand *Indians*, without paying them ought, nor giuing them to eate, in manner that they died, falling downe suddenly, and hee neuer tooke the more thought for the matter.

After that the chiefe Captaine which I spake of, had finished the laying waste of *Panuco*, and that hee vnderstood the newes of the comming of the Kings Court of Audience: hee aduised with himselfe to proceed farther into the innermost parts of the Realme, to search where hee might tyrannize at his ease, and drew by force out of the Prouince of *Mexico*, fifteene or twentie thousand men, to the end, that they should carrie the loades and carriages of the *Spaniards*, which went with him, of whom there neuer returned againe two hundred, the others being dead on the high-wayes.

He came at the Prouince of *Mechuacham*, which is distant from *Mexico* fortie leagues, a Region as blissefull and full of Inhabitants, as is that of *Mexico*. The King and Lord of the Countrey went to receiue him with an infinite companie of people, which did vnto them a thousand seruices and curtesies. He apprehended him by and by, for that he had the bruit to be very rich of Gold and siluer: and to the end, that he should giue him great treasures, he beganne to giue him the torments, and put him in a paire of stockes by the feet, his body stretched out, and his hands bound to a stake, he maketh a flashing fire against his feet, and there a boy with a basting sprinkle soked in Oyle in his hand, stood and basted them a little and a little; to the end to well rost the skinne. There was in one side of him a cruell man, the which with a Cros-bow bent, aymed right at his heart, on the other side another which held a Dog snarling, and leaping vp as to runne vpon him, which in lesse then the time of a *Credo*, had beene able to haue torne him in pieces: and thus they tormented him, to the end hee should discouer the treasures which they desired, vntill such time as a religious man of Saint *Francis* Order tooke him away from them, notwithstanding that hee died of the same torments. They tormented and slue of this fashion very many of the Lords and *Cacikes* in these Prouinces: to the end that they should giue them Gold and Siluer

At the same time a certaine tyrant found, that certaine *Indians* had hid their Idols, as those which had neuer beene better instructed by the *Spaniards* of any better God, hee apprehended and detayned prisoners the Lords, vntill such time as that they would giue them their Idols,

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supposing all this while they had beene of Gold or of Siluer: howbeit they were not so, wherefore he chastised them cruelly and vniustly. But to the end he would not remayne frustrate of his intent, which was to spoyle, he constrayned the *Cacikes* to redeeme their said Idols, and they redeemed them for such Gold and Siluer as they could finde, to the end, to worship them for Gods, as they had beene wont to doe aforetime.

This great Captaine passed farther from *Mechuacham* to the Prouince of *Xalisco*, the which was all whole most full of people, and most happie. For it is one of the most fertilest and most admirable Countrie of the *Indies*, which had Burrowes contayning in a manner seuen leagues. As he entred this Countrey, the Lord with the Inhabitants, according as all the *Indians* are accustomed to doe, went to receiue him with presents and ioyfulnesse. Hee began to commit his cruelties and mischieuousnesse, which hee had learned, and all the rest had beene accustomed to practise, which is to heape vp Gold, which is their God. Hee burned Townes, hee tooke the *Cacikes* prisoners, and gaue them torments. Hee made slaues all that hee tooke. Whereof there died an infinite number tyed in chaines. The women new deliuered of child-birth, going laden with the stuffe of euill *Christians*, and being not able to beare their owne children because of trauell and hunger, were faine to cast them from them in the wayes, whereof there died an infinite. *Xalisco.*

An euill *Christian* taking by force a young Damsell to abuse her, the mother withstood him: and as shee would haue taken her away, the *Spaniard* drawing his Dagger or Rapier, cut off her hand, and slue the young girle with slashes of his weapon: because shee would not consent to his appetite.

Amongst many other things, he caused vniustly to be marked for slaues, foure thousand and fiue hundred soules as free as they, men, women, and sucking babes, from of a yeere and a halfe old, vnto three or foure yeeres old: which notwithstanding had gone before them in peace, to receiue them with an infinite number of other things that haue not beene set downe in writing.

His Stewards slue very many of the *Indians*, hanging them and burning them aliue, and casting some vnto the Dogs, cutting off their feet, hands, head and tongue, they being in peace, onely to bring them into a feare, to the end they should serue him

It is said of him, that he hath destroyed and burned in this Realme of *Xalisco*, eight hundred Burrowes, which was the cause that the *Indians* being fallen desperate, and seeing those which remayned, how they perished thus cruelly: they lift vp themselues, and went into the Mountaines, slaying certaine *Spaniards*: howbeit by good right. And afterwards because of the wickednesses and outrages of other tyrants now being, which passed by that way to destroy other Prouinces (that which they call *discouering*) many of the *Indians* assembled, fortifying themselues vpon certaine Rockes. Vpon the which Rockes the *Spanish* haue made, and yet at this present, and afresh doe make so many cruelties, that they almost made an end of laying desolate all this great Countrey, slaying an infinite number of people. 800. Townes destroyed.

Of the Realme of Yucatan.

THe yeare one thousand fiue hundred twenty and six, was deputed ouer the Realme of *Yucatan* another caitiffe Gouernour, and that through the lies and false reports which himselfe had made vnto the King: in like manner as the other tyrants vnto this present, to the end there might be committed vnto them offices and charges, by meanes whereof they might rob at their pleasures. This Realme of *Yucatan* was full of inhabitants; for that it was a Countrie in euery respect wholesome, and abounding in plentie of victuals, and of fruites more then *Mexico*; and singularly exceeded for the abundance of Honie and Waxe there to be found, more then in any quarter of the *Indies*, which hath beene seene vnto this present. It containeth about three hundred leagues compasse. The people of that Countrie were the most notable of all the *Indies*, as well in consideration of their policie and prudencie, as for the vprightnesse of their life, verily worthy the training of the knowledge of God: amongst whom there might haue beene builded great Cities by the *Spanish*, in which they might haue liued as in an earthly Paradise, if so be they had not made themselues vnworthy, because of their exceeding couetousnesse, hard hartednesse, and heinous offences: as also vnworthy they were of other moe blessings a great many, which God had set open in these *Indies*. This tyrant began with three hundred men to make warre vpon these poore innocent people, which were in their houses without hurting any body: where he slew and ransacked infinite numbers. And for because the Countrey yeeldeth no Gold, for if it had yeelded any, he would haue consumed those same *Indians*, in making them to toyle in the Mines; to the end he might make Gold of the bodies and soules of those for whom Iesus Christ suffered death, he generally made slaues of all those whom he slew not, and returned the Ships that were come thither, vpon the blowing abroad and noyse of the selling of slaues, full of people bartered for Wine, Oyle, Vinegar, powdred Bacons flesh, Garments, Horses, and that that euery man had neede of, according to the Captains estimate and iudgement. He would let choose amongst an hundred or fiftie yong Damosels, bartering some one of the faireſt, and of

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the best complexion, for a Caske of Wine, Oyle, Vineger, or for Porke powdred. And in like manner he would let choose out a young handsome Stripling amongst two or three hundred for the foresaid Merchandize. And it hath beene seene, that a youth seeming to bee the Sonne of some Prince, hath beene bartered for a Cheese, and an hundred persons for an Horse. Hee continued in these doings from the yeere twentie sixe, vntill the yeere thirtie three.

As these *Spaniards*, went with their mad Dogges a foraging by the tracke, and hunting out the *Indian* men and women: An *Indian* woman being sicke, and seeing she could not escape their Dogges, that they should not rent her as they did others: shee tooke a coard and hanged her selfe at a beame, hauing fastened at her foot a child she had of a yeere old, and she had no sooner done: behold these Curres, which come and dispatch this infant, howbeit that before it died, a Religious man a Frier baptized it.

When the *Spanish* parted out of this Realme, one amongst others said, to a Sonne of a Lord of some Citie or Prouince, that he should goe with him: the Boy answered, and said, he would not forsake his Countrie, The *Spaniard* replied: *Goe with me, or else I will cut off thine eares.* The young *Indian* persisted in his first saying, that he would not forsake his Countrie. The *Spaniard* drawing out his Dagger, cut off first one, and then his other eare. The youngman abiding by it still that he would not leaue his Countrie: he mangled off also his Nose, with the vppermost of his lips: making no more scrupulositie of the mater, then if he had giuen him but a philip. This damnable wretch magnified himselfe, and vaunted him of his doings villanously vnto a reuerend Religious person, saying: that hee tooke as much paines as hee could, to beget the *Indian* women in great numbers with child, to the end, he might receiue the more money for them in selling them great with childe for slaues.

In this Realme, or in one of the Prouinces of New *Spaine*, a certaine *Spaniard* went one day with his Dogges on hunting of Venison, or else Conies, and not finding game, hee minded his Dogges that they should bee hungrie, and tooke a little sweet Babie which hee bereaued the mother of, and cutting off from him the armes and the legges, chopped them in small gobbets, giuing to euery Dogge his Liuerie or part thereof, by and by after these morsels thus dispatched, he cast also the rest of the bodie or the carkasse to all the kenell together.

Being now departed the Realme all the Deuillish Tyrants, blinded with the couetousnesse of the riches of *Peru*, that reuerend Father, Frier *Iames*, with foure other Religious of Saint *Francis*, was moued in spirit to goe into this Realme to pacifie them, and for to preach to them, and to winne vnto Iesus Christ those which might bee remayning of the Butcheries and Tyrannous Murders, which the *Spanish* had beene perpetrating seuen continuall yeeres. And I beleeue that these same were those Religious persons, the which in the yeere thirtie foure, certaine *Indians* of the Prouince of *Mexico*, sending before them Messengers in their behalfe, requested them that they would come into their Countrie, to giue them knowledge of that one only God, who is God, and very Lord of all the world: according in the end to admit them with condition, that they should enter themselues alone, and not the *Spaniards* with them, that which the Religious promised them. For it was permitted them, yea commanded them so to doe, by the Vice-roy of New *Spaine*, and that there should bee no kind of displeasure bee done vnto them by the *Spaniards*. The Religious men preached vnto them the Gospell of Christ, as they are accustomed to doe, and as had beene the holy intention of the Kings of *Castile*, that should haue beene done. Howbeit, that the *Spaniards* in all the seuen yeeres space past, had neuer giuen them any such notice of the truth of the Gospell, or so much as that there was any other King sauing himselfe, that so tyrannized ouer them, and destroyed them. By these meanes of the Religious, after the end of fortie dayes that they had preached vnto them, the Lords of the Countrie brought vnto them, and put into their hands their Idols, to the end that they should burne them. After also they brought vnto them their young children, that they should catechise them, whom they loue as the Apple of their eye. They made for them also Churches, and Temples, and houses. Moreouer, some other Prouinces sent, and inuited them, to the end that they might come to them also, to preach, and giue them the vnderstanding of God, and of him whom they said to bee the great King of *Castile*. And being perswaded and induced by the Religious, and did a thing which neuer yet before hath beene done in the *Indies*. Twelue or fifteene Lords, which had very many subiects and great dominion, assembling euery one for his owne part his people, and taking their aduise and consent, of their owne voluntarie motion, yeelded themselues to the subiection, and to be vnder the domination of the Kings of *Castile*: admitting the Emperour as King of *Spaine*, for their Liege Souereigne. Whereof also they made certaine Instruments, by them consigned, which I keepe in my charge, together with the Testimonies thereunto of the said Religious.

The *Indians* being thus onward in the way of the faith, with the great ioy, and good hope of the Religious Brethren, that they should be able to winne vnto Iesus Christ all the people of the Realme that were the residue, being but a small number of the slaughters, and wicked wars passed: There entred at a certaine Coast, eighteene *Spaniards* Tyrants on horseback, and twelue on foot, driuing with them great loades of Idols, which they had taken in the other Prouinces

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of the *Indians*. The Captaine of those thirtie *Spaniards* called vnto him a Lord of the Countrie therabouts as they were entred, and commandeth him to take those Idols, and to disperse them throughout all his Countrie, selling euery Idoll for an *Indian* man, or an *Indian* woman, to make slaues of them, with threatning them, that if he did not doe it, he would bid them battaile. That said Lord being forced by feare, distributed those Idols throughout all the Countrie, and commanded all his subiects, that they should take them to adore them, and that they should returne in exchange of that ware *Indies* and *Indisses* to make slaues of. The *Indians* being affraid, those which had two children, gaue him one, and hee that had three gaue him two. This was the end of this Sacrilegious Trafficke: and thus was this Lord or *Cacique*, faine to content these *Spaniards*: I say not *Christians*.

One of these abominable Chafferers, named *Iohn Garcia*, being sicke, and neere his death, had vnder his bed to packs of Idols, and commanded his *Indisse* Maid that serued him, to looke to it that she made not away his Idols, that there were for *Marlmens*, for they were good stuffe: and that making vent of them, shee should not take lesse then a slaue a piece for one of them with another: and in fine, with this his Testament and last Will thus deuised, the Catiffe died.

The *Indians* perceiuing that, that which the Religious had promised them, was as good as nothing: namely, that the *Spaniards* should not enter those Prouinces: and seeing the *Spaniards* which had laded thither Idols from other places, there to make vent of them, they hauing put all their Idols afore into the hands of the Friars, to the end they should bee burned, and to the end the true God should be by them adored, all the Country was in a mutinie, and a rage against the Religious Friars, and the *Indians* comming vnto them, say: *Why haue you lied vnto vs, in promising vs by deceits that there should not enter any* Spaniards *into these Countries? And why haue you burnt our gods, seeing the* Spaniards *doe bring vs other Gods from other Nations? Were not our Gods as good, as the Gods of other Prouinces?* The Friars pacified them in the best manner that they could, not knowing what to answere them: and went to seeke out those thirty *Spaniards*, to whom they declared the euill which they had done, praying them to get them thence: which the *Spaniards* would not doe, but said to the *Indians*, that those Religious men had caused them to come thither themselues of their owne accord, which was rightly an extreme maliciousnesse. In the end the *Indians* deliberated to kill the Religious men: By occasion whereof, the Friers fled away in a night, hauing aduertisement of the case by some of the *Indians*.

Of the Prouince of Saint Martha.

THe Prouince of Saint *Martha*, was a Countrie where the *Spaniards* gathered Gold in all plentie: the Land being with the Regions adiacent very rich, and the people industrious to draw out the Gold. Wherefore also infinite Tyrants haue made thither continually with their ships, ouer-running, and ranging along the Country, killing and spoyling those the Inhabitants, and ramping from them that gold that they had, with speedie returne euer to their ships, which went and came oftentimes. And so wrought they in those Prouinces great wasts and slaughters, and cruelties horrible, and that most commonly on the Sea-coast, and certaine leagues within the Country. At what time there went *Spanish* Tyrants to inhabite there. And for as much as the Country was exceeding rich as hath beene said, there euer succeeded Captaines one in anothers roome, euery one more cruell then other: in such sort that it seemed that euery one inforced himselfe, for the masterie in doing of euils. The yeere 1529. there went a great Tyrant, very resolute, with great troupes: but without any feare of God, or compassion of the nature of man, who wrought such wastes and slaughters so great, that he exceeded all others that had gone before him, himselfe robbing for the space of sixe or seuen yeeres that he liued, great Treasures: after being deceassed without confession, and fled from the place of his residence: there succeeded him other murdering Tyrants and Theeues, which made an end of the rest of the people: that from the yeere 1529. vnto this day, they haue reduced into a Wildernesse in those same quarters more then 400. leagues of Land, which was no lesse peopled then the other Countries which we haue spoken of.

Verily if I had to make a bed-roll of the Vngraciousnesses, of the Slaughters, of the Desolations, of the Iniquities, of the Violencies, of the Massacres, and other great Insolencies which the *Spaniards* haue done, and committed in those Prouinces of Saint *Martha*, against God, the King, and against those innocent Nations: I should write an Historie very ample. But that may be done if God spare me life, hereafter in his good time: onely I will set downe a few words of that which was written in a Letter by a Bishop of this Prouince, to the King our Soueraigne: and the Letter beareth date the twentieth of May, 1541. The which Bishop amongst other words speaketh thus: *I say, sacred Maiestie, that the way to redresse this Countrie, is that his Maiestie deliuer her out of the power of Stepfathers, and giue vnto her an husband which may intreate her as is reason, and according as shee deserueth: otherwise, I am sure hereafter as the Tyrants which now haue the gouernment, doe torment and tormoyle her, she will soone take an end, &c. And a little below he saith: Whereby, your Maiestie shall know clearely, how those which gouerne in those quarters doe de-* Bishop of S. *Marthas* Letter to *Charles* the fifth.

ſerue to be dismounted, and depoſed from their gouernment, to the end, that the Common-weales may be relieued. That if that be not done, in mine aduiſe, they can neuer be cured of their diſeaſes. His Maieſtie ſhall vnderſtand moreouer, that in thoſe Regions, there are not any Chriſtians *but Deuils, that there are no Seruants of God and the King, but Traitors to the ſtate, and their King. And in truth the greateſt incumbrance that I find in reducing the* Indians, *that are in warre, and to ſet them at peace, and to lead thoſe which are at peace to the knowledge of our faith, is vnnaturall and cruell entreatie, which they that are in peace receiue of the* Spaniſh, *being ſo deeply altered, and auanced, that they haue nothing in more hatred and horror, then the name of* Chriſtians, *the which in all theſe Countries they call in their Language,* Yares, *that is to ſay,* Deuils. *For the acts which they committed here, are neither of* Chriſtians, *nor of men which haue the vſe of reaſon: but of Deuils. Whereof it commeth to paſſe, that the* Indies *which doe ſee theſe behauiours to be generally ſo farre eſtranged from all humanitie, and without any mercie, aſwell in the heads as in the members: they eſteeme, that the* Chriſtians *do hold theſe things for a Law, and that their God, and their King are the Authors thereof. And to endeuour to perſwade them otherwiſe, were to endeuour in vaine, and to miniſter vnto them the more ample matter, to deride and ſcorne Ieſus Chriſt and his Law. The* Indians *that are in warre, ſeeing the intreatie vſed toward the* Indians *that are in peace: would chooſe rather to die once for all, then to endure ſundrie deaths, being vnder the command of the* Spaniſh. *I know this by experience, moſt victorious Cæſar, &c.*

He calleth the *Indians* in warre, thoſe which ſaued themſelues by flying into the Mountaines from the ſlaughters of the miſchieuous *Spaniards*. And hee calleth the *Indians* in peace, thoſe which after hauing loſt an infinite of their people, by the Maſſacres, haue beene thralled into the Tyrannicall and horrible ſeruitude aforeſaid, and whereof in the end they haue beene fined out, deſolated, and ſlaine, as appeareth by that which hath beene ſaid by the Biſhoppe, which notwithſtanding ſpeaketh but little, in compariſon of that which they haue ſuffered.

The *Indians* in that Countrie haue accuſtomed to ſay, if when they are trauelled and driuen vp the Mountaines loden, they happen to fall downe, and to faint for feebleneſſe, and for paine: for at that time they lay on vpon them blowes with their feet and with their ſtaues, and they breake their teeth with the pummels of their Swords, to make them riſe, and march on without taking of breath, with theſe words, *Out vpon thee, what a Villaine art thou?* they (I ſay) the *Indians*, for their parts are wont to ſay, *I can no more: kill me here right. I doe deſire to die heere:* and this they ſay with great ſighes, and being ſcarce able to ſpeake, for hauing their heart drawne together, declaring a great anguiſh and dolour.

Of the Prouince of Carthagene.

THis Prouince of *Carthagene*, is ſituate vnder, and a fiftie leagues diſtant from the ſame of Saint *Martha*, towards the Weſt, confining with the Prouince of *Cen*, vnto the Gulph of *Arabe*: which are a hundred leagues all along the Sea-ſide, and is a great Countrie within Land towards the South. Theſe Prouinces ſince the yeere 1498. or ninetie nine, vntill now haue beene euill entreated, martyred, maſſacred, deſolated like vnto that of Saint *Martha*.

Of the Coaſt of Pearles, *and of* Paria, *and of the Ile of the* Trinitie.

FRom the Coaſt of *Paria*, vnto the Gulfe of *Veneſuela*, without forth, which are two hundred leagues: the *Spaniſh* haue wrought great and ſtrange deſtructions, rioting vpon that people, and taking aliue as many as they could, to the end they might ſell them for ſlaues: and oftentimes making them priſoners againſt the aſſurance and the promiſe of friendſhip made vnto them. It cannot bee well told, nor particularly expreſt, the ſundrie kindes and greiuous vexations, wrongs, hurts, and ſpoiles, which thoſe people, indured at the *Spaniards* hands, from the yeere 1510. vntill this preſent. I will onely rehearſe two or three acts, by the which it may be iudged of the reſt, innumerable and exceſſiue, and worthy all torments and fire.

In the Ile of the *Trinitie*, which is farre greater and more fertile then the Ile of *Sicile*, and ioyneth with the firme Land of the Coaſt of *Paria*, and where the people are the beſt diſpoſed, and moſt enclined to vertue in their kind, of all the *Indians*, as they went, there a Captaine Rouer in the yeere, 1510. accompanied with ſixtie or ſeuentie other petie Theeues well appointed: they publiſhed among the *Indians* by Proclamations, and other publike Summons, that they ſhould come and dwell and liue with them in that Ile. The *Indians* receiued them as their owne bowels and babes: and as well the Lords as Subiects ſerued them with exceeding readineſſe, bringing them to eate from day to day, as much as might ſuffice to feed, as many moe people. For this is the liberalitie of all theſe *Indians* of the new World, to beſtow on the *Spaniards* of all that they haue in great abundance.

The *Spaniſh* build a great houſe of Timber in the which the *Indians* ſhould dwell altogether:

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for the *Spaniſh* would haue it ſo, that there ſhould bee one only houſe for all, and no more, to compaſſe that, which they had alreadie premeditate to doe, and did it. When they laid the Thatch vpon the binding ſtaues or ſparres, and had alreadie couered to the height of two mens length, to the end that thoſe that were within might not ſee thoſe that were without, vnder colour to haſten forward the worke, that it might bee the ſooner diſpatched, they ſet a great number of people within, the *Spaniards* deuiding themſelues, the one part of them being beſtowed without, compaſſing the houſe round about with their weapons, becauſe of thoſe that might get forth, the other part of them preſſe into the houſe: Thus laying hands on their Swords, they beganne to threaten the *Indians* naked as they were, to kill them if they did ſtirre, and then bound them. And thoſe which fled they hewed them in pieces: Howbeit ſome of the *Indians* which fled, both of the hurt and not hurt, with others that had not come within the houſe, tooke their Bowes and Arrowes and aſſembled themſelues in another houſe, about an hundred or two hundred perſons: And as they kept the gate, the *Spaniards* ſet fire on the houſe, and burned them aliue. After with their purchaſe, which might bee of an hundred or foureſcore perſons of them which they had bound: they get them to the Ile of Saint *Iohn*, where they ſold the one moitie, and thence to the Ile of *Hiſpaniola*: where they ſold the other moitie. As I reprehended the Captaine for this notable Treaſon, at the ſame time, and at the ſame Ile of Saint *Iohn*, he made an anſwere: Sir, quiet your ſelfe for that matter. So haue they commanded me to doe, and giuen me inſtruction which ſent me: that if I could not take them by warre, I ſhould take them vnder countenance and colour of peace. And in truth the Captaine told mee that in all his life, he neuer had found Father nor Mother, but in this Ile of *Trinitie*, in reſpect of the friendly courteſies the *Indians* had ſhewed him.

At another time, the Religious Friars of Saint *Dominickes* Order, beeing determined to goe preach, they receiued them as Angels comne from Heauen: and heard with great affection, attention, and willingneſſe ſuch words as the Religious at that time were able to giue them to vnderſtand, more by ſignes then otherwiſe, for they knew not the tongue. It came to paſſe that there arriued there another ſhip, after that the ſhip in which the Religious men came was departed thence, and the *Spaniſh* in this Veſſell, keeping their Deuilliſh cuſtome, by ſuttletie without the knowlede of the Religious, carried away the Lord of the Countrie called *Alfonſo*: were it that Friars had giuen him this name, or elſe others. For the *Indians* loue and deſire to beare the name of the *Chriſtians*, deſiring incontinent that it may be giuen them euen before they know any thing, that they may be baptized. They induced fraudulently this *Don Alfonſo* to come aboord their ſhip with the Ladie his wife, and other perſons, making ſemblance to goe about to feaſt them. In the end there entred ſeuenteene perſons, together with the Lord and his Ladie: the Lord truſting that the Religious perſons being entred into his Countrie, would keepe the *Spaniards* from doing any wrong: for otherwiſe hee would neuer haue put himſelfe in the hands of the *Spaniſh*. The *Indians* therefore thus being in the ſhip, the traiterous *Spaniards* hoiſed ſailes, and away they went to *Hiſpaniola* with them, there ſelling them for ſlaues. All the Countrie ſeeing that their Lord and Ladie were carried away, they runne to the Religious men, purpoſing to kill them. The poore men appeaſed the *Indians* in the beſt manner they could, ſaying that they would write to them at *Hiſpaniola* by the firſt ſhip that went, and would take ſuch care and order in the matter, that their Souereigne ſhould bee reſtored them againe with thoſe that were in his company. God ſent immediately a ſhip thither, and they wrote to the *Spaniſh* Religious men that were in the Ile of *Hiſpaniola*. They cry out, and call Heauen and Earth witneſſe againſt them, both firſt, and ſundrie times after: But the Iudges of the audience, would neuer giue them audience to doe them Iuſtice, for becauſe themſelues had part in the bootie of the *Indians*, which the Tyrants had ſo againſt all right and reaſon taken. The two Religious men, which had promiſed the *Indians* of the Countrie, that their Lord *Don Alfonſo*, with others ſhould come home with the reſt within foure moneths, ſeeing that they came not neither in foure nor eight made themſelues readie to the death, and to giue their life, which they had gaged before they came out of *Spaine*, if neede ſhould bee, and in that ſort the *Indians* tooke vengeance on them in killing them iuſtly, notwithſtanding that they were innocent: for becauſe that they thought, that the Religious men had beene the occaſion of this Treaſon.

Spaniſh Friers killed for others faults.

Another time, by reaſon of the great Tyrannies and execrable acts of the curſed ones, bearing the name of *Chriſtians*, the *Indians* ſlue other two Religious men of Saint *Dominickes* Order, and one of Saint *Francis*. Whereof I can be a good witneſſe for that I eſcaped at the time miraculouſly from the ſame death, of the which it ſhould be a hard matter to intreat, and would be to amaze men, by reaſon of the grieuouſneſſe and horribleneſſe of the caſe. Wherefore I will not lay it abroad (for being too tedious) vntill his time, and at the day of iudgement it ſhall bee more euident, when God ſhall take vengeance of the Theeueries ſo horrible and ſo abominable as are done by thoſe which beare the name of *Chriſtians* againſt the *Indians*.

Another time in thoſe Prouinces at the Cape of the *Codera*, (as they call it) there was a Towne, the Lord whereof was named *Higueroto* a name either proper to the perſon, or it may

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be common to the Lords of the place. This Lord was so bounteous, and his people so vertuous and seruiceable, that as many *Spaniards* as came thither by ship, they found there good entertainment, meate, lodging, all cheering, and refreshing. This said Lord had also deliuered many from death of those which were fled thither out of other Prouinces, where they had rioted and tyrannized, and come thither sicke, and halfe dead for hunger, whom they refreshed, and afterward sent them away safe, to the *Ile of Pearles*, where there were *Spaniards*, and might haue slaine them if he had would, without that euer any should haue knowne it. And shortly to say the *Spanish* did call the Subiects of *Higuereto*, the House and Harbour of euery body. A Catiffe Tyrant aduised himselfe to out-rage that people also, when as they thought themselues sure enough: and getting him to a ship, he had there inuited a great number of people to come aboord her as they were accustomed to doe, and to trust the *Spaniards*. A great number of people being entred into her, men, women, and children, hee hoysed sailes, and went to the Ile of Saint *Iohn*, where he sold them all for slaues. I came at the same instant to the Ile of Saint *Iohn*, and I saw the Tyrant, and vnderstood what he had done. He had destroyed all that Townshipe: whereby he did great harme to all other his fellow Tyrants, wonted to rob, and roue all along those Coasts, insomuch as they had in abomination this act so hideous, being bereft thereby of their Harbour, and house of retire, as ordinary and familiar vnto them as it had beene their owne home and house.

Two Millions of soule *Indians.*

They haue singled out at times from all this Coast, the which was very well peopled, vnto the Iles of Saint *Iohn* and *Hispaniola*, aboue two Millions of soules, seised vpon by their purchases in theeuing and robbing: which also euery one of them they haue slaine not long after, by thrusting them into the Minerals and other tormoiles, besides the great numbers there were there alreadie before time, as we haue aboue said.

It is a tried case, that they neuer conuey away their shippings of *Indians* so robbed and purchased, as I haue said, but that they cast the third part into the Sea, besides those which they slay, when they will sort them to themselues for their chaffer. The cause is, that when as they will by all meanes attaine to the end which they haue proposed to themselues: they haue need of a great number of people, for to draw a great deale of money, according to the quantitie of the

Manner of vsage at Sea.

slaues: and they prepare but a very small deale of sustenance and water, to serue but a few persons: to the end that those Tyrants whom they cal *Purueyours of the ships* should not spend them much. And there is but euen scarse enough, saue to serue the *Spaniards* turne which goe a rouing and robbing: and there is alwaies wanting for the poore *Indians*. Wherefore also they die for hunger and thirst: and then there is none other remedie but to cast them ouer the boord into the Sea. And verily a man among them did tell me, that from the Ile of *Lucayos*, where had beene wrought great slaughters in this manner, vnto the Isle of *Hispaniola*, which are sixtie or seuentie leagues, there trended a ship all alongst, without that it had either Compasse or Mariners Card, being guided onely by the tracke of dead *Indians* carkasses floating vpon the Seas, of them which had bin cast in. And after they be landed in the Ile, whither they bring them to make sale of them

Manner of landing and sharing.

it is to make a heart to yearne of whosoeuer, haue he neuer so little compassion, to behold them naked and famished, fall downe and faint for hunger and thirst, women, and aged men, and children.

Afterwards they soone after separate them, as it were Lambes, the fathers from the children, and the wiues from the husbands, in making troupes of them of ten or twentie persons, and so cast lots on them, to the end, those *Purueyours* should take their share, which are those who doe rigge and furnish two or three ships for the Nauie of those Tyrants, seasing vpon all they come by, and pulling the poore men out of their owne housen. And looke when the lot falleth vpon the flocke where there were among them any old or sicke person, the Tyrant to whom the same escheated would say: *The Deuill take the old Graybeard, why doest thou giue him mee, to the end I should goe burie him? And this sicke Rascall, what haue I to doe that hee should fall out to my lot: to the end, I should be his Physicion to cure him?*

Manner of Pearle-fishing.

The tyrannie which the *Spanish* exercise ouer the *Indians*, to fish for Pearles, is one of the cruellest things that is in the World. There is no hell in this life, nor other desperate state in this World, that may be compared vnto it: although that the Trade of Gold finding, be in his kind, very grieuous, and very miserable. They let them into the Sea, three, foure, or fiue fathome forth downe right vnder water, from the morning vntill Sun-set, where they are continually flitting without stint, to plucke Oysters, in the which are engendred the Pearles. They surge vp aboue the waters, with a Net full of Oysters to take breath: where standeth readie a *Spanish* Tormentor, in a little Cocke Boate, or a Brigantine, and if the poore wretches stay neuer so little while to rest themselues: they all to be buffet them with their fists, and draw them by the haire into the water to returne to their fishing. Their sustenance is fish, and the same very fish which containeth the Pearles, and the bread *Caçabi*, or some Maiz, which are the kinds of bread of that Countrie: the one of very slender nourishment, the other is not easie to bee made into bread, of the which also, they neuer giue them their belly full. The beds that they lodge them in a nights, is to set them by the heeles, their bodies recoyling on the cold ground; in a paire of stockes

stockes for feare of running away. Sometimes they are drowned in the Sea, and at their fishing and trauell picking of Pearles, and neuer rise vp againe aboue the water: because the * Bunches and whirlepooles doe kill them and eate them. * Sharkes.

It is impossible, that men should be able to liue any long season vnder the water without taking breath, the continuall cold piercing them, and so they die commonly, parbraking of bloud at the mouth, and of the bloudy fluxe, caused by the cold. Their haires, which by nature are cole blacke, alter and become after a branded russet, like to the haires of the Sea-wolues. The Saltpeter breaketh out of their shoulders, in such sort, that they seeme to bee a kinde of monsters in the shape of men, or else some other kinde of men. They dispatched in ridding about this insupportable trauell, or rather to speake rightly, this deuilish torment, all the *Lucayan Indians* which were in the Iles, hauing fauoured this gaines, and euery *Indian* was worth vnto them a fiftie, or an hundred Castillans. They made an open Mart of them, notwithstanding it were inhibited them, by the Magistrate otherwise vnmercifull: for the *Lucayens* were good swimmers. They also, about these things haue slaine a number of the people of other Prouinces.

Of the Riuer Yuia pari.

THere runneth through the Prouince of *Paria*, a Riuer named *Yuia Pari*, more then two hundred leagues within land from the head. There entred the same Riuer, an vnlucky tyrant, a great many leagues vpward, in the yeere 1529. with foure hundred men, or more: which there wrought great slaughters, burning aliue, and putting to the edge of the sword, an infinite sort of *Indians*, which were in their lands and houses, doing hurt to no creature, and therefore secure, and mistrusting nothing.

In the end hee died an euill death, and his Name was disparaged: albeit that other tyrants there were which succeeded him in his mischieuousnesses and tyrannies: and yet at this day thither they goe, destroying, and slaying, and plunging into Hell the soules for whom the Sonne of God shed his bloud.

Of the Realme of Venesuela.

THe yeere 1526. the King our Soueraigne, being induced by sinister informations and perswasions damageable to the State, as the *Spaniards* haue alwaies pained themselues to conceale from his Maiestie the damages and dishonours which God and the soules of men, and his State doeth receiue in the *Indies*: granted and committed a great Realme, greater then all *Spaine* (*Venesuela*, with the gouernment and entire iurisdiction) vnto certaine *Dutch* Merchants, with certaine capitulations and conuentions accorded betweene them.

These same entring the Countrey with three hundred men: they found the people very amiable, and meeke as Lambes, as they are all in those parts of the *Indies*, vntill the *Spanish* doe outrage them. These set vpon them without comparison a great deale more cruelly, then any of the other tyrants, of the which wee haue spoken before: shewing themselues more vnnaturall and fierce, then raging Tigres, or Wolues, or ramping Lions. These haue layd desolate and destroyed more then foure hundred leagues of most fertile land, and therein of Prouinces exceeding and wonderfull, faire Valleyes to the breadth of forty leagues, and Bournes very great, full of people and of Gold. They haue slaine, and wholly discomfited great and diuers Nations, so farre forth as to abolish the Languages wonted to bee spoken, not leauing aliue that could skill of them: vnlesse some one or other, who had hid themselues in the caues and bowels of the earth, fleeing the dint of the sword, so raging and plaguing. They haue slaine destroyed, and sent to Hell by diuers and strange manners of cruelties and vngodlinesse, more (I suppose) then foure or fiue millions of soules: and yet at this present they cease not to doe the same by infinite outrages, spoyles and slaughters, which they haue committed, and doe commit daily vnto this present. Foure or fiue millions slaine in *Venesuela*.

They tooke the Lord Soueraigne of all the Prouince, without all cause, onely to bereaue him of his Gold, giuing him also the torture: which Lord vnbound himselfe, and escaped from them into the Mountaines, wherefore also the Subiects rose, and were in a mutinie, hiding themselues vpon the Mountaines, amongst the hedges and bushes. The *Spaniards* make after to chase them, and hauing found them, commit cruell massacres, and as many as they take aliue, they sell them in port sale for slaues. In diuers Prouinces, yea in all where they became before that they tooke the Soueraigne Lord, the *Indians* went to receiue them with songs, and dances, and with presents of Gold in great quantitie. The payment made them, was, to bee put to the edge of the sword, and hewen in pieces. One time, as they went to receiue the *Spanish* in the fashion aboue said: the *Dutch* Captaine tyrant caused to bee put in a thatched house a great number of people, and hakled in pieces. And being on high, neere the top of the house, certaine beames, which diuers had got vpon, auoyding the bloudy hands and swords of those people (O mercilesse beasts) the deuilish man, sent to put to fire, whereby as many as there were, were burned

aliue. By this meanes the Countrie remayned very desart, the people fleeing into the Mountaines, where they hoped to saue themselues.

They came into another great Prouince, in the confines of the Prouince and Realme of Saint *Martha*, where they found the *Indians* peaceable in their Burroughs, and in their houses, doing their businesse: they continued a long time with them, eating their store, and the *Indians* serued them, as if they had to receiue of them their life and safeguard, supporting their continuall oppressions, and vsuall outragiousnesses, which are intolerable: besides that one *Spanish* glutton, eateth more in one day, then would suffice an whole household of more then ten *Indians*. They gaue them at that time, a great quantitie of Gold, of their owne good-will, ouer and besides, other seruices innumerable, which they did vnto them. At the end as these tyrants would depart the place, they aduised to pay them for their lodging, in this manner.

The *Almaine* tyrant Gouernour, commanded to take such *Indians* as they could, with their wiues and children, and that they should shut them vp within an inclosure, letting them know, that who so would come forth, and be let goe free, that he should redeeme himselfe at the pleasure of the vniust Gouernour: in giuing so much Gold for himselfe, so much for his wife, and so much for euery poll of his children. And yet to presse them the more, he commanded to giue them nothing to eate, vntill such time as they had performed the quantitie of Gold inflicted them for their ransome. Many sent to their houses for Gold, and bought out themselues as they were able, and those same were deliuered, and went abroad about their businesse to get their liuing. The tyrant sent certaine *Spanish* thieues and robbers, to goe take them againe the second time, after they had beene redeemed. They are carried to the perclose, and there wrung with hunger and thirst, to the end, that they should yet once againe pay for their freedome. And there were many amongst them, which were taken and ransomed two or three sundry times. Others which had not to giue, for because they had all they had, hee let them within the toyle die for hunger. And in this manner hath beene destroyed a Prouince very rich of people and gold, the which hath a Vale or Bourne of fourtie leagues, where hath beene brent a Burrough of the receit of a thousand households.

This Tyrant resolued with himselfe to pierce farther into the Countrey, with a great desire to discouer on that side, that Hill of *Peru*. By occasion of which accursed Voyage both hee and others carried forth with them, *Indians* infinite, loden with two or three quintals weight, and being enchained. If any were weake and weary, fainting for hunger, or trauelling, they cut incontinent his head off euen with the collar of the chaine that yoked them: because they should not need to vnhamper the others that went with the same collars about their neckes, and so tumbled the head on the one side, and the body on the other. And the lode of him that had so fayled was distributed and bestowed vpon others. To tell of the Prouinces, which hee hath layed desart, and the Townes and places which hee hath brent, for all the houses are thatched, and to number the Nations which hee hath slaine, and the cruelties, and murders particular, which hee had committed by the way, it would bee a thing scarse credible: howbeit very true and wonderfull. In this same very course and steppes marched hithence the other tyrants, who came from the said *Venesuela*, and others of the Prouince of Saint *Martha*, with the selfe same holy intention to discouer the same sacred golden Palace of *Peru*: and found the whole Countrie in length more then two hundred leagues so burned, dispeopled, and spoyled, hauing beene before most notably peopled, and most fertile, as hath beene said, that themselues as very tyrants and sauage beasts as they were, wondered and stood astonished to see the trackes of the destructions so lamentable, whersoeuer he had passed.

All these things haue beene giuen in euidence with the depositions of many witnesses by the Attorney of the Councell of the *Indies*, and the euidences are kept amongst the Records of the same Councell: and yet haue they neuer burnt aliue, any of those execrable tyrants. Those Prouinces of *Venesuela* with the others which they haue laid waste, and dispeopled more then foure hundred leagues forthright, as hath beene said, is a region the most blissefull, and the richest of Gold, and was the best peopled of any in the world: in such sort, that they haue disturned from the Kings Coffers, and occasioned the losse in this Realme of aboue two millions of rent, within seuenteene yeeres sithence by past, that these enemies of God and the King haue begunne to destroy it: neither is there any hope that euer those losses will be repaired.

These seuenteene yeeres they haue sent by Sea a great number of ships loden and stuffed with *Indians*, to make sale of them as slaues at Saint *Martha*, at the Iles of *Hispaniola*, and of *Iamayca*, and at Saint *Iohns* Ile, moe then one million: and doe send daily, as now this yeere 1542. the Court of the Audience Royall notwithstanding established, for, and at *Hispaniola*, right well seeing all this, and dissimuling to see it, yea, fauouring and supporting all the matter: as likewise they haue had their eyes blinded at all the other tyrannies and ransackings infinite, which haue beene done in all this coast of the Firme land which are about foure hundred leagues, the which haue beene and now are vnder their iurisdiction, like vnto *Venesuela*, and Saint *Martha*: all which the said Court might very well haue empeached and remedied.

A million of slaues.

Of

Of the Prouinces of the firme land, or quarter that is called Florida.

INto these Prouinces went three tyrants at three diuers times since the yeere 1510. or 1511. there to put in vre the acts which others, and two of them from among themselues haue committed in other quarters of the *Indians*: to the end to aspire to high degrees, in no respect conueniente to their persons, higher then their merits in the Common-wealth could conceiue, with the bloud and destruction of their neighbours: and they are dead all three of an euill death, and their houses likewise haue beene destroyed with them, the which they had builded in times past, with the bloud of mankind, as I can be, a sufficient witnesse of all three, and their memory is now abolished from of the face of the earth, as if they had neuer beene in this world.

The fourth tyrant, that came last in the yeere 1538. cunningly aduised, and being fully furnished: it is three yeeres since there is no tidings concerning him. Sure he is one of the notoriousest and best experimented amongst them that haue done the most hurts, mischieues, and destructions in my Realmes with their consorts: wherefore I beleeue that God hath giuen him like end vnto the others.

Iuan Ponce de Leon with 80. men were all lost there. After him *Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon* with 220. *Pamphilo de Naruaez* with 400. and fourthly *Ferdinando de Soto* with 1000. as some say, and they which say least, 600. entred *Florida*, whose stories you haue before. Of *Soto* was no newes *An.* 1542. when this was written. See before in *Schmidel.*

Of the Riuer of La Plata, *that is to say, Of Siluer.*

SIthence the yeere, one thousand fiue hundred, and two or three and twenty: certaine Captaines made three or foure Voyages vp the Riuer of *Plata*, where there are great Prouinces and Realmes, and Nations well ordered and endued with vnderstanding. In generall wee vnderstood, that they haue made there great butcheries and inuasions: but like as this Countey is farre discoasted from the *Indies* most famous, so we are not able, to quote the notablest points in particular.

Of the mighty Realmes, and large Prouinces of Peru.

IN the yeere 1531. went another great tyrant with certaine other consorts, to the Realmes of *Peru*, where entring with the same title and intention, and with the same proceedings as all the rest before gone, forasmuch as he was one of them, which had of long time beene exercised in all kindes of cruelties and murders, which had beene wrought in the firme land, sithence the yeere 1510. hee tooke encouragement to accrue in cruelties, murders, and robberies; being a man without loyaltie and truth, laying waste Cities and Countries, bringing them to nought, and vtterly vndoing them by slaying the Inhabitants, and being the cause of all the euils, which ensued in that Countrie.

He slue and laid waste at his first arriuall with a mischiefe certaine boroughes, from whom he pillaged a great quantitie of Gold. In an Iland neere to the same Prouinces, named *Puna*, well peopled and pleasant, the Lord thereof with his people receiued them as it had beene Angels from heauen: and six moneths after, when as the *Spanish* had eaten vp all their prouision: They discouered also vnto them the corne which they kept vnder ground, for themselues, their wiues, and their children, against a dry time and barren: making them offer of all, with trees plentifull to spend and eate at their pleasure. The recompence in the end which they made them, was to put to the edge of the Sword and Lance, a great quantitie of those people. And those whom they could take aliue, they made slaues: with other cruelties great and notable which they committed, dispeopled as it were all that Ile.

From thence they make to the Prouince of *Tumbala*, which is in the firme land, where they slay and destroy as many as they could come by. And because all the people were fled as affrighted by their horrible acts, they said that they made an insurrection, and rebelled against the King of *Spaine*. This tyrant had this policie, and kept this order of proceeding, that vnto all those whom he tooke, or vnto others which presented him with Gold and Siluer, or other things which they had: he commanded them to bring more, vntill such time as he perceiued that either they had no more, or that they brought him no more. And then he would say, that he accepted them for the vassals and lieges of the King of *Spaine*, and made much of them: and would cause it to be proclaimed at sound of two Trumpets, that from thenceforth they would take them no more, and that they would doe them no manner harme at all: setting it downe for good and lawfull, all whatsoeuer he had robbed from them.

A few dayes after the King and Emperour of those Realmes, named *Atabaliba*, came accompanied with a number of naked people, bearing their ridiculous armour, not knowing neither how Swords did carue, nor Speares did pierce, nor Horses did run, nor who or what were the *Spaniards*. Hee commeth to the place where they were, saying: Where are these *Spaniards*? Let them come, I will not stirre a foote, till they satisfie me for my Subiects whom they haue slaine, and my boroughs which they haue dispeopled, and for my wealth, which they haue bereaued me.

The

Fifteene Millions paid for Atabalipas ransome.

The *Spaniards* set against him, and slew an infinite sort of his people: they tooke him also in person, who came carried in a Litter borne vpon mens shoulders. They treate with him, to the end that he should ransome himselfe. The King offereth to performe foure millions of Castillans, and performeth fifteene, they promise to releale him: notwithstanding in the end, keeping nor faith nor truth (as they neuer kept any in the *Indies*, vnto the *Indians*) they laid to his charge altogether vntruely, that by his commandement the people assembled. The King answered, that in all the Countrie there moued not a leafe of a tree, without his good will: that if there assembled any people, they were to beleeue that it was by his commandement, and as touching himselfe that he was prisoner, and they might slay him.

All this notwithstanding, they condemned him to be burnt aliue: but at the request of some certaine, the Captaine caused him to be strangled: and being strangled, hee was burned. This King vnderstanding his sentence, said: *Wherefore will you burne me? What trespasse haue I done yee? Did not you promise me to set me at libertie, if I gaue you the Gold? And haue I not performed more then I promised? Seeing you needes will haue it so, send me to your King of* Spaine: speaking other things, to the great confusion and detestation of the great wrongfulnesse that the *Spaniards* vsed, whom in the end they burned. Here let be considered the right and title of this warfare, the imprisonment of this Prince, the sentence, and the execution of his death, and the conscience, whereby they possesse great treasures, as indeede they haue robbed in those Realmes from this King and other seuerall Lords infinite.

As touching the innumerable cruelties, and notable, for the mischiefes and enormities withall committed in the rooting out of those peoples by them, who call themselues *Christians*: I will here rehearse some certaine, the which a Frier of Saint *Francis* order saw at the beginning, and the same certified vnder his name and signe: sending them into all those quarters, and amongst others into this Realme of *Castile*, whereof I retaine a Copie in my keeping, in the which it is thus written:

Testimony of Frier *Marke* touching *Pizarro* and the *Spaniards* which first entred *Peru*.

I Frier Marke, *of the order of Saint* Francis, *commissarie ouer the other Friors of the same Order in the Prouinces of* Peru, *and who was one of the first religious men, which entred into the said Prouinces with the* Spaniards: *doe say, bearing true testimonie of certaine things, the which I haue seene with mine eyes in that Countrie, namely, concerning the entreatie and conquests made ouer the naturall inhabitants of the Countrie: first of all I am an eye witnesse, and haue certaine knowledge, that those* Indians *of* Peru, *are a people the most kinde hearted that hath beene seene among all the* Indians, *being courteous in conuersation, and friendly vnto the* Spaniards. *And I saw them giue to the* Spanish *in abundance, Gold, Siluer, pretious stones, and all that was asked them, and that they had, doing them all kinde of seruice lawfull. And the* Indians *neuer yeelded forth to warre, but kept them in peace so long time, as they gaue them not occasion, by their euill entreating of them and their cruelties, but contrariwise receiued them with all amitie and honour in their boroughes, in giuing them to eate, and as many slaues mankinde and womenkinde, as they demanded for their seruice.*

Item, *I am witnesse, that without that the* Indians *gaue occasion: the* Spanish *as soone as they were entred the land, after that the great Cacique* Atabalipa, *had giuen to the* Spanish *more then two millions of Gold, and had put into their power the whole Countrie without resistance, incontinent they burned the said* Atabalipa, *which was Lord of the whole Countrie. And after him they burnt his captaine generall* Cochilimaca, *who had come to the Gouernour in peace with other Lords. In the like manner also a few dayes after they burned a great Lord named* Chamba, *of the Prouince of* Quito, *without any fault at all, and without hauing giuen the least occasion that might be. In like manner they burned vniustly* Schappera *Lord of the* Canaries *. Also they burnt the feete of* Aluis *a great Lord amongst all those which were in* Quito; *and caused him to endure sundry other torments, to make him tell where was the Gold of* Atabalipa: *of the which treasure, as it appeared, he knew nothing.*

* A people of those parts, good warriors, not of the Canary Ilands.

Also they burnt in Quito Cofopanga, *who was Gouernour of all the Prouinces of* Quito, *which vpon the request to him first made by* Sebastian *of* Bernalcasar, *Captaine vnder the Gouernour, was come to them in peace: and onely because he gaue them not Gold so much as he demanded of him, they burned him with very many other* Caciques *and principall Lords. And for ought that I can vnderstand, the intent of the* Spaniards *was, that there should not be left aliue one Lord in the whole Countrey.*

Item, *I certifie, that the* Spaniards *caused to assemble a great number of* Indians, *and locked them vp in three great houses, as many as could be pored in, and setting to fire, they burned them all, without that they had done the least thing that might be, or had giuen to the* Spanish *the least occasion thereof whatsoeuer. And it came to passe, that a Priest, who is named* Ocanna, *drew a yong Boy out of the fire, in the which he burned, which perceiuing, another* Spaniard *tooke from out of his hands the Boy, and flung him into the middest of the flames, where he was reselued into ashes together with others. The which* Spaniard *returning the same day to the Campe, fell downe dead suddenly, and mine aduice was, he should not be buried.*

Item, *I affirme, to haue seene with mine owne eyes, that the* Spanish *haue cut the hands, the noses, and the eares of the* Indians, *and of their women, without any other cause or purpose, saue onely that so it came into their fantasie, and that in so many places and quarters, that it should be too tedious to rehearse. And I haue seene, that the* Spanish *haue made their Mastines runne vpon the* Indians *to rent them.*

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them in pieces. And moreouer, I haue ſeene by them burnt ſo many houſes, and whole boroughes, or townſhips, that I am not able to tell the number. Alſo it is true, that they violently plucked the little infants from the Mothers dugges, and taking them by the armes, did throw them from them as farre as they could: Together with other enormities and cruelties without any cauſe, which gaue me aſtoniſhment to behold them, and would be to long to rehearſe them.

Item, *I ſaw when they ſent for the* Caciques *and other principall* Indians, *to come ſee them in peace, and aſſurance to them made, promiſing them ſafe conduct: and incontinent as they were arriued, they burned them. They burned two whiles I was preſent, the one in* Andon, *and the other in* Tumbala: *and I could neuer preuaile with them to haue them deliuered from burning, preached I vnto them neuer ſo much. And in God and my conſcience, for ought that euer I could perceiue, the* Indians *of* Peru, *neuer lift themſelues vp, nor neuer rebelled for any other cauſe, but for the euill entreating of the other ſide, as is manifeſt vnto euery one, and for iuſt cauſe: the* Spaniards *deſtroying them tyrannouſly againſt all reaſon and iuſtice, with all their Countrie, working vpon them ſo many outrages, that they were determined to die, rather then to ſuffer much another time.* Item, *I ſay, that by the report of the* Indians *themſelues, there is yet more Gold hidden then is come to light, the which becauſe of the vniuſtices and cruelties of the* Spaniards, *they would not diſcouer, neither euer will diſcouer, ſo long as they ſhall be ſo euill entreated, but will chooſe rather to dye with their fellowes. Wherein God our Lord hath beene highly treſpaſſed againſt, and the Kings Maieſtie euill ſerued, hauing beene defrauded in that, that his highneſſe hath loſt ſuch a Countrie, as hath beene able to yeelde ſuſtenance to all* Caſtile: *for the recouerie of which Countrie, it will be a matter of great difficultie, diſpence, and charges.*

All theſe hitherto are the formall words of the ſaid religious perſon: the which are alſo ratified by the Biſhop of *Mexico*, which witneſſeth that the reuerend Father hath to his knowledge affirmed all the aboue ſaid. It is here to be conſidered, that the good Father ſaith, that he ſaw thoſe things. For that, that he hath beene fiftie or an hundred leagues vp into the Countrie, for the ſpace of nine or ten yeares, and at the very beginning, when there were not as yet but very few of the *Spaniards*: but at the ringing of the Gold, there were quickely gathered and flocked thither foure or fiue thouſand, which ſhed themſelues forth ouer many great Realmes and Prouinces, more then fiue hundred or ſixe hundred leagues, the which Countrey hath beene throughly deſtroyed, they executing ſtill the ſelfe ſame practiſes, and others more barbarous and cruell. Biſhop of *Mexicos* teſtimony.

Of a veritie, from that day vnto this preſent, there hath beene deſtroyed and brought to deſolation moe ſoules then he hath counted: and they haue with leſſe reuerence of God or the King, and with leſſe pittie then before, aboliſhed a great part of the linage of mankinde. They haue ſlaine vnto this day in theſe ſame Realmes (and yet daily they doe ſlay them) moe then foure Millions of ſoules. Certaine dayes paſſed, they pricked in ſhooting with darts of reedes to death a mightie Queene, wife of *Eling*, who is yet King of that Realme, whom the *Spaniards* by laying hands vpon him compelled to rebell, and in rebellion he perſiſteth. They tooke the Queene his wife, and ſo as hath beene ſaid, ſlue her againſt all reaſon and iuſtice, being great with childe as ſhe was, as it was ſaid onely to vexe her husband withall. Foure Millions ſlaine in *Peru*, &c.

Of the new Realme of Granado.

WIthin the yeare 1539: there tooke their flight together ſundry tyrants, flocking from *Veneſuela*, from Saint *Martha*, and from *Carthagene*, to ſearch for the *Perous*: and there were alſo others which came downe from *Peru* it ſelfe to aſſay, to make a glade farther into the Countrie: And they found from beyond Saint *Martha* and *Carthagene* three hundred leagues vp into the Countrie, fertile lands, and admirable Prouinces, full of infinite people, kinde hearted like the reſt, and very rich, as well of Gold as of precious ſtones, which they call Emeralds. Vnto the which Prouinces they gaue the name of *New Granado*: for becauſe that the tyrant which came firſt into this Countrey, was a *Granadan*, borne in our Countrey. A Gouernour, for as much as he which robbed and ſlew in the new Realme of *Granado*, would not admit him for conſort with him to rob and ſlay as did he: he procured an enquirie, and thereby euidence came in againſt him with ſundry witneſſes vpon the fact of his ſlaughters, diſorders, and murders which he had done, and doth as yet vnto this day, the proceſſe of which enquirie, together with the euidences was read, and is kept in the Records of the Counſell of the *Indies*.

The witneſſes doe depoſe in the ſame enquirie, that the ſaid whole Realme was in peace, the *Indians* ſeruing the *Spaniards*, giuing them to eate of their labour, and labouring continually, and manuring the ground, and bringing them much Gold and precious ſtones, ſuch as are Emeralds, and all that which they could or had: the Townes, and the Lordſhips, and the people being diſtributed amongſt the *Spaniards* euery one his ſhare: which is all that they ſtudie for, for that, that it is their meane way to attaine to their laſt end and ſcope, to wit, Gold. And all being ſubdued to their tyrannie and accuſtomed bondage, the tyrant the principall Captaine which commanded ouer that Countrey, tooke the Lord and King of the Countrey, and detained him priſoner

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soner six or seuen moneths, exacting of him Gold and Emeralds without cause or reason at all. The said King, who was named *Bogata*, for feare which they put him in, said that hee would giue them an house full of Gold: hoping that he should escape out of the hands of him which tormented him. And he sent *Indians* which should bring him Gold, and by times one after another, they brought in a great quantitie of Gold and precious stones. But because the King did not giue an whole house full of Gold, the *Spaniards* bid kill him: sithence that he did not accomplish that which he had promised.

King *Bogata* sentenced, executed.

The tyrant commanding that this King should be arraigned before himselfe: They sommon and accuse in this order the greatest King of all that Countrie, and the tyrant giueth sentence, condemning him to be racked and tormented, if he doe not furnish forth the house full of Gold. They giue him the torture and the strapado with cords; they fling burning sewet vpon his naked belly; they lay on bolts vpon his feete, which were fastened to one stake, and gird his necke fast vnto another stake, two men holding both his hands, and so they set fire vnto his feete: and the tyrant comming vp and downe now and then, willeth him to haue his death giuen him by little and little, if he made not ready the Gold. Thus they dispatched and did to death that Noble Lord in those torments, during the execution whereof, God manifested by a signe, that those cruelties displeased him, in consuming with fire all the towne where they were committed. All the *Spaniards* to the end to follow their good Captaine, and hauing none other thing to doe, but to hackle in peeces those poore innocents doe the like, tormenting with diuers and sauage torments euery *Indian*, both *Cacique* or Lord of euery people or peoples, with all their flockes, that were committed to their charges: those said Lords with all their subiects seruing them, and giuing them Gold and Emeraulds as many as they could, and as much as they had: Tormenting them onely to the end they should giue them more Gold, and rich Minerals: thus they broyled and dispatched all the Lords of that Countrie.

For the great feare of the notorious cruelties that one of the pettie tyrants did vnto the *Indians*, there transported himselfe vnto the Mountaines, in flying so great crueltie, a great Lord named *Daytama*, with many of his people. For this they hold for their last remedy and refuge, if it might haue preuailed them ought: and this the *Spaniards* call insurrection and rebellion. Which the Captaine head tyrant hauing knowledge of, he sendeth supplie of Souldiers vnto the said cruell man (for whose cruelties sake, the *Indians* that were peaceable, and had endured great tyrannies and mischiefes, were now gone into the Mountaines) to the end he should pursue them. Who, because it sufficeth not to hide them in the entrals of the earth, finding there a great multitude of people, slue and dispatched them, aboue fiue hundred soules, what men, what women, for they receiued none to mercy. Also the witnesses depose, that the said Lord *Daytama*, before that the *Spaniards* put him to death, came to the cruell man, and brought him foure or fiue thousand Castillans, the which notwithstanding he was murdered as abouesaid.

Another time many *Indians* being come to serue the *Spaniards*, and seruing them with humilitie and simplicitie, as they are accustomed to doe, reputing themselues assured: behold the Captaine of the towne where they serued, who commeth by night, commanding that those *Indians* should be put to the edge of the sword, when they had supped, and whiles that they were a sleepe, taking their rest after the toyle which they sustained the day time. And this he did, for that it seemed him necessary to doe this massacre, to the end to engraue an awe of himselfe in the hearts of all the peoples of that Countrie.

Another time the Captaine commanded to take an oathe of the *Spaniards*, to wit, how many euery one had in his seruice of the *Caciques*, and principall Lords, and *Indians* of the meaner sort; that incontinent they should be brought to the most open place of the Citie, where he commanded that they should be beheaded: thus were there at that time put to death foure or fiue hundred soules.

Moreouer these witnesses depose concerning another of the pettie tyrants, that he had exercised great cruelties in slaying, and chopping off the hands and noses of many persons, aswell men as women, and destroying very much people. Another time the Captaine sent the selfe same cruell man with certaine *Spaniards* into the Prouince of *Bogata*, to be informed by the inhabitants what Lord it was, that was successour vnto the chiefe Lord, whom hee had made to die that cruell death in those torments spoken of before: Who running along the Countrie throughout many places, tooke as many *Indians* as he could come by, And for that he could not learne of them, what he was that succeeded that Lord, he mangled off some hands, he bid cast others, men and women vnto hungrie Mastiues, who rend them in peeces. And in this manner haue beene destroyed very many *Indians*, and *Indesses*. One time, at the fourth watch of the night, he went to ouerrun *Caciques* or Gouernours of the land, with many of the *Indians*, which were in peace, and held themselues assured (for he had giuen them his faith, and assurance that they should receiue no harme nor damage) vpon credit whereof, they were come forth of their holes in the Mountaines, where they had beene hid, to people Plaine, in the which stood their Citie: thus being common without suspition, and trusting the assurance made, he tooke a great number, as well

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well men as women, and commanded to hold out their hands ſtretched againſt the ground, and himſelfe with a woodknife cut off their hands, telling them that he did on them this chaſtiſement, for that they would not confeſſe where their new Lord was, which had ſucceeded in the charge of gouernment of the Realme.

Another time for that the *Indians* gaue him not a coffer full of Gold, that this cruell Captaine required them: he ſent men to warre vpon them: who cut off the hands and noſes of men and women without number. They caſt others before their dogs being hunger bitten, and vſed to the feare of feeding on fleſh, the which diſpatched and deuoured:

Another time the *Indians* of that Realme perceiuing that the *Spaniards* had burnt three or foure of their principall Lords, they fled for feare vp into a Mountaine, from whence they might defend themſelues againſt their enemies ſo eſtranged from all humanitie. There were of them by the teſtimonie of the witneſſes foure or fiue *Indians*. This aboue ſaid Captaine ſent a great and notable tyrant, which exceeded farre moſt of thoſe to whom he had giuen the charge to ranſacke and waſte, together with a certaine number of *Spaniards*, to the end that they ſhould chaſtiſe the *Indian* rebels: as they would ſeeme to make them for that they were fled from a peſtilence and ſlaughter ſo intollerable. Well, ſo it is that the *Spaniſh* by force preuailed to get vp to the Mountaine: for the *Indians* were naked without weapons. And the *Spaniards* cryed peace vnto the *Indians*; aſſuring them, that they would doe them no harme: and that they of their parts ſhould not warre any longer. Streight way as the *Indians* ſtinted from their owne defence, the vile cruell man ſent to the *Spaniards* to take the forts of the Mountaine, and when they ſhould get them to encloſe within them the *Indians*. They ſet then like vnto Tygers and Lyons, vpon theſe lambes ſo meeke, and put them to the edge of the ſword, ſo long that they were faine to breath and reſt themſelues. And after hauing reſted a certaine ſeaſon, the Captaine commanded that they ſhould kill and caſt downe from the Mountaine, which was very high, the reſidue that were aliue: which was done. And theſe witneſſes ſay, that they ſaw as it were a could of *Indians* caſt downe from the Mountaine, to the number by eſtimation of ſeuen hundred men together, where they fell battered to peeces.

And to atchieue all his great crueltie, they ſearched all the *Indians* that were hid amongſt the buſhes: and he commanded to cut off their heads, at blockes ends; and ſo they ſlue them and caſt them downe the Mountaines: yet could not he content himſelfe with thoſe ſaid things ſo cruell, but that he would make himſelfe a little better knowne, augmenting his horrible ſinnes, when as he commanded that all the *Indians* men and women, which ſome priuate perſons had taken aliue (for euery one in thoſe maſſacres is accuſtomed to cull out ſome one or other mankinde and womankinde, to the end to become his ſeruants) ſhould be put into a ſtrawen houſe, ſaying and reſeruing thoſe, which ſeemed neceſſary to be employed in their ſeruice, and that there ſhould be put to fire: thus were there burned fortie or fiftie. Hee cauſed the reſt to be flong to the carrion dogs, which rend them in peeces, and deuoured them.

Another time the ſelfe ſame tyrant went to a Citie called *Cotta*, and tooke there a number of *Indians*, and cauſed to be diſmembred by his dogges, a fifteene or twenty Lords of the principall, and cut the hands of a great multitude of men and women: which ſaid hands he hanged one by another on a pole, to the end the other *Indians* might ſee that which hee had done vnto them. There were ſo hanged one by another threeſcore and ten paire of hands. Hee ſhiſed off beſides from many women and children their noſes.

No creature liuing and reaſonable, is able to decipher the miſchiefes and cruell dealing of this fellow, enemy of God. For they are without number, neuer otherwiſe heard of, nor ſeene: thoſe, I meane, which hee hath done in the land of *Guatimala*, and all about where he hath become.

The witneſſes ſay for a ſurcharge, that the cruell dealings and ſlaughters which haue beene committed, and are yet in the ſaid Realme of new *Grenado*, by the Captaines themſelues in perſon, and by their conſents giuen vnto all the other tyrants, waſters, and weeders of the nature of man, which were in his company, and the which hath laid all the Countrie wilde and waſte, are ſuch and ſo exceſſiue, that if his Maieſtie doe not take ſome order therein in ſome time (albeit that the ſlaughter and diſcomfiture of the *Indians* is done onely to bereaue them of their Gold, the which they haue none of, for they haue ſurrendred all that which they had) they will in a ſhort time make an end of them ſo in ſuch ſort, that there will be no more *Indians* to inhabit the land, but that it will remaine in a wilderneſſe without being manured.

There are other great Prouinces, which bound vpon the ſaid Realme of new *Grenado*, which they call *Popayin* and *Cali*, and three or foure others, which containe more then fiue hundred leagues of ground, which they haue deſtroyed and deſolated in the ſame manner, as they haue done others, robbing and ſlaying with torments, and the enormities afore ſpoken of. For the land is very fertile, and thoſe that come from thence now daily, doe report, that it is a ruefull thing to ſee ſo many goodly Townes burned and laid deſolate, as they might behold paſſing vp and downe that way: ſo as there, where there was wont to be in one towne a thouſand or two thouſand houſeholds, they haue not found fiftie, and the reſt vtterly ranſacked and diſpeopled.

And

And in some quarters they haue found two or three hundred leagues of Land dispeopled and burned, and great Cities destroyed. And finally, by that, that sithence into the Realmes of *Peru*, of the Prouince side of *Quito*, are entred farre into the Countrey sore and fell tyrants, as farre as to the said Realme of *Grenado*, and of *Popayan*, and of *Cali*, by the coast of *Carthagene*, and *Araba*, and other accursed tyrants of *Carthagene* haue gone to assault *Quito*, and moreouer, afterwards of the Riuers side of Saint *Iohn*, which is on the South side, all the which haue met to ioyne hands together in this exploit: they haue rooted out and dispeopled aboue sixe hundred leagues of land, with the losse of an infinite of soules, doing still the selfe same to the poore wretches that remaine behinde, howsoeuer innocent they appeare to be.

After the ends of the slaughters and massacres of the warres, they bring the people into the horrible bondage aboue said, and giue them to the commandement of Deuils, to one an hundred *Indians*, to another three hundred. The commander Deuill commandeth, that there come before him an hundred *Indians*, which incontinent present themselues like Lambes. He causing forty or fifty amongst them to haue their heads cut off: sayth vnto the other there present, I will serue you of the same sauce, if you doe not me good seruice, or if so be, that you goe out of my sight without my leaue. That for the honour of God, all they that haue read this piece of worke, or shall giue it a reading, consider now, whether this act, so hideous, fell and vnnaturall, doe not exceed all cruelty and iniquitie, that may bee imagined, and whether the *Spaniards* haue any wrong offered them when a man calleth them Diuels, and whether were better, to giue the *Indians* to keepe to the Deuils in Hell, or the *Spaniards* which are at the *Indies*.

After this I will rehearse another deuilish part, the which I cannot tell whether it bee lesse cruell and voide of manhood, then are those of sauage beasts: that is, that the *Spanish* which are in the *Indies*, doe keepe certaine Dogs most raging, taught and trained wholly to the purpose, to kill and rend in pieces the *Indians*. That let all those that are true *Christians*, yea, and also those which are not so, behold, if euer there were the like thing in the whole world: that is, to feed those Dogs, they leade about with them whersoeuer they goe a great number of *Indians* in chaines, as if they were Hogs, and kill them, making a shambles of mans flesh. And the one of them will say to another, Lend mee a quarter of a villaine, to giue my Dogs some meate, vntill I kill one next, altogether as if one should borrowe a quarter of an Hogge or Mutton. There be others which goe forth a hunting in the morning with their curres, the which being returned to eate, if another aske him: How haue yee sped to day? they answere, Very well: for I haue killed with my Dogs to day, fifteene or twenty Villaines. All these diabolicall doings, with others like haue beene wrought in the suits of Law, that the tyrants haue had one of them against another. Is there any case more ougly or vnnaturall?

I will here now deport me of this discourse, vntill such time, that there come other newes of things, in vngraciousnesse more notorious and remarkable (if it so bee, that there can bee any more grieuous) or vntill such time as we may returne thither to behold them our selues anew, as we behold them for the space of two and forty yeeres continually with mine owne eyes: protesting in a good conscience before God, that I doe beleeue, and I hold it for certaine, that the damages and losses are so great, with the destructions and ouerthrowes of Cities, massacres and murders, with the cruelties horrible and ougly, with the ruins, iniquities and robberies, all the which things haue beene executed amongst those people, and are yet daily committed in those quarters: that in all the things, which I haue spoken and deciphered, as I was able the neerest to the truth: I haue not said one of a thousand, of that which hath beene done, and is daily a doing at this present, bee it that you consider the qualitie, or bee it, that yee consider the quantitie.

And to the end that all *Christians* haue the greater compassion of those poore innocents, and that they complaine with me the more their perdition and destruction, and that they detest the greedinesse, loftinesse, and felnesse of the *Spanish*; that all doe hold it for a most vndoubted veritie, with all that hath beene aboue said, that sithence the first Discouerie of the *Indies* vntill now, the *Indians* neuer did harme vnto the *Spanish* in any place whersoeuer, vntill such time, that they first receiued wrongs and iniuries, being robbed and betrayed: but indeed did repute them to be immortall, supposing them to be descended from Heauen, and they receiued them for such, vntill such time as that they gaue it forth manifestly to be knowne by their doings, what they were, and whereto they tended.

What conuersions & knowledge of God are in the *Indies*.

I will adioyne hereunto this, that from the beginning vnto this houre, the *Spaniards* haue had no more care to procure that vnto those people should be preached the Faith of *Iesus Christ*, then as if they had beene Curre dogs, or other beasts: but in lieu thereof, which is much worse, they haue forbidden by expresse meanes the religious men to doe it, for because that that seemed vnto them an hinderance likely to be, to the getting of their Gold, and these riches which their auarice foreglutted in. And at this day there is no more knowledge of God throughout the *Indies*, to wit, whether he be of timber, of the aire, or the earth, then there was an hundred yeeres agoe, excepting New *Spaine*, whither the religious men haue gone, which is but a little corner of the *Indies*: and so are they perished, and doe perish all with Faith, and without Sacraments.

I bro-

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I brother *Bartholomew de las Casas* or *Casaus*, religious of the Order of Saint *Dominicke*, which by the mercy of God am come into this Court of *Spaine*, to sue that the Hell might bee withdrawen from the *Indies*, and that these innumerable soules, redeemed by the bloud of Iesus Christ, should not perish for euermore without remedie, but they might know their Creator and be saued: also for the care and compassion that I haue of my Countrey, which is *Castile*, to the end that God destroy it not for the great sinnes thereof, committed against the Faith and his honour, and against our neighbours: for certaine mens sakes notably zealous of the glory of God, touched with compassion of the afflictions and calamities of others, followers of this Court: howbeit, that I was purposed to doe it, but I could not so soone haue done it, because of my continuall occupations, I atchieued this Treatise and Summarie at *Valencia*, the eight of December, 1542. the force being mounted to the highest type of extremitie, and all the violences, tyrannies, desolations, anguishes, and calamities abouesaid, spred ouer all the *Indies*, where there are *Spaniards*, although they be more cruell in one part then they be in another, and more sauage and more abhominable.

Mexico and her confines are lesse euill intreated. In truth, there they cannot execute their outrages openly, for that there and not elsewhere, there is some forme of iustice, as slender as it is. For because that there also they kill them with deuilish tributes: I am in good hope, that the Emperour and King of *Spaine*, our liege Soueraigne Lord, *Don Charles* the fift of that name, who beginneth to haue vnderstanding of the mischiefes and treasons that there haue beene, and are committed against those poore people, against the will of God, and his owne, (for they haue alwaies cunningly concealed the truth from him) will roote out those euils, and take some order for this new world that God hath giuen him, as vnto one that loueth and doeth iustice: whose honour and prosperous estate Imperiall, God almightie vouchsafe to blesse with long life, for the benefit of his whole vniuersall Church, and to the saluation of his owne Royall soule. Amen.

After hauing couched in writing the premisses, I vnderstood of certaine Lawes and Ordinances, which his Maiestie hath made about this time at *Barcellone*, *Anno* 1542. in the moneth of Nouember, and the yeere following at *Madrill*: by the which Ordinances, there is order set downe, as the case them seemeth to require: to the end, to cut off the mischiefes and sins which are committed against God and our neighbours, tending to the vtter ruine and perdition of this new world. His Maiestie hath made these Lawes, after hauing holden many assemblies of persons of authoritie, of learning and conscience, and after hauing had disputations & conferences in *Valladolid*: and finally with the assent and aduise of all those others which haue giuen their aduise in writing, and haue beene found neerest approching vnto the Law of *Iesus Christ*, and withall free from the corruption and soyle of the treasures robbed from the *Indians*: the which treasures haue soyled the hands, and much more the soules of many, ouer whom those treasures and auarice haue got the masterie, and where hence hath proceeded the blinding, which hath caused so to marre all without remorse. These Lawes being published, the creatures of those tyrants, who then were at the Court, drew out sundry copies thereof (for it grieued them at the hearts: for that it seemed them that thereby there was a doore shut vp vnto them against their ruine and extortion afore rehearsed) and dispersed them into diuers quarters of the *Indies*. Those which had the charge to robbe, root out, and consume by their tyrannies, (euen as they had neuer kept any good order but rather disorder, such as *Lucifer* himselfe might haue held) as they read those copies before the new Iudges might come to execute their charge, knowing it (as it is said, and that very credible) by those who vntill this time haue suported and maintayned their crimes and outrages, to be likely that such execution should be vsed of those Lawes: they ranne into a mutinie in such wise, as that when the good Iudges were come to doe their duties, they aduised with themselues (as those which had lost the feare and loue of God) to cast off also all shame, and obedience which they owe to the King, and so tooke vnto them the name of name of open and arrant traitors, behauing themselues as most cruell and graceless tyrants: and principally in the Realme of *Peru*, where presently this yeere 1442. are committed acts so horrible and frightfull, as neuer were the like, neither in the *Indies*, nor in all the world besides, not onely against the *Indians*, the which all or in a manner all are slaine, all those Regions being dispeopled: but also betwixt themselues by a iust iudgement of God, who hath permitted that they should be the Butchers one of an other of them. By meanes of the support of this rebellion, none of all the other parts of this new World would obey those Lawes: But vnder colour of making supplication to his Maiesty to the contrary, they haue made an insurrection as well as the others. For that it irketh them to leaue their estates and goods which they haue vsurped, and to vnbinde the hands of the *Indians*, whom they detaine in a perpetuall captiuitie. And there where they cease to kill with the sword, readily and at the instant, they kill them a little and a little, by personall slaueries, and vniust charges and intolerable. That which the King could not hitherunto let: for because that they all, great and lierle, roue and robbe, some more, some lesse: some openly, and some couertly, and vnder the pretence of seruing the King, dishonour God, and robbe the King.

Ciuill warres in *Peru* betwixt the *Spaniards*.

Part of a Letter written by one which saw things mentioned.

HEe gaue licence to put them to the Chaine, and in bondage: That which they did: and the Captaine led after him three or foure droues of these persons enchained: and in this doing, he procured not that the Countrey should bee inhabited and peopled (as had beene conuenient should haue done) but robbing from the Indians all their victuals they had, the inbornes of the Countrey were reduced to such an extremitie, that there were found great numbers dead of famine in the high-wayes. And the Indians comming and going to and fro the coast, laden with the carriage of the Spaniards, hee was the death by these meanes of about ten thousand. For not one that arriued at the very coast escaped death: by reason of the excessiue heate of the Countrey.

Ten thousand perish.

After this, following the same tract and way, by the which Iohn of Ampudia was gone, hee sent the Indians which he had purchased in Quito, a day before him, to the end they should discouer the bourges of the Indians, and should pillage them, that when he came with his mayne he might finde his booty ready. And those Indians were his owne mates: of the which such a one had two hundred, such a one three hundred, and such a one a hundred; according to the baggage that euery one of them had: which Indians came to yeeld themselues to their Masters with all that they had robbed.

After that the said Captaine was returned from the coast, hee determined to depart from Quito, and to goe seeke the Captaine Iohn de Ampudia, leauing thereto moe then two hundred of Footmen and Horsemen, amongst whom were a great many Inhabitants of the Citie of Quito. Vnto those Inhabitants the Captaine gaue licence to carrie with them the Caciks, that were escheated them in sharing, with as many Indians as they would. That which they did: and Alfonso Sanches Nuita carried forth with him his Cacike, with moe then an hundred Indians besides: and in like manner Peter Cibo, and his Cousin: and they led out more then an hundred and fifty with their wiues: and sundry also sped out their children, because that in a manner euery one died for hunger. Also Moran Inhabitant of Popayan, carried out moe then two hundred persons. And the like did all the rest, Citizens and Souldiers, euery one after his abilitie: the Souldiers craning that they might haue licence giuen them to captiue those Indians men and women, which they carried forth: the which was granted them vntill the death of the said captiues, and those deceased, to take as many more.

When they departed out of the Prouince of Quito, they carried out moe then sixe thousand Indians, men and women, and of all those there, neuer returned home into their Countrie twenty persons. For they died all through the great and excessiue trauell, which they made them indure in those broyling Countries contrary to their nature. It happened at that time, that one Alfonso Sanches, whom the said Captaine sent for Chiefetaine ouer a certaine number of men into a Prouince there, met with a good company of women, and young boyes laden with victuals: who stayed waiting for them without moning from the place to giue them of that which they had, and hauing so done, the Captaine commanded that they should be put to the sharpe of the sword.

It came to passe also, that at the time, that the said Captaine came into the Prouince of Lili, to a Towne called Palo, neere vnto the great Riuer, where hee found the Captaine Iohn de Ampudia, which was gone before to discouer, and pacifie the Countrie: the said Ampudia kept a Citie by him prouided of a Garrison, in the name of his Maiestie, and of the Marques Francis of Pizarro: and had set ouer them for Gouernours ordinary, one Petre Solano of Quenaoues, and eight Counsellours, and all the rest of the Countrie was in peace, and shared out amongst them. And as hee knew that the said Captaine was in the said Riuer, hee came to see him, with a great number of the Inhabitants of the Countrie, and peacefull Indians, laden with victuals and fruits. Shortly after also all the neighbour Indians came to see him, bringing him food. There were the Indians of Xamundi, and of Palo, and of Soliman, and of Bolo.

Now because that they brought no Mahis which he would haue, he sent a great number of Spaniards with their Indians, to goe search for Mahis: commanding them to bring some wheresoeuer they found any. So went they to Bolo, and to Palo, and found the Indians men and women in their houses in peace: and the said Spaniards with those that were with them, tooke them, and robbed their Mahis, their Gold, and Couerings, and all that they had, and bound many.

Wherefore, they seeing that the Captaine kept no Faith with them: all the Countrie arose and reuolted from the Spanish, whereof ensued great damage, and God and the Kings Maiestie offended: and by this meanes the Countrey remayned dispeopled: for that the Olomas and the Manipos their enemies, which are Mountaine people, and warlike, descended daily to take and robbe them, when they perceiued the Citie and places of their abode left destitute. And amongst them hee who was the stronger, did eate vp his fellow, for all died for famine. This done, the Captaine came to the Citie of Ampudia, where he was receiued for Generall. From this place they goe to a Citie called Tukiricui, from whence the Cacike of the place yeelded forth incontinent in peace, a number of Indians going before him. The Captaine demanded Gold of him and of his Indians. The Cacike told him that hee had but a small deale, and that which he had should be giuen him: and immediatly all beganne to giue him all that they had. Whereupon the said Captaine gaue vnto euery of them a ticket, with the name of the said Indian, for a testi-

Cruell famine.

a testimoniall that he had giuen him Gold: affirming that hee which should haue neuer a ticket, should be cast to the Dogges to bee deuoured, because he gaue him no Gold. Whereupon the Indians for feare that they were put in, gaue him all the Gold that they were able: and those which had none fled into the Mountaines and other Townes, for feare to bee slaine. By reason whereof perished a great number of the native Inhabitants of the Countrie. And shortly after, the said Captaine commanded the Cacike to send two Indians to another Citie named Dagna, to will them that they should come in peace, and bring him Gold in abundance. And comming to another Citie, hee sent that night many Spaniards to take the Indians, and namely of Tulilicui. So as they brought the next morrow aboue an hundred persons: and all those which could beare burdens, they tooke them for themselues, and for their Souldiers, and put them to the chaine, whereof they died all. And the said Captaine gaue the little children vnto the said Cacike Tulilicui, that hee should eate them: and in truth, the skinnes of those children are kept in the house of the said Cacike Tulilicui full of ashes: and so departed hee from thence without an Interpreter, and went towards the Prouinces of Castile, where hee ioyned himselfe vnto the Captaine Iohn de Ampudia, who had sent him to discouer another way, doing both of them great outrages, and much mischiefe vnto the Inhabitants of the Countrie where they became. And the said Iohn de Ampudia came to a Citie, the Cacike and Lord whereof called Bitacur, had caused to make certaine Ditches to defend himselfe, and there fell into the same two Horses, the one of Antonie Rodondos, the other of Marc Marqueiis. That of Marcos Marquis died, the other not. For which cause the said Ampudia commanded to take all the Indians men and women that might be: and thereupon tooke and layed together more then an hundred persons, whom they cast aliue into those Ditches and slue them, and brent withall more then an hundred houses in the said Citie. And in that manner met in a great Citie, where without summoning (the Indians being at peace, and without any spokesman to goe betweene them) they slue with their Speares a great number of them, making on them mortall warre. And as it is said, soone after they were met, the said Ampudia told the Captaine what he had done in Bitaco, and how he cast so many into the Ditches: and the said Captaine answered, that it was well done, and that he for his part had done as much at the Riuer Bamba, when hee entred the same, which is in the Prouince of Quito, and that he had flung into the Ditches moe then two hundred persons; and there they stayed warring on all the Countrie. Soone after he entred into the Prouince of Bitu, or Anzerma: in making cruell warre with fire and blood till they came as farre as vnto the Salt-houses. And from thence he sent Francis Garcia before him to pillage, who made cruell warre on the naturall Inhabitants of the Countrie as he had done before him. The Indians came vnto him two and two, making signes, that they demanded peace on the behalfe of the whole Countrie; alledging that they would afford him, all that he could reasonably demand, were it Gold, or Women, or Victuals, onely that they would not kill them, as indeed it was a truth. For themselues afterwards confessed it to bee so. But the said Francis Garcia bid them get them packing: telling them moreouer, that they were a sort of drunkards, and that hee vnderstood them not, and so returned hee to the place where the said Captaine was, and they made a complot, to ouerrunne all the Prouince, making cruell warre on all the Countrie, in spoyling, robbing and slaying all: and with the Souldiers, which hee brought with him, drew thence moe then two thousand soules, and all those died in the chaine. Before departing the place which hee had peopled, they slue more than fiue hundred persons. And so returned to the Prouince of Calili. And by the way if any Inde or Indesse, were weary, in such sort, that they could not passe any further, they did incontinently head them, paring it off from the shoulders euen with the chaine, to the end not to take the paines to open the locke thereof: and to the end that others which went the same way should not make wise to bee sicke, and by this meanes died they all: and in the high-wayes were left all those people which hee made his purchase of out of Quito, and of Pasto, and of Quilla Cangua, and of Paxa, and of Popayan, and of Lili, and of Cali, and of Anzerma, and a great number of people died. Also immediatly vpon their returne to the great Citie, they entred into it, slaying all that they could: taking in that day moe then three hundred persons, &c.

AMong diuers the remedies by Friar *De las Casas* Bishop of the Royal Towne called *Chiapa*, propounded in the assemblie of sundry Prelates named Parsons, by his Maiesties commandement gathered together in the Towne of *Valladolid*, the yeere of our Lord 1542. for order and reformation to be obserued in the *Indies*: the eighth in order was this ensuing, which consisteth vpon twentie reasons and motions.

The eight Remedie, is among all other principall and most in force, as without which all the rest are to no purpose, for that they all haue relation thereunto, as euery motion to his proper end, in whatsoeuer toucheth or is of any importance vnto your Maiestie, which no man can expresse: in as much as thereupon dependeth at the least the whole losse or preseruation of the *Indies*. And the remedie that I speake of is this, that your Maiestie doe determine, decree, command, and solemnely in your soueraigne Courts ordaine by pragmaticall Sanctions and Royall Statutes, that all the *Indies* as well already subdued, as hereafter to be subdued, may be inserted, reduced, and incorporate into the Royall Crowne of *Castile* and *Leon*, to be holden in chiefe of your Maiestie as free subiects and vassals, as they are. Likewise that they be not giuen in *commendam* vnto the *Spaniards*: but that it stand as an inuiolable constitution, determination and Royall Law, that

they neuer, neither at this time, neither hereafter in time to come, may bee alienated or taken from the said Royall Crowne, neither that they be giuen, commanded, demised in fee farme, by depoſt, commandement or alienation, either vnder any other title or manner whatſoeuer, and be diſmembred from the Royall Crowne, for any whatſoeuer the ſeruice or deſert of any, either vpon any neceſſitie that may happen, or for any cauſe or colour whatſoeuer that may be pretended. For the inuiolable obſeruation, or eſtabliſhment of which Law, your Maieſtie ſhall formally ſweare by your Faith and on your Word and Royall Crowne, and by all other ſacred things, whereby *Chriſtian* Princes doe vſually ſweare, that at no time neither your ſelfe, neither your ſucceſſours in theſe ten Dominions, or in the *Indies*, ſo farre as in you ſhall lie, ſhall reuoke the ſame: and you ſhall further ſet downe in expreſſe words in your Royall Will and Teſtament, that this decree be euer kept, maintayned, and vpholden: alſo that ſo farre as in your ſelfe or in them ſhall lie, they ſhall confirme and continue the ſame. And for proofe of the neceſſitie hereof, there bee twenty reaſons to be alledged: out of which twenty we haue drawne and put in writing ſo many as may ſeeme to ſerue to our purpoſe.

Extract out of the ſecond reaſon.

The *Spaniards* through their great auarice and couetouſneſſe to get, doe not permit any religious perſons to enter into their Townes and Holds which they poſſeſſe, alledging that they receiue double loſſe by them. One and the principall is, that religious perſons doe keepe the *Indies* occupied when they gather them together to their Sermons, ſo as in the meane time their worke is omitted, while the *Indians* being idle, labour not: yea, it hath ſo fallen out, that the *Indians* being in the Church at the Sermon, the *Spaniard* comming in, in the face of al the people, hath taken fifty, or an hundred, or ſo many as he hath needed to carrie his baggage and ſtuffe, and ſuch as would not goe, he hath loden with ſtripes, ſpurning them forth with his feet, thereby, to the great griefe both of the *Indians*, and of the religious perſons troubling and moleſting all that were preſent, &c.

Out of the third reaſon.

The *Spaniards* are charged to inſtruct the *Indians* in our holy Catholike Faith: whereupon on a time when we examined *Iohn Colmenere* of Saint *Martha*, a fantaſticall, ignorant, and fooliſh man, who had gotten a great Towne in *commendam*, and had a charge of ſoules, he could not tell how to bleſſe himſelfe: and asking him what doctrine he taught the *Indians* committed to his charge, he ſaid, he gaue them to the Deuill: alſo that it was enough for him to ſay, *Per ſignum ſanctæ Cruces*. How can the *Spaniards* that trauell to the *Indies*, how noble or valiant ſoeuer they be, haue any care of the ſoules, when the moſt of them are ignorant of their Creede and ten Commandements, and knowe not the matters pertayning to their owne ſaluation, neither doe trauell to the *Indies* for any other purpoſe but to ſatisfie their owne deſires and couetous affections, being for the moſt part vicious, corrupt, vnhoneſt, and diſordinate perſons: ſo as hee that would weigh them in an equall ballance, and compare them with the *Indians*, ſhould finde the *Indians* without compariſon, more vertuous and holy then them. For the *Indians* what Infidels ſoeuer they be, doe neuertheleſſe keepe them to one and their owne wife, as nature and neceſſitie teacheth, and yet we ſee ſome *Spaniard* haue fourteene or more, which Gods Commandements doe forbid. The *Indians* deuoure no mans goods, they doe no man wrong: they doe not vexe, trouble, or ſlay any, where themſelues doe ſee the *Spaniards* commit all ſinnes, iniquities, and treacheries, that man can commit againſt all equitie and iuſtice. To be briefe, the *Indians* doe not beleeue any thing, but doe mocke at all that is ſhewed them of God, being in truth fully rooted in this opinion of our God, that he is the worſt, and moſt vniuſt, and the moſt wicked of all Gods, becauſe he hath ſuch ſeruants: alſo concerning your Maieſtie, they thinke you the moſt vniuſt and cruell of all Kings, becauſe you doe both ſend thither and keepe here ſuch euill Subiects, ſuppoſing that your Maieſtie doth feed vpon humane fleſh and bloud.

Out of the fourth reaſon.

The *Spaniards* hauing authoritie to command, or particular intereſt in the *Indies*, cannot by reaſon of their great couetouſneſſe abſtaine from afflicting, troubling, diſquieting, vexing, or oppreſſing the *Indians*, taking away their goods, lands, wiues, or children, and vſing among them many other kindes of iniquitie, for the which they can haue no redreſſe, ſanction, or warrant at your Maieſties chiefe Iuſtice, becauſe the *Spaniards* doe make them afraide: yea ſometimes doe kill them, leſt they ſhould complaine. They doe night and day mourne after their Gods, thinking them to be better then ours at whom they ſuſtaine ſuch harmes, while contrariwiſe of their owne they reape there ſo many commodities: and there is nothing that troubleth them ſo much as the *Chriſtians*.

Out of the fifth reaſon.

Wee can ſhew to your Maieſtie, that the *Spaniards* haue within eight and thirty or forty yeeres ſlaine of iuſt accompt, aboue twelue millions of your Subiects: I will not ſay how mightily this world of people might haue multiplied. This Countrey being the fertileſt, whether for cattell, or mankinde, that is in the world: the ſoyle being for the moſt part, more temperate and fauourable to humane generation. All theſe innumerable perſons, and all theſe people haue the *Spaniards* ſlaine, to the end to beare ſway, gouerne, and command ouer the reſt: and when in vniuſt warres they haue ſlaine them, then doe they vſe the reſt, who iuſtly haue withſtood them, in drawing Gold and Siluer, yoking them together like beaſts, to make them carrie their burdens.

What

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What plague of pestilence, or mortalitie could there haue fallen from heauen that had beene able to consume or make waste aboue 2500. leagues of flat Country, repleniſhed with people, and would not haue left either trauailer or inhabitant?

The *Spaniards* onely for their temporall commoditie, haue blemiſhed the *Indies* with the greateſt infamie, that any man euen among the moſt horrible and villanous perſons in the world, could be charged withall, and whereby they haue ſought to take them out of the degree of mankinde: namely that they were all polluted with the abominable ſinne againſt nature: which is a wretched and falſe ſlander. For in all the great Iles, *Hiſpaniola*, Saint *Iohn*, *Cuba*, and *Lamaica*: Alſo in the ſixtie Iles of *Lucayos*, which were inhabited with an infinite number of people, the ſame was neuer thought vpon; in ſome other part there is a voice of a few: for whoſe ſakes neuertheleſſe all that world is not to be condemned. We may ſay as much of the eating of mans fleſh, which likewiſe thoſe places that I haue named are free of; although that in other places they doe it indeede. They be alſo charged with their Idolatrie. The *Spaniards* haue purpoſely and effectually hindered the teaching of the Law of God and Ieſus Chriſt: with all other vertues among the *Indians*, and driuen away the Religious perſons out of Townes and Fortreſſes, leaſt they ſhould ſee and diſcloſe their tyrannies: yea, they haue by their euill example, infected and corrupted the *Indies*, teaching them many odious behauiours and vices, which before they knew not, as blaſpheming the name of Ieſus Chriſt, practiſing of vſurie, lying, and many other abhominations wholly repugnant to their nature. Out of the ſixth reaſon.

The *Spaniards* doe ſucke from the *Indians* the whole ſubſtance of their bodies, becauſe they haue nothing elſe in their houſes. They make them ſpit bloud: They exhibite them to all dangers: They lay vpon them ſundry and intollerable trauailes: and more then all this, They loade them with torments, beatings, and ſorrowings: To be briefe, they ſpoile and conſume a thouſand manner of wayes. Out of the ſeuenth reaſon.

Beſides all that the *Indians* doe indure in ſeruing and pleaſing the *Spaniards*, there is yet a butcher or cruell hangman, to keepe them in awe appointed in euery Towne and place, and is tearmed *Eſtanciero* or *Calpiſque*: who hath authoritie to lay his clawes vpon them, and to make them labour, and doe what the Lord Commander or chiefe thiefe will. So as if in hell there were no other torment, yet were this incomparable. This hangman whippeth them, he ladeth them with ſtripes, he baſteth them with ſcalding greaſe, he afflicteth them with continuall torments and trauels, hee forceth and deflloureth their daughters and wiues, diſhonouring and abuſing them: he deuoureth their Hens, which are their greateſt treaſure, not becauſe themſelues doe eate them, but that of them they offer preſents and ſeruice to their greateſt Lord and chiefe tyrant: he vexeth them with innumerable other torments and griefes: and leaſt they ſhould complaine of ſo many iniuries and miſeries, this tyrant putteth them in feare, ſaying; that hee will accuſe them, and ſay that he ſee them commit Idolatry. To be briefe, they muſt pleaſe and content aboue twenty diſordinate and vnreaſonable perſons; ſo as they haue foure Lords and Maſters. Your Maieſtie, their *Cacique*, him that hath them in commendam, and the *Eſtanciero* of whom I laſt ſpake, which *Eſtanciero* is to them more grieuous to beare then a quintall of lead, among which we may alſo in truth adde all the *Mochachos* and *Moores*, that doe ſerue the Commander and Maſter, for they all doe moleſt, oppreſſe, and rob theſe poore people. Out of the eight reaſon.

It is greatly to be feared, leaſt God will lay *Spaine* deſolate, euen for thoſe horrible ſinnes that this Nation hath committed in the *Indies*, whereof we doe euidently behold the ſcourge, and all the world doth ſee and confeſſe that already it hangeth ouer our heads, wherewith God doth afflict and ſhew that he is highly offended in thoſe parts through the great deſtruction and waſte of thoſe Nations, in that of ſo great treaſures haue bin tranſported out of the *Indies* into *Spaine* (the like quantitie of Gold and Siluer, neither King *Salomon*, neither any other worldly Prince euer had, ſaw, or heard of) there is none left, beſides that of that that was here before the *Indies* were diſcouered, there is now none to be found, no neuer a whit. Hereof it commeth that things are thriſe dearer then they were, the poore that haue want doe ſuffer great miſeries: and your Maieſtie cannot diſpatch matters of great importance. Note.

So long as *Lares* bare ſway and ruled, that was nine yeares, there was no more care of teaching or bringing the *Indians* to ſaluation, neither was there any more labor employed, or once thought of to that purpoſe, then if they had beene Trees, Stones, Dogs, or Cats. He waſted great townes and fortreſſes, he gaue to one *Spaniard* a hundred *Indians*, to another fiftie, to another more or leſſe, as euery man was in liking or fauour, and as it pleaſed him to grant. He gaue children, and old men, women with childe, and in childebed, men of countenance and commons, the naturall Lords of the Townes and Countries, he parted them among thoſe to whom hee wiſhed moſt wealth and commoditie, vſing in his Letters of command this ſpeech following: *To you ſuch a man, are giuen ſo many* Indians *with their* Cacique, *them to ſerue in their Mines and affaires.* So as all, great and ſmall, yong and old, that could ſtand on their feete, men, women with childe, or in childebed, one or other, trauailed and wrought ſo long as they had any breath in their bodies. He gaue leaue to take away married men, and to make them draw Gold, tenne, twenty, thirtie, fortie, or eightie leagues, or farther. The women remained in farme houſes and granges, in Out of the eleuenth reaſon.

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great labours. So that the man and wife should not see one another in eight or ten moneths or a whole yeare. And at their meeting they were so worne with labour and hunger, that they had no minde of cohabitation, whereby their generation ceased, and their poore children perished, because the mothers through hunger and trauaile had no milke wherewith to nourish them: This was a cause that in the Ile of *Cuba*, one of vs being there, there perished in the space of three moneths for hunger 7000. children, some desperate women strangled and killed their owne children, others finding themselues with childe, did eate certaine hearbes thereby to loose their fruit, so that the men died in the Mines, the women perished in the farme houses, their whole generation in a short space decayed, and all the Countrey lay desolate. The said Gouernour, to the end without release to keepe them in continuall labour, still gaue them away, and yet besides their great labors he suffered them rigorously, and very austerely to be misused. For the *Spaniards* that had them in command, appointed certaine hangmen ouer them, some in the Mines, whom they tearmed *Miniero*, others in the Farmes, that were called *Estanciero*: vnnaturall and pittileſſe persons that beate them with staues and cords, boxing them, pricking them with needles, and still calling them dogges: neither did they euer shew any signe of humanity or clemencie, but all their dealings did consist of extreame seueritie, riot, and bitternesse.

The Gouernour had also in the *Spanish* Townes and Forts, certaine of the most honorable and principall persons about him, whom he called Visitors, vnto whom also besides their other ordinary portions that he had giuen them, he gaue in respect of their offices one hundred *Indians* to serue them. These in the Townes were the greatest executioners, as being more cruell then the rest. before whom *Athuaziles del cazique* brought all such as had bin taken in this chase. The accuser, he that had them in command, was present, and accused them, saying; *This* Indian, *or those* Indians *are dogs, and will doe no seruice, but doe daily run to the Mountaines, there to become loyterers and vagabonds:* and therefore required that they might be punished. Then the Visitor with his owne hands bound them to a Pale, and taking a pitched cord, in the Gallies called an Eele, which is as it were an iron rod, gaue them so many stripes, and beate them so cruelly, that the bloud running downe diuers parts of their bodies, they were left for dead. God is witnesse of the cruelties committed among those lambs.

Throughout the yeare they neuer knew holiday, neither might be suffered from labour little or much. Besides that during all this toyle, they neuer had sufficient food, no not of *Caçabi*. Some there were that through niggardlinesse wanting meate to giue them, would send them two or three dayes abroad into the fields and Mountaines, to feede where they might satisfie themselues with such fruite as hang on the trees, and then vpon the force of that which they brought in their guts, would force them to labour two or three dayes more without giuing them any one morsell to eate. The Gouernour commanded they should be paid their day wages and expences for any labour or seruice that they should doe to the *Spaniard*, and their wages was three blankes euery two dayes, which in the yeare amounted to halfe a *Castelin*. This grew they into sicknesse through long and grieuous trauailes, and that was soone caught among them. When the *Spaniards* perceiued the sickenesse increase, so as there was no profit or seruice to be looked for at their hands, then would they send them home to their houses, giuing them to spend in some thirty, forty, or eightie leagues trauaile, some halfe dozen of Radish or *Reforres*, that is a kinde of nauet roote, and a little *Caçabi*, wherewith the poore men trauailed not farre before they should desperately dye, some went two or three leagues, some ten or twenty, so desirous to get to their owne home, there to finish their hellish life that they suffered, that they euen fell downe dead by the wayes; so as many times we found some dead, others at deaths doore, others groning and pittifully to their powers pronouncing this word, *hunger, hunger*. Then the Gouernour seeing that the *Spaniard* had in this wise slaine halfe or two third parts of these *Indians*, whom hee had giuen them in command, he came a fresh to draw new lots, and make a new distribution of *Indians*: still supplying the number of his first gift, and this did hee almost euery yeare.

Pedrarias entred into the firme land, as a Wolfe that had long beene starued doth into a flocke of quiet and innocent Sheepe and Lambs: and as Gods wrath and scourge, committing infinite slaughters, robberies, oppressions and cruelties, together with those *Spaniards* whom he had leuied, and laid waste so many Townes and Villages, which before had bin repleniſhed with people, as it were Ant hils, as the like was neuer seene, heard of, or written by any that in our daies haue dealt in Histories. He robbed his Maiestie & Subiects with those whom he tooke with him, and the harme that he did amounted to aboue foure, yea six Millions of Gold: hee laid aboue fortie leagues of land desart, namely from *Darien*, where he first arriued, vnto the Prouince of *Nicaragua*, one of the fruitfullest, richest and best inhabited lands in the world. From this cursed wretch sprang first the pestilence of giuing the *Indians* in command, which afterward hath infected all those *Indies* where any *Spaniards* doe inhabit, and by whom all these Nations are consumed; so that from him & his commands haue proceeded the certaine waste and desolation that your Maiestie haue sustained in these so great lands and dominions, since the yeare 1504.

When we shall say that the *Spaniards* haue wasted your Maiesties, and laid you desolate seuen Kingdomes

Kingdomes bigger then *Spaine*, you must conceiue that we haue seene them wonderfully peopled, and now there is no body left, because the *Spaniards* haue slaine all the naturall inhabitants by meanes aforesaid, and that of the Townes and Houses there remaineth onely the bare wals: euen as if *Spaine* were all dispeopled, and that all the people being dead, there remained onely the wals of Cities, Townes and Castels.

Your Maiestie haue not out of all the *Indies* one maruedy of certaine perpetuall and set rent, but the whole reuenewes are as leaues and straw gathered vpon the earth, which being once gathered vp doe grow no more: euen so is all the rent that your Maiestie hath in the *Indies*, vaine and of as small continuance as a blast of winde, and that proceedeth onely of that the *Spaniards* haue had the *Indians* in their power; and as they doe daily slay and rost the inhabitants, so must it necessarily ensue that your Maiesties rights and rents doe wast and diminish. Out of the 13. reason.

The Kingdome of *Spaine* is in great danger to be lost, robbed, oppressed and made desolate by forraigne Nations, namely by the *Turkes* and *Moores*, because that God who is the most iust, true, and soueraigne King ouer all the world, is wroth for the great sinnes and offences that the *Spaniards* haue committed throughout the *Indies*. But had chosen *Spaine* as his minister and instrument, to illuminate and bring them to his knowledge, and as it had bin for a worldly recompence, besides the eternall reward, had granted her so great naturall riches, and discouered for her such and so great fruitfull and pleasant lands, &c.

In as much as our life is short, I doe take God to witnesse with all the *Hierarchies* and thrones of Angels, all the Saints of the heauenly court, and all the men in the world; yea, euen those that shall hereafter be borne, of the certificate that here I doe exhibite: also of this the discharge of my conscience, namely that if his Maiestie granteth to the *Spaniards* the aforesaid diuellish and tyrannous partition, notwithstanding whatsoeuer lawes or statutes shall be deuised, yet will the *Indies* in short space be laid desart and dispeopled, euen as the Ile of *Hispaniola* is at this present, which otherwise would be most fruitfull and fertile; together with other the Iles & lands aboue 3000. leagues about, besides *Hispaniola* it selfe and other lands both farre and neere. And for those sinnes, as the holy Scripture doth very well informe, God will horribly chastize, and peraduenture wholly subuert and roote out all *Spaine*. *Anno* 1542.

The summe of the disputation betweene Fryer BARTHOLOMEVV de las CASAS *or* CASAVS, *and Doctor* SEPVLVEDA.

DOctor *Sepulueda*, the Emperours chronographer, hauing information, and being perswaded by certaine of those *Spaniards*, who were most guiltie in the slaughters and wastes committed among the *Indian* people, wrote a Booke in Latine, in forme of a Dialogue very eloquently, and furnished with all flowers, and precepts of Rhetoricke, as indeede the man is very learned and excellent in the said tongue: which Booke consisted vpon two principall conclusions; the one, That the *Spaniards* warres against the *Indians*, were as concerning the cause and equitie that moued them thereto, very iust: also, that generally the like warre may and ought to be continued. His other conclusion, that the *Indians* are bound to submit themselues to the *Spaniards*, gouernment, as the foolish to the wise: if they will not yeelde, then that the *Spaniards* may (as he affirmeth) warre vpon them. These are the two causes of the losse and destruction of so infinite numbers of people: also that aboue 2000. leagues of the maine land, are by sundry new kindes of *Spanish* cruelties and inhumaine dealings bin left desolate in the Ilands: namely by *Conquests* and *Commands* as hee now nameth those which were wont to be called *Partitions*.

The said Doctor *Sepulueda* coloureth his Treatise, vnder the pretence of publishing the title which the Kings of *Castile* and *Leon* doe challenge in the gouernment and vniuersall soueraigntie of this *Indian* world; so seeking to cloake that doctrine which he endeuoureth to disperse and scatter as well in these lands, as also through the Kingdomes of the *Indians*. This Booke he exhibited to the royall Councell of the *Indies*, very earnestly and importunately lying vpon them for licence to print it, which they sundry times denied him in respect of the offence, dangers, and manifest detriment, that it seemed to bring to the Common-wealth.

The Doctor seeing that here he could not publish his Booke, for that the Counsell of the *Indies* would not suffer it, he dealt so farre with his friends that followed the Emperours Court, that they got him a Patent, whereby his Maiestie directed him to the royall Counsell of *Castile*, who knew nothing of the *Indian* affaires: vpon the comming of these Letters the Court and Counsell being at *Aranda* in *Duero*, the yeare 1547. Fryer *Bartholomew de las Casas* or *Casaus*, Bishop of the royall towne of *Chiapa*, by hap arriued there, comming from the *Indians*, and hauing intelligence of Doctor *Sepulueda* his drifts and deuises, had notice also of the Contents of his whole Booke: but vnderstanding the Authors pernicious blindenesse, as also the irrecouerable losses that might ensue vpon the printing of this Booke, with might and maine withstood it, discouering

discouering and reuealing the poyson wherewith it abounded, and whereto it pretended.

The Lords of the Royall Counsaile of *Castile*, as wise and iust Iudges, determined therefore to send the said Booke to the Vniuersities of *Salamanca* and *Alcala*, the matter being for the most part therein Theologically handled, with commandement to examine it, and if it might bee printed, to signe it: which Vniuersities after many exact and diligent disputations, concluded, that it might not be printed, as contayning corrupt doctrine.

The Doctor not so satisfied, but complaining of the Vniuersities aforesaid, determined, notwithstanding so many denials and repulses at both the Royall Counsailes, to send his Treatise to his friends at *Rome*, to the end there to print it, hauing first transformed it into a certaine Apologie written to the Bishop of *Segouia*, because the same Bishop hauing perused the Treatie and Booke aforesaid, had brotherly and charitably as his friend by Letters reproued and counsailed him. The Emperour vnderstanding of the Impression of the said Booke and Apologie, did immediately dispatch his Letters Patents, for the calling in and suppression of the same, commanding likewise to gather in againe all Copies thereof throughout *Castile*. For the said Doctour had published also in the *Castilian* Language a certaine abstract of the said Booke, thereby to make it more common to all the Land: and to the end also that the Commons, and such as vnderstood no *Latine*, might haue some vse thereof, as being a matter agreeable and toothsome to such as coueted great riches, and sought wayes to clime to other estates, then either themselues, or their Predecessors could neuer attaine vnto without great cost, labour, and cares, and oftentimes with the losse and destruction of diuers.

Which when the Bishop of *Chiapa* vnderstood, hee determined also to write an Apologie in the vulgar tongue, against the said Doctors summarie in defence of the *Indies*, therein impugning and vndermining his foundations, and answering all reasons, or whatsoeuer the Doctor could alleage for himselfe, therein displaying and setting before the peoples face the dangers, inconueniences and harmes in the said doctrine contained.

Thus as many things passed on both sides, his Maiestie in the yeere 1550. called to *Valadolid*, an Assembly of learned men, as well Diuines as Lawyers, who beeing ioyned with the Royall counsaile of the *Indies* should argue, and among them conclude, whether it were lawfull without breach of Iustice, to leuie warres, commonly tearmed conquests, against the Inhabitants of those Countries, without any new offence by them committed, their infidelity excepted.

Doctor *Sepulueda* was summoned to come and say what he could, and being entred the Counsaile Chamber, did at the first Session vtter his whole minde. Then was the said Bishop likewise called, who for the space of fiue dayes, continually did reade his Apologie: but being somewhat long, the Diuines and Lawyers there assembled, besought the Learned and Reuerend Father *Dominicke Soto* his Maiesties Confessor, and a *Dominican* Friar, who was there present, to reduce it into a Summary, and to make so many Copies as there were Lords, that is fourteene, to the end they all hauing studied vpon the matter, might afterward in the feare of God say their mindes.

The said Reuerend Father and Master *Soto*, set downe in the said Summary, the Doctors reasons, with the Bishops answeres to the same. Then had the Doctour at his request a Copie deliuered him to answere: out of which Summarie he gathered twelue against himselfe, whereto he made twelue answeres, against which answeres the Bishop framed twelue Replyes.

Doctor Sepulueda *his Prologue to the Lords of the Assembly; beganne thus.* Most worthy and Noble Lords, sith your Lordships and Graces haue as Iudges for the space of fiue or sixe dayes heard the Lord Bishop of *Chiapa* reade that Booke, whereinto he hath many yeeres laboured to gather all the reasons that either himselfe, or others could inuent to proue the conquest of the *Indies* to be vniust, as seeking first to subdue barbarous Nations before we preach the Gospell vnto them, which haue beene the vsuall course correspondent to the grant made by Pope *Alexander* the sixt, which all Kings and Nations haue hitherto taken and obserued: it is meete, and I doe so desire you, that I who take vpon me to defend the grant and authority of the Apostolike Sea, together with the equitie and honour of our Kings and Nation, &c.

Note, the Popes Bull is pretended: which, and our answere to it, see To. 1. li. 2. c. 18.

Out of which Replies, here followeth the Abstract of two that stand vs insteed. The report is vntrue that the *Indians* did yeerely sacrifice in *New Spaine* twenty thousand persons: either one hundred or fiftie. For had that beene so, we could not now haue found there so much people: and therefore the Tyrants haue inuented it, thereby to excuse and iustifie their Tyrannies: also to detaine so many of the *Indians* as escaped the oppression and desolation of the first Vintage, in bondage and tyrannie. But we may more truely say, that the *Spaniards* during their abode in the *Indies*, haue yeerely sacrificed to their so deerely beloued and reuerend Goddesse *Couetousnesse* more people, then the *Indians* haue done in a hundred yeeres. This doe the Heauens, the Earth, the Elements, and the Starres both testifie and bewaile: the Tyrants, yea, the very Ministers of these mischiefes cannot deny it. For it is euident how greatly these Countries at our first entrie swarmed with people, as also how wee haue now laid it waste, and dispeopled the same: wee might euen blush for shame, that hauing giuen ouer all feare of God, wee will yet neuertheless seeke to colour and excuse these our so execrable demeanours: considering that only for getting wealth

wealth and riches, we haue in fortie fiue or fortie eight yeeres, wasted and consumed more Land then all *Europe*, yea and part of *Asia*, doe in length and breath containe, robbing and vsurping vpon that with all crueltie, wrong, and tyrannie, which we haue seene well inhabited with humane people, among whom there haue beene slaine and destroyed twentie * Millions of soules.

Twenty Millions destroied before he saith 12. or 15. Millions, which is to be vnderstood of some greater part, not of all the *Indies*. Yea, only in *New Spaine, Honduras, Guatimala, Venesuela, Peru*, and the Coast of *Pasia*, he reckoneth aboue 20. Millons: besides three Millions in *Hispaniola*, halfe a Million in the *Lucayos*, 600000. or rather a Million in *Iamaica*, and Saint *Iohns* Ilands: 800000 in *Terra Firma*, in *Nicaragua*, 550000. that I mention not the innumerable multitudes in *Cuba, Panuco, Florida, Xalisco, Yucatan*, Saint *Martha, Carthagena, New Granado*, Riuer of *Plata*, &c.

In the twelfth and last Reply as followeth, The *Spaniards* haue not entred into *India* for any desire to exalt Gods honour, or for zeale to *Christian* Religion, either to fauour, and procure the saluation of their Neighbours, no, neither for their Princes seruice, whereof they doe so vainely bragge: but Couetousnesse hath brought them, and Ambition hath allured them to the perpetuall dominion ouer the *Indies*, which they as Tyrants and Deuils, doe couet to bee parted among them: and to speake plainly and flatly, doe seeke no other but to expell and driue the Kings of *Castile* out of all that World, and themselues seizing thereupon, by Trannie to vsurpe and take vpon them all Royall Souereigntie.

CHAP. V.

Notes of Voyages and Plantations of the French *in the Northerne* America: *both in* Florida *and* Canada.

OF the *French* Plantation in that part of *Brasil* by *Villagaynon*, which therefore Frier *Theuet* called *France Antarctike*, you haue seene alreadie in *Lerius*. Besides the *French* haue almost from the first beginnings of the *Spanish* Plantation, with men of warre haunted those Coasts, and taken many *Spanish* prises. The *French* haue also made other Discoueries, and setled some habitation for a time in the Northerne parts of the New World.

As out of *Oviedo, Benzo*, &c. is before obserued.

Iohn Verrazanes Florentine was sent *Anno* 1524. by King *Francis* the first, and Madame Regent his Mother, who is said to haue discouered from the eight and twentieth to the fiftieth degree; all which and much more had long before beene discouerd by Sir *Sebastian Cabot* for the King of *England*, who was the first that set foote on the *American* Continent in behalfe of any *Christian* Prince *Anno* 1496. or as others 1497. and therefore the *French* reckoning falleth short, some of which Nation vpon *Verazanos* Discouery challenge I know not what right to all that Coast, and make their *New France* netre as great as all *Europe*. To leaue that, we are to do them Historicall right in relating their actions in those parts. The Rites and Customes of *Florida* are reflated at large by *Rene Laudonniere*, by Master *Hakluyt* translated, and in his Workes published. *Laudonniere* was sent by that famous Admirall *Chastillon* with *Iohn Ribalt*, *Anno* 1562. who arrited at Cape *François* in *Florida* in thirtie degrees, and there erected a Pillar with the *French* Armes. The Riuer they called the Riuer of *May*, hauing entred it on *May* day. In the Woods they found great store of red and white Mulberie Trees, and on their tops an infinite number of Silk-wormes. Eight other Riuers they discouered to which they gaue the names of *Seine, Somme, Loyre, Charente, Garonne, Gironde, Belle, Grande*, and after that *Belle a Voire*, and Port Royal. In this last they anchored; the Riuer at the mouth is three *French* leagues broad: hee sayled vp many leagues, and erected another like Pillar of stone. *Ribalt* hauing built a Fort and furnished it with prouisions, called it *Charles* Fort, and left a Colonie there vnder Captaine *Albert*. These found great kindnesse with their *Indian* Neighbours, till dissention happened amongst themselues, the Captaine for a small fault hanging a Souldier and exercising seueritie ouer the rest, which thereupon in a mutinie slue him, and hauing chosen a new Captaine, they built a Pinnasse and furnished it as well as they could to returne for *France*, but surprized in the way with calmes, and expence of their prouision, they first did eate their shoes and Buffe-Ierkins, and yet continuing famished, they killed one of their fellowes called *La Chere*, and made cheere of him, and after met with an *English* Barke which releeued them, and setting some on Land, brought the rest to Queene *Elizabeth*.

Cap. *Ribalt*.

Silke-wormes store in *Florida*. Port Royall in 32. degrees.

Mutinie. Cap. *Albert* slaine.

The cause of their not releeuing according to promise was the Ciuill warres, which being compounded, the Admirall procured the King to send three ships to *Florida* vnder the command of the Author *Rene Laudonniere*, which set saile in Aprill 1564. He went on shoare at *Dominica*, in which Iland his men killed two Serpents nine foote long, and as bigge as a mans legge. The two and twentieth of Iune, they landed in *Florida* ten leagues aboue Cape *François*, and after in the Riuer of *May*, where the *Indians* very ioyfully welcommed them, and the stone Piller erected by *Ribalt* was crowned with bayes and baskets of Mill or Maiz set at the foot, and they kissed the same with great reuerence. One of *Paracousse* (or the King) his Sonnes presented the Captain with a wedge of siluer. With another *Parcousse* they saw one old Father blind with age, but

The second Colonie.

Stone Pillar worshipped.

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but liuing, and of his loines sixe generations descended, all present, so that the Sonne of the eldest was supposed two hundred and fiftie yeeres old. They planted themselues on this Riuer of May, and there built a Fort which they called *Carolina* of their King *Charles*. *Landonniere* sent *Outigni* his Lieutenant to search out the people called *Thimogoa*, whence that siluer wedge had comne, and there heard of a great King *Olata Onae Vtina*, to whom fortie Kings were vassals. *Saturiona* was said to haue thirtie, and to be enemie to *Vtina*.

Men nigh 300. yeeres old.

The Vassals are petty *Weroances*, or Lords of Villages.

A fearefull lightning happened which burned fiue hundred acres of ground, and all the fowles, after which followed such a heat, that as many fish were dead therewith at the mouth of the Riuer, as would haue laden fiftie Carts, and of their putrifaction grieuous diseases. The *Sauages* had thought the *French* had done it with their Ordnance. He got some prisoners of *Vtinas* subiects which *Saturiona* had taken and sent them to him, some of his men assisting *Vtina* in his warres against *Potanou* one of his enemies, and returning with some quantitie of Siluer and Gold.

Whiles things continued in good termes with the *Sauages* Mutinies and Conspiracies fell out amongst the *French*, some conspiring to kill the Captaine, others running away with the Barks, one of which robbed by Sea, and after was driuen by famine to seeke to the *Spaniards* at *Hauana*: and when two other Barkes were a building, a third Conspiracie seized on the Captaine, detained him Prisoner, and forced him to subscribe their passe with these two Barkes. Away they went and the next diuision was amongst themselues, one Barke departing from the others. One of them after diuers Piracies came backe, and the chiefe mutinies were executed. *Francis Iean* one of the other Barke was he which after brought the *Spaniards* thither to destroy them. The *Indians* vse to keepe in the Woods Ianuarie, Februarie, and March, and liue on what they take in hunting; so that the *French* neither receiuing their expected reliefe from *France*, nor from the *Sauages* which had no Corne, hauing before sold them what they had, suffered grieuous famine; they resolued to build a vessell able to carrie them into *France*, the *Sauages* making aduantages of their necessities (according to the wonted perfidiousnesse of those wilde people) whereupon they tooke King *Vtina* Prisoner with his Sonne to get food for his ransome. The famine was so sharpe that it made the bones to grow thorow the skinne, and when the Maiz by the end of May came to some ripenesse, food it selfe ouercame their weake stomacks. Some reliefe they had by Sir *Iohn Hawkins* who came thither with foure ships, guided by a man of *Deepe* which had been there in *Ribalts* Voyage, who also offered to transport him, and set them all on land in *France*. This he refused, but made good aduantage hereof with the *Sauages*, telling them that this was his brother which brought him great reliefe and plentie, whereupon all sought his friendship. His men at last generally fearing to continue in that misery, wanting both apparell and victuall, and meanes to returne, so wrought with him, that not daring to giue the Siluer, and such things as he had gotten in the Countrie (which might bring an *English* Plantation into those parts) he bought a ship of Sir *Iohn Hawkins*, who partly sold and partly gaue them prouisions also of apparell and victuall for their returne; and as *Landonniere* acknowledgeth like a charitable man, saued their liues.

Mutinies.

The *Virginians* also haue such a custome.

Cruell famine.

Sir *Iohn Hawkins* his great kindnesse.

Whiles thus they were preparing to set saile, Captaine *Ribalt* came into the Riuer with seuen saile foure greater and three lesse (whom the Admirall had sent, hearing that *Landonniere* lorded and domineered in tyrannicall and insolent manner) and was solemnely welcommed in the end of August 1565. A while after, when as the *Indians* had filled Captaine *Ribalt* with golden hopes of the Mynes at *Apalatci*, some proofes whereof were found to be perfect gold, sixe great ships of *Spaniards* came into the Riuer on the fourth of September, and made faire shew to the *French*, which trusted them neuer the more, but let slip their Anchors and fled, being no way matchable but in swiftnesse of saile, whereby they escaped the pursuite of the *Spaniards*, and obserued their course sending word thereof to Captaine *Ribalt*. The High Admirall *Chastillon* also had in his last Letters written to *Ribalt*, that he had intelligence out of *Spaine*, of *Don Pedro Melendes* his Expedition to *Florida*, iust before his comming from *France*, Captaine *Ribalt* embarkes himselfe the eight of September, pretending to goe seeke the *Spaniards*, which soone after came to seeke the *French* at their Fort, guided by *Francis Iean*, before a Mutiner, now also a Traytour, who shewed the Captaine to the *Spaniards*. Notwithstanding their assault, *Landonniere* made an escape with some others ouer the Marishes into the ships, and so returned first into *England*, and after into *France*. Captaine *Ribalt* was surprized with a Tempest which wracked him vpon the Coast, and all his ships were cast away, himselfe hardly escaping drowning, but not escaping the more then Rockie *Spaniards* which massacred him and all his companie.

Third *Floridan* Voyage by C. *Ribalt*.

Gold Mynes of *Apalatci*.

Spaniards kill the *French* and plant in *Florida*.

Massacre.

This butcherie was reuenged in a fourth *Floridan* Voyage made from *France*, by Captaine *Gourgues*, *Anno* 1567. who borrowed and sold to set forth three ships, and entring the Riuer *Tacatacourou* (which the *French* called *Seine*) he made league with eight *Sauage* Kings, which had beene much dispighted by the *Spaniards*, and were growne as dispightfull to them. The *Spaniards* were accounted foure hundred strong, and had diuided themselues into three Forts vpon the Riuer of *May*, the greatest begun by the *French*; two smaller neerer the Riuers mouth to fortifie each thereof with twelue hundred Souldiers in them well prouided for Munition.

Reuenge by Capt. *Dominique Gourguet*.

Three Forts *Spanish*.

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In Aprill 1568. he tooke theſe two Forts and ſlue all the *Spaniards*, the vindicatiue *Sauages* giuing him vehement and eager aſſiſtance, eſpecially *Olotocara*, Nephew to *Saturiona*. As they went to the Fort, he ſaid, that he ſhould die there, and therefore deſired *Gourgues* to giue that to his wife which he would haue giuen himſelfe, that it might bee buried with him for his better welcome to the Village of the *Soules* departed. This Fort was taken, the *Spaniards* ſome ſlaine, others taken, and hanged on the ſame trees on which the *French* hung; fiue of which on of theſe *Spaniards* confeſſed he had hanged, and now acknowledged the Diuine Iuſtice. In ſteed of the Writings which *Melandez* had hanged ouer them, *I doe not this as to* Frenchmen *but as to* Lutherans; *Gourgues* ſet vp another, *I doe not this as to* Spaniards *or Mariners, but as to Traitors, Robbers and Murtherers*. The Forts he razed, not hauing men to keepe them, and in Iune following arriued in *Rochel*. Comming to the King with expectation of reward, the *Spaniſh* King had ſo poſſeſſed him, that he was faine to hide himſelfe. This *Dominicke de Gourgues* had beene an old Souldier, once impriſoned, and of a Captaine made a Gally-ſlaue by the *Spaniards*, and grew for his ſeruice in reputation with the Queene of *England*: he died *Anno* 1582. And thus much of the *French* Voyages in *Florida*, for *Virginias* ſake worthy to be knowne of the *Engliſh*. Now for their more Northerne Voyages and Plantations.

Why the *Sauages* haue their goods interred with them.

Iuſt requitall.

Maſter *Hakluyt* hath publiſhed the Voyages of *Iaques Cartier*, who in Aprill 1534. departed from Saint *Malo* with two ſhips, and in May arriued at *Newfoundland*. On the one and twentieth of May they came to the Iland of *Birds* a league about, ſo full of Birds as if they were ſowed there, and a hundred times as many houering about it, ſome as bigge as Iayes, blacke and white with beakes like Crowes, lying alway on the Sea; their wings not bigger then halfe ones hand, which makes that they cannot flie high. In leſſe then halfe an houre they filled two Boats with them. Theſe they named *Apperatz*; another leſſe Fort, which put themſelues vnder the wings of others greater, they called *Godetz*, a third, bigger and white, byting like Dogges they called *Margaulx*. Though the Iland be fourteene leagues from the Continent, Beares come thither to feed on thoſe Birds. One white one as bigge as a Kow they killed in her ſwimming, and found her good meate. Three ſuch Bird Ilands they alſo diſcouered the fiue and twentieth of Iune, which they called the Ilands of *Margaulx*. There alſo they found Morſes, Beares and Wolues. But theſe Northerne Coaſts are better knowne to our Countrymen: then that I ſhould mention his *French* names, which from *Cabots* time almoſt forty yeeres before had beene knowne to the *Engliſh*.

Iaques Cartier his three Voyages, Iland of *Birds* in 49. degrees 40. minutes.

Margaulx ſeeme to be *Penguins*.

The next yeere *Cartier* ſet forth with three ſhips to Saint *Lawrence* his Bay, and ſo to the Riuer of *Hochelaga*. They went to *Canada*, and to the Towne of *Hochelaga*. They ſaw the great and ſwift fall of the Riuer, and were told of three more therein. The Scorbute that Winter killed fiue and twentie of their men in their Fort: the reſt recouered by the vſe the ſap and leaues of a tree called *Hameda*, which was thought to be *Saſſafras*. Theſe reports of *Canada*, *Saguenay*, and *Hochelaga*, cauſed King *Francis* to ſend him againe, *Anno* 1540. purpoſing alſo to ſend *Iohn Francis de la Roche*, Lord of *Robeual* to be his Lieutenant in the Countries of *Canada*, *Saguenay*, and *Hochelaga*. Hee went *Anno* 1542. his chiefe Pilot was *Iohn Alphonſo* of *Xantoigne*, whoſe Notes, as alſo the Relation of that Voyage with three ſhippes, and two hundred perſons, men, women and children, Maſter *Hakluyt* hath recorded. He built a Fort and wintered there: and then returned.

L. of *Robeual*.

These were the *French* beginnings, who haue continued their Trading in thoſe parts by yeerly Voyages to that Coaſt to theſe times, for fiſhing, and ſometimes for Beauers skinnes and other Commodities. One *Saulet* is ſaid to haue made two and forty Voyages to thoſe parts. *Marke Leſcarbot* hath publiſhed a large Booke called *Noua Francia*, and additions thereto, part of which we haue here for better intelligence of thoſe parts, added with *Champlains* Diſcoueries.

Saulets 42. Voyages to *Newfoundland*.

CHAP. VI.

The Voyage of SAMVEL CHAMPLAINE *of* Brouage, *made vnto* Canada *in the yeere* 1603. *dedicated to* CHARLES de Montmorencie, *&c. High Admirall of* France.

WE departed from *Honfleur*, the fifteenth day of March 1603. This day we put into the Roade of New *Haven*, becauſe the winde was contrary. The Sunday following being the ſixteenth of the ſaid moneth, we ſet ſaile to proceed on our Voyage. The ſeuenteenth day following, we had ſight of *Ierſey* and *Garnſey*, which are Iles betweene the Coaſt of *Normandie* and *England*. The eighteenth of the ſaid moneth, wee diſcryed the Coaſt of *Britaine*. The nineteenth, at ſeuen of the clocke at night, we made account that we were thwart of *Vſhent*. The one and twentieth, at ſeuen of clocke in the morning, we met with ſeuen ſhips of *Hollanders*, which to our iudgement came from the *Indies*.

Their Voyage to *Tadouſac*. *Chap.* 1.

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Indies. On Easter day, the thirtieth of the said moneth, wee were encountred with a great storme, which seemed rather to be thunder then winde, which lasted the space of seuenteene dayes, but not so great as it was the two first dayes; and during the said time we rather lost way then gained.

The sixteenth day of Aprill the storme began to cease, and the Sea became more calme then before, to the contentment of all the Company; in such sort as continuing our said course vntill the eighteenth of the said moneth, we met with a very high Mountaine of Ice. The morrow after we discried a banke of Ice, which continued aboue eight leagues in length, with an infinite number of other smaller peeces of Ice, which hindred our passage. And by the iudgement of our Pilot, the said flakes or Ice were one hundred, or one hundred & twenty leagues from the Country of *Canada*; and we were in 45. degrees and two third parts; & we found passage in 44. deg. The second of May, at eleuen of clocke of the day, we came vpon *The Banke* in 44. degrees one third part. The sixt of the said moneth, we came so neere the land that we heard the Sea beate against the shore, but we could not descrie the same through the thicknesse of the fogge, whereunto these coasts are subiect; which was the cause that we put farther certaine leagues into the Sea, vntill the next day in the morning, when we descried land, the weather being very cleere, which was the Cape of Saint *Marie*. The twelfth day following we were ouertaken with a great flaw of winde, which lasted two dayes. The fifteenth of the said moneth, wee descried the Isles of Saint *Peter*. The seuenteenth following we met with a banke of Ice neere Cape *de Raie*, sixe leagues in length, which caused vs to strike saile all the night, to auoide the danger we might incurre. The next day we set saile, and descried Cape *de Raie*, and the Isles of Saint *Paul*, and Cape *de* Saint *Laurence*, which is on the South side. And from the said Cape of Saint *Laurence* vnto Cape *de Raie*, is eighteene leagues, which is the breadth of the entrance of the great Gulfe of *Canada*.

A banke of Ice aboue 8. leagus long, in 45. degrees and two third parts.
The *Banke* in 44. degr. one third part.
These coasts subiect to fogs.
The Cape of S. *Marie*.
The Isles of S. *Peter*.
A banke of Ice 6. leagues long
Cape *de Raie*.
Cape *de S. Laurence*.

The same day, about ten of the clocke in the morning, we met with another Iland of Ice, which was aboue eight leagues long. The twentieth of the said moneth, we discried an Isle, which containeth some fiue and twenty or thirty leagues in length, which is called the Isle of *Assumption*, which is the entrance of the Riuer of *Canada*. The next day we descried *Gachepe*, which is a very high land, and began to enter into the said Riuer of *Canada*, ranging the South coast vnto the Riuer of *Mantanne*, which is from the said *Gachepe* sixtie fiue leagues; from the said Riuer of *Mantanne* we sailed as farre as the *Pike*, which is twenty leagues, which is on the South side also: from the said *Pike* we sailed ouer the Riuer vnto the port of *Tadoussac*, which is fifteene leagues. All these Countries are very high, and barren, yeelding no commoditie. The foure and twentieth of the said moneth we cast anker before *Tadoussac*, and the six and twentieth we entred into the said Port, which is made like to a creeke in the entrance of the Riuer of *Saguenay*, where there is a very strange currant and tide, for the swiftnesse and depth thereof, where sometimes strong windes do blow, because of the cold which they bring with them; it is thought that the said Riuer is fiue and forty or fiftie leagues vnto the first fall, and it commeth from the North North-west. The said Port of *Tadoussac* is little, wherein there cannot ride aboue ten or twelue Ships: but there is water enough toward the East, toward the opening of the said Riuer of *Sagenay* along by a little hill, which is almost cut off from the maine by the Sea; The rest of the Countrie are very high Mountaines, whereon there is little mould, but rockes and sands full of woods of Pines, Cypresses, Fir-trees, Burch, and some other sorts of trees of small price. There is a little Poole neere vnto the said Port, enclosed with Mountaines couered with woods. At the entrance of the said Port there are two points, the one on the West side running a league into the Sea, which is called Saint *Matthewes* point; and the other on the South-east side, containing a quarter of a league, which is called the point of *all the Diuels*. The South and South South-east, and South South-west windes doe strike into the said hauen. But from Saint *Matthewes* Point, to the said Point of *all the Diuels*, is very neere a league: Both these Points are dry at a low water.

An Iland of Ice aboue eight leagues long.
The Ile of *Assumption*.
Gachepe.
The Riuer *Mantanne*.
The *Pike*.
Tadoussac, from *Gachepe* 100. leg
The description of the hauen of *Tadoussac*
The Riuer of *Sagenay* falleth into *Canada*.
That of *Sagenay* is in *Lescarbots* Map expressed to enter on the North side of *Canada*, about 51. or 40. from thence to the Sea shoare of *Canada* is aboue fixtie miles,

which entring into the Sea, hath 100. miles, and vp to the fals (which Voyage followeth) continueth a marueilous breadth, so that it may be for greatnesse reputed greater then any other Riuer in our world, or in the Northerne parts of the New: full also of Lakes and Ilands for greater magnificence.

THe seuen and twentieth day we sought the Sauages at the Point of Saint *Matthew*, which is a league from *Tadoussac*, with the two Sauages whom Monsieur *du Pont* brought with him, to make report of that which they had seene in *France*, and of the good entertainement which the King had giuen them. As soone as we were landed we went to the Cabin of their great *Sagamo*, which is called *Anadabijou*, where we found him with some eighte of a hundred of his companions, which were making *Tabagie*, that is to say, a Feast. Hee receiued vs very well, according to the custome of the Countrey, and made vs sit downe by him, and all the Sauages sat along one by another on both sides of the said Cabine. One of the Sauages which we had brought with vs began to make his Oration, of the good entertainement which the King had giuen them, and of the good vsage that they had receiued in *France*, and that they might assure them-

The great *Sagamo*, their feasts & wars.
The *Irocois*.
Cap. 2.
Two Sauages brought out of *France*.
Anadabijou.
The Oration of one of the Sauages which we brought with vs.

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themselues that his said Maiestie wished them well, and desired to people their Countrey, and to make peace with their enemies (which are the *Irocois*) or to send them forces to vanquish them. He also reckoned vp the faire Castels, Palaces, Houses, and people which they had seene, and our manner of liuing. He was heard with so great silence, as more cannot be vttered. Now when he had ended his Oration, the said grand *Sagamo Anadabijon*, hauing heard him attentiuely began to take Tobacco, and gaue to the said Monsieur *du Pont Grane* of Saint *Malo*, and to mee, and to certaine other *Sagamos* which were by him: after he had taken store of Tobacco, he began to make his Oration to all, speaking distinctly, resting sometimes a little, and then speaking againe, saying, that doubtlesse they ought to be very glad to haue his Maiestie for their great friend: they answered all with one voyce, ho, ho, ho, which is to say, yea, yea, yea. He proceeding forward in his speech, said, That he was very well content that his said Maiestie should people their Countrey, and make warre against their enemies, and that there was no Nation in the world to which they wished more good, then to the *French*. In fine, hee gaue them all to vnderstand what good and profit they might receiue of his said Maiestie. When hee had ended his speech, we went out of his Cabine, and they began to make their Tabagie or Feast, which they make with the flesh of Orignac, which is like an Oxe, of Beares, of Seales, and Beuers, which are the most ordinary victuals which they haue, & with great store of wilde Fowle. They had eight or ten Kettels full of meate in the middest of the said Cabine, and they were set one from another some six paces, and each one vpon a seuerall fire. The men sat on both sides the house (as I said before) with his dish made of the barke of a tree: and when the meate is sodden, there is one which deuideth to euery man his part in the same dishes, wherein they feede very filthily, for when their hands be fattie, they rub them on their haire, or else on the haire of their dogs, whereof they haue store to hunt with. Before their meate was sodden, one of them rose vp, and took a dog, & danced about the said Kettels from the one end of the Cabin to the other: when he came before the great *Sagamo*, he cast his dog perforce vpon the ground, and then all of them with one voice, cried, ho, ho, ho, which being done, he went and sat him downe in his place; then immediately another rose vp and did the like, and so they continued vntill the meate was sodden. When they had ended their Feast, they began to dance, taking the heads of their enemies in their hands, which hanged vpon the wall behinde them; and in signe of ioy there is one or two which sing, moderating their voice by the measure of their hands, which they beate vpon their knees, then they rest sometimes, and cry, ho, ho, ho; and begin againe to dance, & blow like a man that is out of breath. They made this triumph for a victory which they had gotten of the *Irocois*, of whom they had slaine some hundred, whose heads they cut off, which they had with them for the ceremony. They were three Nations when they went to war, the *Estechemins*, *Algonmequins*, and *Mountainers*, to the number of a thousand, when they went to war against the *Irocois*, whom they encountred at the mouth of the Riuer of the said *Irocois*, and slew an hundred of them. The war which they make is altogether by surprises, for otherwise they would be out of hart; & they feare the said *Irocois* very much, which are in greater number then the said *Mountainers*, *Estechemins* and *Algonmequins*. The twenty eight day of the said moneth, they encamped themselues in the foresaid hauen of *Tadoussac*, where our Ship was; at the break of day their said great *Sagamo* came out of his Cabine, going round about all the other Cabins, and cried with a loud voice that they should dislodge to goe to *Tadoussac*, where their good friends were. Immediately euery man in a trice tooke down his cabin, and the said grand Captain, first began to take his canoe, & carried it to the Sea, where he embarked his wife and children, & store of furs; and in like manner did well neere two hundred canowes, which goe strangely; for though our Shallop was well manned, yet they went more swift then we. There are but two that row, the man and the wife. Their Canowes are some eight or nine pases long, and a pace, or a pace & a halfe broad in the middest, and grow sharper & sharper toward both the ends. They are very subiect to ouerturning, if one know not how to guide them; for they are made of the barke of a Birch tree, strengthned within with little circles of wood well & handsomely framed, and are so light, that one man will carry one of them easily; and euery Canowe is able to carry the weight of a Pipe: when they would passe ouer any land to goe to some Riuer where they haue busines, they carry them with them. Their Cabins are low, made like Tents, couered with the said barke of a tree, and they leaue in the roofe about a foot space vncouered, wherby the light commeth in; and they make many fires right in the midst of their Cabin, where they are sometimes ten housholds together. They lie vpon skins one by another, and their dogs with them. They were about a thousand persons, men, women and children. The place of the point of S. *Matthew*, where they were first lodged, is very pleasant; they were at the bottome of a little hill, which was ful of Fir & Cypresse trees: vpon this point there is a little leuel plot, which discouereth far off, & vpon the top of the said hill, there is a Plain, a league long, and halfe a league broad, couered with trees; the soile is very sandy, and is good pasture; all the rest is nothing but Mountains of very bad rocks: the Sea beateth round about the said hil, which is dry for a large halfe league at a low water.

The *Irocois* enemies to *Anadabijon*.

The Oration of *Anadabijon*.

A feast of the Sauages.

Orignac a Beast like an Oxe.

A victorie gotten of the *Irocois*.

Estechemins, *Algonmequins*, and *Mountainers*.

The Riuer of the *Irocois*.

The *Irocois* are in great number.

Two hundred Canowes.

The fashion of their Canowes

Their Cabins made like tents and couered with the barks of trees.

Cypresse trees

THe ninth day of Iune the Sauages began to make merrie together, and to make their feast, as I haue said before, and to dance for the aforesaid victory which they had obtained against their

Their triumphs humors, famin superstitions & rites. *Chap. 3.*

their enemies. After they had made good cheere, the *Algonmequins*, one of the three Nations, went out of their Cabins, and retired themselues apart into a publike place, and caused all their women and girles to sit downe in rankes one by the other, and stood themselues behinde, then singing all in one time, as I haue said before. And suddenly all the women and maidens began to cast off their Mantles of skins, and stripped themselues starke naked, shewing their priuities, neuertheless odorned with *Matachia*, which are paternosters and chaines enterlaced made of the haire of the Porkespicke, which they dye of diuers colours. After they had made an end of their songs, they cried all with one voyce, ho, ho, ho; at the same instant all the women and maidens couered themselues with their Mantels, for they lye at their feete, and rest a short while; and then eftsoones beginning againe to sing, they let fall their Mantels as they did before. They goe not out of one place when they dance, and make certaine gestures and motions of the body, first lifting vp one foote and then another, stamping vpon the ground. While they were dancing of this dance, the *Sagamo* of the *Algonmequins*, whose name was *Besouat*, sat before the said women and virgins, betweene two staues, whereon the heads of their enemies did hang. Sometimes he rose and made a speech, and said to the Mountainers and *Estechemins*; ye see how we reioyce for the victory which we haue obtained of our enemies, ye must doe the like, that we may be contented: then they all together cried, ho, ho, ho. Assoone as hee was returned to his place, the great *Sagamo*, and all his companions cast off their Mantels, being starke naked saue their priuities, which were couered with a little skin, and tooke each of them what they thought good, as Matachias, Hatchets, Swords, Kettels, Fat, Flesh of the Orignac, Seales, in briefe, euery one had a present, which they gaue the *Algonmequins*. After all these ceremonies the dance ceased, and the said *Algonmequins* both men and women carried away their presents to their lodgings. They chose out also two men of each Nation of the best disposition, which they caused to run, and he which was the swiftest in running had a present.

Matachia, or cordons of the haire of the Porke-pike.

Their manner of dancing.

Besouat the *Sagamo* of the *Algonmequins*.

All these people are of a very cheerefull complexion, they laugh for the most part, neuertheless they are somewhat melancholly. They speake very distinctly, as though they would make themselues well vnderstood, and they stay quickely bethinking themselues a great while, and then they begin their speech againe: they often vse this fashion in the middest of their Orations in counsaile, where there are none but the principals, which are the ancients: the women and children are not present. All these people sometimes endure so great extremity, that they are almost constrained to eate one another, through the great colds and snowes; for the Beasts and Fowles whereof they liue, retire themselues into more hot climates. I thinke if any would teach them how to liue, and to learne to till the ground, and other things, they would learne very well; for I assure you that many of them are of good iudgement, and answere very well to the purpose to any thing that a man shall demand of them. They haue one naughty qualitie in them, which is, that they are giuen to reuenge, and great lyars, a people to whom you must not giue too much credit, but with reason, and standing on your owne guard. They promise much and performe little. They are for the most part a people that haue no Law, as farre as I could see and enforme my selfe of the said great *Sagamo*, who told me, that they constantly beleeue, that there is one God, which hath made all things: And then I said vnto him, since they beleeue in one God onely, How is it that he sent them into this world, and from whence came they? he answered me, that after God had made all things, he tooke a number of Arrowes, and stucke them in the ground, from whence men and women grew, which haue multiplied in the world vntill this present, and had their originall on this fashion. I replied vnto him, that this which hee said was false; but that indeede there was one God onely, which had created all things in the earth, and in the heauens: seeing all these things so perfect, without any body to gouerne this world beneath, he tooke of the slime of the earth, & thereof made *Adam*, our first Father: As *Adam* slept, God tooke a rib of the side of *Adam*, & thereof made *Eue*, whom he gaue him for his companion; and that this was the truth that they and we had our originall after this manner, and not of Arrowes as they beleeued. He said nothing vnto me, saue, that he beleeued rather that which I said, then that which he told me. I asked him also, whether he beleeued not that there was any other but one God onely? He told me, that their beliefe was, That there was one God, one Sonne, one Mother, and the Sunne, which were foure; yet that God was aboue them all: but that the Son was good, and the Sunne in the firmament, because of the good that they receiued of them; but that the Mother was naught, and did eate them, and that the Father was not very good. I shewed him his errour according to our faith, wherein he gaue mee some small credit. I demanded of him, whether they had not seene, nor heard say of their ancestors, that God came into the world. He told me, that he had neuer seene him; but that in old time there were fiue men which went toward the Sunne setting, which met with God, who asked them, Whither goe ye? They said, we goe to seeke our liuing: God answered them, you shall finde it here. They went farther, without regarding what God had said vnto them: which tooke a stone, and touched two of them with it, which were turned into a stone: And hee said againe vnto the other three, Whither goe yee? and they answered as at the first: and God said to them againe, Goe no further, you shall finde it here. And seeing that nothing came vnto them, they went farther:

These Sauages endure great famine.

Their bad qualities.

The beliefe of the Sauages.

They beleeue one God, one Son, one Mother, and the Sunne.

ther: and God tooke two staues, and touched the two first therewith, which were turned into staues; and the fift staied and would goe no further: And God asked him againe, whither goest thou? I goe to seeke my liuing: stay and thou shalt finde it. He stayed without going any further, and God gaue him meate, and he did eate thereof; after he had well fed, hee returned with other Sauages, and told them all the former storie. He told them also, That another time there was a man which had store of Tobacco (which is a kinde of herbe, whereof they take the smoake.) And that God came to this man, and asked him where his Tobacco pipe was? The man tooke his Tobacco pipe and gaue it to God, which tooke Tobacco a great while: after hee had taken store of Tobacco, God broke the said pipe into many peeces: and the man asked him, why hast thou broken my pipe, and seest that I haue no more? And God tooke one which hee had, and gaue it him, and said vnto him; loe here I giue thee one, carry it to thy great *Sagamo*, and charge him to keepe it, and if he keepe it well he shall neuer want any thing, nor none of his companions. The said man tooke the Tobacco pipe, and gaue it to his great *Sagamo*, which as long as he kept, the Sauages wnnted nothing in the world. But after that the said *Sagamo* lost this Tobacco pipe, which was the occasion of great famine, which sometimes they haue among them. I asked him whither he beleeued all this? he said yea, and that it was true. This I beleeue is the cause wherefore they say that God is not very good. But I replied and told him, that God was wholly good; and that without doubt this was the Diuell that appeared to these men, and that if they would beleeue in God as we doe, they should not want any thing needefull. That the Sunne which they beheld, the Moone and the Starres were created by this great God, which hath made heauen and earth, and they haue no power but that which God hath giuen them. That we beleeue in this great God, who by his goodnesse hath sent vs his deare Sonne, which being conceiued by the holy Ghost, tooke humaine flesh in the Virginall wombe of the Virgin *Marie*, hauing bin thirty three yeares on the earth, working infinite miracles, raising vp the dead, healing the sicke, casting out Diuels, giuing sight to the blinde, teaching men the will of God his Father, to serue, honour, and worship him, did shed his bloud, and suffred death and passion for vs, and for our sinnes, and redeemed mankinde, and being buried, he rose againe, he descended into hell, and ascended into heauen, where he sitteth at the right hand of God his Father. That this the beleefe of all the *Christians*, which beleeue in the Father, the Sonne, and he holy Ghost, which neuertheless are not three Gods, but one onely, and one onely God, and one Trinitie, in the which none is before or after the other, none greater or lesse then another. That the Virgin *Mary* the Mother of the Sonne of God, and all men and women which haue liued in this world, doing the commandements of God, and suffring martyrdome for his name sake, and by the permission of God haue wrought miracles, and are Saints in heauen in his Paradise, doe all pray this great diuine Maiestie for vs, to pardon vs our faults and our sinnes which we doe against his Law and his Commandements: and so by the prayers of the Saints in heauen, and by our prayers which we make to his diuine Maiestie, he giueth that which we haue neede of, and the Diuell hath no power ouer vs, and can doe vs no harme: That if they had this beliefe, they should be as we are, and that the Diuell should be able to doe them no hurt, and should neuer want any thing necessary. Then the said *Sagamo* told me, that he approued that which I said. I asked him what ceremony they vsed in praying to their God? He told me, that they vsed none other ceremonies, but that euery one praied in his heart as he thought good: This is the cause why I beleeue they haue no law among them, neither doe they know how to worship or pray to God, and liue for the most part like brute beasts, and I thinke in short space they would be brought to be good *Christians*, if their Countrie were planted, which they desire for the most part.

Great famine sometimes among the Sauages.

Sauages which speake with the Diuell.

They haue among them certaine Sauages which they call *Pilotoua*, which speak visibly with the Diuell, which telleth them what they must doe, as well for the warre as for other things; and if he should command them to put any enterprise in execution, either to kill a *French* man, or any other of their Nation, they would immediately obey his commandement. Also they beleeue that all the dreames which they dreame are true: and indeede there are many of them, which say that they haue seene and dreamed things which doe happen or shall happen. But to speake truely of these things, they are visions of the Diuell, which doth deceiue and seduce them. Loe this is all their beliefe that I could learne of them, which is brutish and bestiall. All these people are well proportioned of their bodies, without any deformitie, they are well set, and the women are well shapen, fat and full, of a tawnie colour by abundance of a certaine painting wherewith they rubbe themselues, which maketh them to be of an Oliue colour. They are apparelled with skins, one part of their bodies is couered, and the other part vncouered; but in the winter they couer all, for they are clad with good Furres, namely with the skins of *Orignac*, Otters, Beuers, Lea-boores, Stagges, and Deere, whereof they haue store. In the winter when the Snowes are great, they make a kinde of racket which is twice or thrice as bigge as one of ours in *France*, which they fasten to their feete, and so goe on the Snow without sinking; for otherwise they could not hunt nor trauaile in many places. They haue also a kinde of Marriage, which is, that when a Maide is foureteene or fifteene yeares old, shee shall haue many seruants and friends, and she may haue carnall company with all those which she liketh, then after fiue

They paint themselues with an Oliue colour.

Their apparell of skins.

A deuice to go on the snow with a Racket.

The marriage of the Sauages.

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or six yeares, she may take which of them she will for her husband, and so they shall liue together all their life time, except that after they haue liued a certaine time together and haue no children, the man may forsake her and take another wife, saying that his old wife is nothing worth, so that the Maides are more free then the married Women. After they be married they be chaste, and their husbands for the most part are iealous, which giue presents to the Father or Parents of the Maide, which they haue married: loe this is the ceremonie and fashion which they vse in their marriages.

Their burials after the *Tartars* manner.

Touching their burials, when a man or woman dieth, they make a pit, wherein they put all the goods which they haue, as Kettels, Furres, Hatchets, Bowes and Arrowes, Apparell, and other things, and then they put the corps into the graue, and couer it with earth, and set store of great peeces of wood ouer it, and one stake they set vp on end, which they paint with red on the top. They beleeue the immortality of the Soule, and say that when they be dead they goe into other Countries to reioyce with their parents and friends.

They beleeue the immortality of the soule.

The Riuer of *Saguenay*, & his originall. *Chap* 4.

THe eleuenth day of Iune, I went some twelue or fifteene leagues vp *Saguenay*, which is a faire Riuer, and of incredible depth; for I beleeue, as farre as I could learne by conference whence it should come, that it is from a very high place, from whence there descendeth a fall of water with great impetuositie: but the water that proceedeth thereof is not able to make such a Riuer as this; which neuertheless holdeth not but from the said course of water (where the first fall is) vnto the Port of *Tadoussac*, which is the mouth of the said Riuer of *Saguenay*, in which space are fortie fiue or fiftie leagues, and it is a good league and a halfe broad at the most, and a quarter of a league where it is narrowest, which causeth a great currant of water. All the Countrie which I saw, was nothing but Mountaines, the most part of rockes couered with woods of Fir-trees, Cypresses, and Birch-trees, the soyle very vnpleasant, where I found not a league of plaine Countrey, neither on the one side nor on the other. There are certaine hils of Sand and Isles in the said Riuer, which are very high aboue the water. In fine, they are very Desarts voide of Beasts and Birds; for I assure you, as I went on hunting through places which seemed most pleasant vnto mee, I found nothing at all, but small Birds which are like Nightingales, and Swallowes, which come thither in the Summer; for at other times I thinke there are none, because of the excessiue cold which is there; this Riuer commeth from the North-west. They reported vnto me, that hauing passed the first fall, from whence the currant of water commeth, they passe eight other sants or fals, and then they trauaile one dayes iourney without finding any, then they passe ten other sants, and come into a Lake, which they passe in two dayes (euery day they trauaile at their ease, some twelue or fifteene leagues:) at the end of the Lake there are people lodged: then they enter into three other Riuers, three or foure dayes in each of them; at the end of which Riuers there are two or three kinde of Lakes, where the head of *Saguenay* beginneth: from the which head or spring, vnto the said Port of *Tadoussac*, is ten * dayes iournee with their Canowes. On the side of the said Riuers are many lodgings, whither other Nacions come from the North, to trucke with the said Mountainers, for skins of Beuers and Marterns, for other Merchandises, which the *French* Ships bring to the said Mountainers. The said Sauages of the North say, that they see a Sea, which is salt. I hold, if this be so, that it is some gulfe of this our Sea, which disgorgeth it selfe by the North part betwen the lands; and in very deede it can be nothing else. This is that which I haue learned of the Riuer of *Saguenay*.

A violent fall of water.

A Mountainous Country.

The report of the beginning of the Riuer of *Saguenay*.

A Lake two daies iournie long.

Three other Riuers.

Two or three Lakes, where in the head of *Saguenay* beginneth.

* That is, 120. leagues.

People of the North.

A salt sea.

ON Wednesday the eighteenth day of Iune, we departed from *Tadoussac*, to go to the *Sault*: we passed by an Ile, which is called the Ile *du lieure*, or the Ile of the *Hare*, which may be some two leagues from the Land on the North side, and some seuen leagues from the said *Tadoussac*, and fiue leagues from the South Coast. From the Ile of the *Hare* we ranged the North Coast about halfe a league, vnto a point that runneth into the Sea, where a man must keepe farther off.

Iourney to the fall and to certaine Ilands, arriual at *Quebec*. *Chap.* 5.

The Ile of the Hare.

The said point is within a league of the Ile, which is called the Ile *du Coudre*, or the Ile of *Filberds*, which may be some two leagues in length: And from the said Ile to the Land on the North side is a league. The said Ile is somewhat euen, and groweth sharpe toward both the ends; on the West end there are Medowes and Points of Rockes which stretch somewhat into the Riuer. The said Ile is somewhat pleasant, by reason of the Woods which enuiron the same. There is store of Slate, and the soyle is somewhat grauelly: at the end whereof there is a Rocke which stretcheth into the Sea about halfe a league. We passed to the North of the said Ile, which is distant from the Ile of the *Hare* twelue leagues.

The Ile of Filberds.

12. leagues.

The Thursday following we departed from thence, and anchored at a dangerous nooke on the North side, where there be certaine Medowes, and a little Riuer, where the *Sauages* lodge sometimes. The said day wee still ranged the Coast on the North, vnto a place where wee put backe by reasons of the winds which were contrary vnto vs, where there were many Rockes and places very dangeous: here we stayed three dayes waiting for faire weather. All this Coast is nothing but Mountaynes as well on the South side as on the North, the most part like the Coast of

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of the Riuer of *Saguenay*. On Sunday the two and twentieth of the said moneth wee departed to goe to the Ile of *Orleans*, in the way there are many Iles on the South shoare, which are low and couered with trees, shewing to be very pleasant, containing (as I was able to iudge) some two leagues, and one league, and another halfe a league. About these Iles are nothing but Rocks and Flats, very dangerous to passe, and they are distant some two leagues from the mayne Land on the South.

And from thence wee ranged the Ile of *Orleans* on the Southside: It is a league from the North shoare, very pleasant and leuell, containing eight leagues in length. The Coast on the South shoare is low land, some two leagues into the Countrey: the said lands begin to be low ouer against the said Ile, which beginneth two leagues from the South Coast: to passe by the North side is very dangerous for the bankes of Sand and Rockes, which are betweene the said Ile and the mayne Land, which is almost all dry at a low water. At the end of the said Ile I saw a fall of water, which fell from a great Mountaine, of the said Riuer of *Canada*, and on the top of the said Mountaine the ground is leuell and pleasant to behold, although within the said Countries a man may see high Mountaynes which may bee some twenty, or fiue and twenty leagues within the Lands, which are neere the first *Sault* of *Saguenay*. We anchored at *Quebec*, which is a Strait of the said Riuer of *Canada*, which is some three hundred paces broad: there is at this Strait on the North side a very high Mountayne, which falleth downe on both sides: all the rest is a leuell and goodly Countrey, where there are good grounds full of Trees, as Okes, Cypresses, Birches, Firre-trees and Aspes, and other Trees bearing fruit, and wild Vines: So that in mine opinion, if they were dressed, they would be as good as ours. There are along the Coast of the said *Quebec* Diamants in the Rockes of Slate, which are better then those of *Alonson*. From the said *Quebec* to the Ile of *Condre*, or *Filberds*, are nine and twenty leagues.

The Ile of Orleance.

Quebec.

Diamants.

29. leagues.

ON Munday the three and twentieth of the said moneth, we departed from *Quebec*, where the Riuer beginneth to grow broad sometimes one league, then a league and an halfe or two leagues at most. The Countrey groweth still fairer and fairer, and are all low grounds, without Rockes, or very few. The North Coast is full of Rockes and bankes of Sand: you must take the South side, about some halfe league from the shore. There are certaine small Riuers which are not nauigable, but only for the Canowes of the *Sauages*, wherein there be many fals. Wee anchored as high as Saint *Croix*, which is distant from *Quebec* fifteene leagues. This is a low point, which riseth vp on both sides. The Countrey is faire and leuell, and the soyles better then in any place that I haue seene, with plenty of wood, but very few Firre-trees and Cypresses. There are in these parts great store of Vines, Peares, small Nuts, Cheries, Goose-berries, red and greene, and certaine small Roots of the bignesse of a little Nut, resembling Musherooms in taste, which are very good roasted and sod. All this soyle is blacke, without any Rockes, saue that there is great store of Slate: The soyle is very soft, and if it were well manured it would yeeld great increase. On the Northside there is a Riuer which is called *Batiscan*, which goeth farre into the Countrey, whereby sometimes the *Algonmequins* come downe: and another on the same side three leagues from the said Saint *Croix*, in the way from *Quebec*, which is, that where *Iacques Quartier* was in the beginning of the Discouery which he made hereof, and hee passed no farther. The said Riuer pleasant, and goeth farre vp into the Countries. All this North Coast is very leuell and delectable.

Of the point of S. *Croix*, of the Riuer of *Batiscan*, of the Riuers, Rocks, Iles, Lands, Trees, Fruits, Vines, & faire Countries, which are from *Quebec* vnto *The 3. Riuers. Chap. 6.*

Saint *Croix*, 15. leagues.

Ground Nuts.

The Riuer *Batiscan*.

Another Riuer

On Tuesday the foure and twentieth of the said moneth, wee departed from the said Saint *Croix*, where we stayed a tyde and an halfe, that we might passe the next day following by day light, because of the great number of Rockes which are thwart the Riuer (a strange thing to behold) which is in a manner dry at a low water: But at halfe flood, a man may beginne to passe safely; yet you must take good heed, with the Lead alwayes in hand. The tyde floweth heere almost three fathomes and an halfe: the farther we went, the fairer was the Countrey. We went some fiue leagues and an halfe, and anchored on the North side. The Wednesday following wee departed from the said place, which is a flatter Countrey then that which we passed before, full of great store of Trees as that of Saint *Croix*. We passed hard by a little Ile, which was full of Vines, and came to an Anchor on the South side neere a little Hill: but beeing on the top thereof all is euen ground.

A goodly Countrie.

An Ile full of Vines.

There is another little Ile three leagues from Saint *Croix*, ioyning neere the South shore. Wee departed from the said Hill the Thursday following, and passed by a little Ile, which is neere the North shoare, where I saw sixe small Riuers, whereof two are able to beare Boats farre vp, and another is three hundred paces broad: there are certaine Ilands in the mouth of it; it goeth farre vp into the Countrey; it is the deepest of all the rest which are very pleasant to behold, the soyle being full of Trees which are like to Walnut-trees, and haue the same smell: but I saw no Fruit, which maketh me doubt: the *Sauages* told me that they beare Fruit like ours.

Sixe small Riuers.

The Ile S. *Eloy*.

In passing further we met an Ile, which is called Saint *Eloy*, and another little Ile, which is hard by the North shoare: we passed betweene the said Ile and the North shore, where betweene the one and the other are some hundred and fiftie paces. From the said Ile we passed a league and

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Another ſmall Riuer.

an halfe, on the South ſide neere vnto a Riuer, whereon Canowes might goe. All this Coaſt on the North ſide is very good, one may paſſe freely there, yet with the Lead in the hand, to auoid certaine points. All this Coaſt which we ranged is mouing Sand; but after you be entred a little into the Woods, the ſoile is good. The Friday following we departed from this Ile, coaſting ſtill the North ſide hard by the ſhoare, which is low and full of good Trees, and in great number as farre as the three Riuers, where it beginneth to haue another temperature of the ſeaſon, ſomewhat differing from that of Saint *Croix*: becauſe the Trees are there more forward then in any place that hitherto I had ſeene. From the three Riuers to Saint *Croix* are fifteene leagues. In this Riuer are ſixe Ilands, three of which are very ſmall, and the others ſome fiue or ſixe hundred paces long, very pleaſant and fertile, for the little quantitie of ground that they containe. There is one Iland in the middeſt of the ſaid Riuer, which looketh directly vpon the paſſage of the Riuer of *Canada*, and commandeth the other Ilands which lye further from the ſhoare, aſwell on the one ſide as on the other, of foure or fiue hundred paces: it riſeth on the South ſide, and falleth ſomewhat on the North ſide. This in my iudgement would be a very fit place to inhabit; and it might bee quickly fortified: for the ſituation is ſtrong of it ſelfe, and neere vnto a great Lake, which is aboue foure leagues diſtant, which is almoſt ioyned to the Riuer of *Saguenay*, by the report of the *Sauages*, which trauell almoſt an hundred leagues Northward, and paſſe many *Saults*, and then goe by Land ſome fiue or ſixe leagues, and enter into a Lake, whence the ſaid Riuer of *Saguenay* receiueth the beſt part of his Spring, and the ſaid *Sauages* come from the ſaid Lake to *Tadouſac*.

A better temperature, 15. leagues.

An Iland fit to be planted.

A great Lake. The head of *Saguenay* 106. leagues off.

Moreouer, the planting of *The three Riuers* would be a benefit for the liberty of certaine Nations, which dare not come that way for feare of the ſaid *Irocois* their enemies, which border vpon all the ſaid Riuer of *Canada*. But this place being inhabited, we might make the *Irocois* and the other *Sauages* friends, or at leaſt wiſe vnder the fauour of the ſaid Plantation, the ſaid *Sauages* might paſſe freely without feare or danger: becauſe the ſaid place of *The three Riuers* is a paſſage. All the ſoyle which I ſaw on the North ſhoare is ſandy. Wee went vp aboue a league into the ſaid Riuer, and could paſſe no further, by reaſon of the great current of water. We tooke a Boate to ſearch vp further, but we went not paſt a league, but we met a very Straite full of water, of ſome twelue paces, which cauſed vs that we could not paſſe no further. All the ground which I ſaw on the bankes of the ſaid Riuer riſeth more and more, and is full of Firre-trees and Cypreſſe Trees, and hath very few other Trees.

A great courſe of water.

ON the Saturday following, we departed from *The three Riuers*, and anchored at a Lake, which is foure leagues diſtant. All this Countrey from *The three Riuers* to the entrance of the ſaid Lake is low ground, euen with the water on the North ſide; and on the South ſide it is ſomewhat higher. The ſaid Countrey is exceeding good, and the moſt pleaſant that hitherto we had ſeene: the Woods are very thinne, ſo that a man may trauell eaſily through them. The next day being the nine and twentieth of Iune, we entred into the Lake, which is ſome fifteene leagues in length, and ſome ſeuen or eight leagues broad: At the entrance thereof on the South-ſide within a league there is a Riuer which is very great, and entreth into the Countrey ſome ſixtie or eightie leagues, and continuing along the ſame Coaſt, there is another little Riuer, which pierceth about two leagues into the Land, and commeth out of another ſmall Lake, which may containe ſome three or foure leagues. On the North ſide where the Land ſheweth very high, a man may ſee ſome twentie leagues off; but by little and little the Mountaynes begiane to fall toward the Weſt, as it were into a flat Countrey.

Great Lake deſcribed and Riuer of the *Irocois*. *Chap. 7.* The Lake of *Argoleſme*. 15. leagues.

A great Riuer. Another ſmall Riuer.

The *Sauages* ſay, that the greateſt part of theſe Mountaynes are bad ſoyle. The ſaid Lake hath ſome three fathoms water whereas we paſſed, which was almoſt in the middeſt: the length lieth Eaſt and Weſt, and the breadth from North to the South. I thinke it hath good fiſh in it, of ſuch kinds as we haue in our owne Countrey. Wee paſſed it the very ſame day, and anchored about two leagues within the great Riuer which goeth vp to the *Sault*: In the mouth whereof are thirtie ſmall Ilands, as farre as I could diſcerne; ſome of them are of two leagues, others a league and an halfe, & ſome leſſe, which are full of Walnut-trees, which are not much different from ours; and I thinke their Walnuts are good when they bee ripe: I ſaw many of them vnder the Trees, which were of two ſorts, the one ſmall, and the others as long as a mans Thumbe, but they were rotten. There are alſo ſtore of Vines vpon the bankes of the ſaid Ilands. But when the waters be great, the moſt part of them is couered with water. And this Countrey is yet better then any other which I had ſeene before.

Two leagues. 30. ſmall Ilands.

Wal-nuts of two ſorts. Store of Vines. Good Countries.

The Riuer of the *Irocois*. Their manner of fortification with ſtakes.

The laſt day of Iune wee departed from thence, and paſſed by the mouth of the Riuer of the *Irocois*; where the *Sauages* which came to make warre againſt them, were lodged and fortified. Their Fortreſſe was made with a number of poſts ſet very cloſe one to another, which ioyned on the one ſide on the banke of the great Riuer of *Canada*, and the other on the banke of the Riuer of the *Irocois*: and their Boates were ranged the one by the other neere the ſhoare, that they might flie away with ſpeed, if by chance they ſhould bee ſurpriſed by the *Irocois*. For their Fort is couered with the barke of Okes, and ſerueth them for nothing

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thing elſe, but to haue time to embarke themſelues. We went vp the Riuer of the *Irocois* ſome fiue or ſixe leagues, and could paſſe no farther with our Pinnaſſe, by reaſon of the great courſe of water which deſcendeth, and alſo becauſe we cannot goe on Land, and draw the Pinnaſſe for the multitude of Trees which are vpon the bankes.

Seeing we could not paſſe any further, we tooke our Skiffe, to ſee whether the current were more gentle, but going vp ſome two leagues, it was yet ſtronger, and wee could goe no higher. Being able to doe no more we returned to our Pinnaſſe. All this Riuer is ſome three hundred or foure hundred paces broad, and very wholſome. Wee ſaw fiue Ilands in it, diſtant one from the other a quarter or halfe a league, or a league at the moſt: one of which is a league long, which is the neereſt to the mouth, and the others are very ſmall. All theſe Countries are couered with Trees and low Lands, like thoſe which I had ſeene before; but here are more Firres and Cypreſſes then in other places. Neuertheleſſe, the ſoile is good, although it bee ſomewhat ſandy. This Riuer runneth in a manner South-weſt. The *Sauages* ſay, that ſome fifteene leagues from the place where we were vp the Riuer, there is a Sault which falleth downe from a very ſteepe place, where they carry their Canowes to paſſe the ſame ſome quarter of a league, and come into a Lake; at the mouth whereof, are three Ilands, and being within the ſame they meete with more Iles: This Lake may containe ſome fortie or fiftie leagues in length, and ſome fiue and twentie leagues in breadth, into which many Riuers fall, to the number of ten, which carrie Canowes very far vp. When they are come to the end of this Lake, there is another fall, and they enter againe into another Lake, which is as great as the former, at the head whereof the *Irocois* are lodged. They ſay moreouer, that there is a Riuer, which runneth vnto the Coaſt of *Florida*, whether it is from the ſaid laſt Lake ſome hundred, or an hundred and fortie leagues. All the Countrey of the *Irocois* is ſomewhat Mountaynous, yet notwithſtanding exceeding good, temperate, without much Winter, which is very ſhort there.

Fiue Ilands.

This Riuer runneth almoſt South-weſt.

A Lake ſome fortie or fiftie leagues long in the Countrey of the *Irocois*.

The goodneſſe and ſhort winter of the Countrey of the *Irocois*.

AFter our departure from the Riuer of the *Irocois*, wee anchored three leagues beyond the ſame, on the North ſide. All this Countrie is a lowe Land, repleniſhed with all ſorts of trees, which I haue ſpoken of before. The firſt day of Iuly we coaſted the North ſide, where the wood is very thinne, and more thinne then wee had ſeene in any place before, and all good land for tillage. I went in a Canoa to the South ſhoare, where I ſaw a number of Iles, which haue many fruitfull trees, as Vines, Wal-nuts, Haſel-nuts, and a kinde of fruit like Cheſt-nuts, Cheries, Oakes, Aſpe, Hoppes, Aſhe, Beech, Cypreſſes, very few Pines and Firre-trees. There are alſo other trees which I knew not, which are very pleaſant. Wee found there ſtore of Strawberries, Raſp-berries Gooſ-berries red, greene, and blue, with many ſmall fruits, which growe there among great abundance of graſſe. There are alſo many wilde beaſts, as Origmas, Stagges, Does, Buckes, Boares, Porkepickes, Conies, Foxes, Beuers, Otters, Muſke-rats, and certaine other kindes of beaſts which I doe not knowe, which are good to eate, and whereof the Sauages liue. Wee paſſed by an Ile, which is very pleaſant, and containeth ſome foure leagues in length, and halfe a league in breadth. I ſaw toward the South two high Mountaines, which ſhewed ſome twentie leagues within the Land. The Sauages told mee, that here beganne the firſt fall of the foreſaid Riuer of the *Irocois*. The Wedneſday following wee departed from this place, and ſayled ſome fiue or ſixe leagues. Wee ſaw many Ilands: the Land is there very lowe, and theſe Iles are couered with trees, as thoſe of the Riuer of the *Irocois* were.

Their arriual at the Sault or Fall of the Riuer of *Canada*, the deſcription thereof. *Cha.* 8.

Fruitfull Trees of many ſorts.

Origmas are before ſaid to bee like oxen, perhaps Buffes. *Leſcarbot*, that *Origmas* are *Ellans*.

Wild beaſts.

A pleaſant Ile.

Many Ilands.

The day following, being the third of Iuly, we ranne certaine leagues, and paſſed likewiſe by many other Ilands, which are excellent good and pleaſant, through the great ſtore of Medowes which are thereabout, as well on the ſhoare of the maine Land, as of the other Ilands: and all the Woods are of very ſmall growth, in compariſon of thoſe which wee had paſſed. At length we came this very day to the entrance of the Sault or Fall of the great Riuer of *Canada*, with fauourable wind; and wee met with an Ile, which is almoſt in the middeſt of the ſaid entrance, which is a quarter of a league long, and paſſed on the South ſide of the ſaid Ile, where there was not paſt three, foure or fiue foot water, and ſometimes a fathome or two, and ſtraight on the ſudden wee found againe not paſt three or foure foot. There are many Rockes, and ſmall Ilands, whereon there is no wood, and they are euen with the water. From the beginning of the foreſaid Ile, which is in the middeſt of the ſaid entrance, the water beginneth to runne with a great force. Although we had the wind very good, yet wee could not with all our might make any great way: neuertheleſſe wee paſſed the ſaid Ile which is at the entrance of the Sault or Fall. When wee perceiued that wee could goe no further, wee came to an anchor on the North ſhoare ouer againſt a ſmall Iland, which aboundeth for the moſt part with thoſe kinde of fruits which I haue ſpoken of before. Without all delay wee made ready our skiffe, which wee had made of purpoſe to paſſe the ſaid Sault: whereinto the ſaid *Monſieur de Pont* and my ſelfe entred, with certaine Sauages, which we had brought with vs to ſhew vs the way. Departing from our Pinnace, we were ſcarſe gone three hundred paces, but we were forced to come out, and cauſe certain Mariners to goe into the water to free our Skiffe. The Canoa of the Sauages paſſed eaſily. Wee met with an infinite number of ſmall Rockes, which were euen with the water, on which wee touched oftentimes.

Iuly 3.

Many more Ilands.

The entrance of the Sault or Fall.

An Ile.

A great current of water.

Monſieur du Pont and *Monſieur du Champlaine* ſearch the Sault.

There

Two great Ilands.

There be two great Ilands, one on the North side, which containeth some fifteene leagues in length, and almost as much in breadth, beginning some twelue leagues vp within the Riuer of *Canada*, going toward the Riuer of the *Irocois*, and endeth beyond the Sault. The Iland which is on the South side is some foure leagues long, and some halfe league broad. There is also another Iland, which is neere to that on the North side, which may bee some halfe league long, and some quarter broad: and another small Iland which is betweene that on the North side, and another neerer to the South shoare, whereby wee passed the entrance of the Sault. This entrance being passed, there is a kinde of Lake, wherein all these Ilands are, some fiue leagues long and almost as broad, whereun are many small Ilands which are Rockes. There is a Mountaine neere the said Sault, which discouereth farre into the Countrie, and a little Riuer which falleth from the said Mountaine into the Lake. On the South side are some three or foure Mountaines, which seeme to be about fifteene or sixteene leagues within the Land. There are also two Riuers; one, which goeth to the first Lake of the Riuer of the *Irocois*, by which sometimes the *Algoumequins* inuade them: and another which is neere vnto the Sault, which runneth not farre into the Countrey.

A kind of Lake some 5. leagues long.

3. or 4. Mountaines on the South side.

Two Riuers.

The furie of the fall of waters.

The Sault a league broad.

At our comming neere to the said Sault with our Skiffe and Canoa, I assure you, I neuer saw any streame of water to fall downe with such force as this doth; although it bee not very high, being not in some places past one or two fathoms, and at the most three: it falleth as it were steppe by steppe: and in euery place where it hath some small heigth, it maketh a strong boyling with the force and strength of the running of the water. In the breadth of the said Sault, which may containe some league, there are many broad Rockes, and almost in the middest, there are very narrow and long Ilands, where there is a Fall as well on the side of the said Iles which are toward the South, as on the North side: where it is so dangerous, that it is not possible for any man to passe with any Boat, how small soeuer it be. We went on land through the Woods, to see the end of this Sault: where, after wee had trauelled a league, wee saw no more Rockes nor Falls: but the water runneth there so swiftly as it is possible: and this current lasteth for three or foure leagues: so that it is in vaine to imagine, that a man is able to passe the said Saults with any Boats. But he that would passe them, must fit himselfe with the Canoas of the Sauages, which one man may easily carrie. For to carrie Boats is a thing which cannot be done in so short time as it should bee, to bee able to returne into *France*, vnlesse a man would winter there. And beside this first Sault, there are ten Saults more, the most part hard to passe. So that it would be a matter of great paines and trauell to bee able to see and doe that by Boat which a man might promise himselfe, without great cost and charge, and also to bee in danger to trauell in vaine. But with the Canoas of the Sauages a man may trauell freely and readily into all Countries, as well in the small as in the great Riuers: So that directing himselfe by the meanes of the said Sauages and their Canoas, a man may see all that is to be seene, good and bad, within the space of a yeere or two. That little way which wee trauelled by Land on the side of the said Sault, is a very thinne Wood, through which men with their Armes may march easily, without any trouble; the aire is there more gentle and temperate, and the soyle better then in any place that I had seene, where is store of such wood and fruits, as are in all other places before mentioned: and it is in the latitude of 45. degrees and certaine minutes.

The swift current of the water aboue the Fall.

Ten Saults more.

Temperate aire, and good soyle.

The Sault is in 45. degrees and certaine minutes.

When we saw that we could doe no more, we returned to our Pinnace; where we examined the Sauages which we had with vs, of the end of the Riuer, which I caused them to draw with their hand, and from what part the Head thereof came. They told vs, that beyond the first Sault that we had seene, they trauelled some ten or fifteene leagues with their Canoas in the Riuer, where there is a Riuer which runneth to the dwelling of the *Algoumequins*, which are some sixty leagues distant from the great Riuer; and then they passed fiue Saults, which may containe from the first to the last eight leagues, whereof there are two where they carrie their Canoas to passe them: euery Sault may containe halfe a quarter or a quarter of a league at the most. And then they come into a Lake, which may be fifteene or sixteene leagues long. From thence they enter againe into a Riuer which may be a league broad, and trauell some two leagues in the same; and then they enter into another Lake some foure or fiue leagues long: comming to the end thereof, they passe fiue other Saults, distant from the first to the last some fiue and twenty or thirty leagues; whereof there are three where they carrie their Canoas to passe them, and thorow the other two they doe but draw them in the water, because the current is not there so strong, nor so bad, as in the others. None of all these Saults is so hard to passe, as that which we saw. Then they come into a Lake, which may containe some eighty leagues in length, in which are many Ilands, and at the end of the same the water is brackish, and the Winter gentle. At the end of the said Lake they passe a Sault which is somewhat high, where little water descendeth: there they carrie their Canoas by land about a quarter of a league to passe this Sault. From thence they enter into another Lake, which may be some sixty leagues long, and that the water thereof is very brackish: at the end thereof they come vnto a Strait which is two leagues broad, and it goeth farre into the Countrie. They told vs, that they themselues had passed no farther; and that they had not seene the end of a Lake, which is within fifteene or sixteene leagues

A Riuer running 60. leags into the Countri of the *Algoumequins*.

A draught of the Sauages.

The first report of the Sauages touching the Head of the Riuer.

A Lake of 15. leagues.

Another Lake of 4. leagues.

Fiue other Saults.

A Lake of 80. leagues long.

Brackish water

* It seemeth hereby to trend southward.

The last Sault.

Another Lake 60. leagues long, very brackish.

A Strait of 2. leagues broad.

Another mightie Lake.

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leagues of the farthest place where themselues had beene, nor that they which told them of it, had knowne any man that had seene the end thereof, because it is so great that they would not hazard themselues to sayle farre into the same, for feare lest some storme or gust of winde should surprise them. They say that in the Summer the Sunne doth set to the North of the said Lake, and in the Winter it setteth as it were in the middest thereof: That the water is there exceeding salt, to wit, as salt as the Sea water. I asked them whether from the last Lake which they had seene, the water descended alwaies downe the Riuer comming to *Gaschepay*? They told me, no: but said, that from the third Lake onely it descended to *Gaschepay*: But that from the last Sault, which is somewhat high, as I haue said, the water was almost still; and that the said Lake might take his course by other Riuers, which passe within the Lands, either to the South, or to the North, whereof there are many that runne there, the end whereof they see not. Now, in my iudgement, if so many Riuers fall into this Lake, hauing so small a course at the said Sault, it must needs of necessitie fall out, that it must haue his issue forth by some exceeding great Riuer. But that which maketh me beleeue that there is no Riuer by which this Lake doth issue forth (considering the number of so many Riuers as fall into it) is this, that the Sauages haue not seene any Riuer, that runneth through the Countries, saue in the place where they were. Which maketh me beleeue that this is the South Sea, being salt as they say: Neuertheless we may not giue so much credit thereunto, but that it must bee done with apparent reasons, although there be some small shew thereof. And this assuredly is all that hitherto I haue seene and heard of the Sauages, touching that which we demanded of them.

The southerne situation of a great Lake.
The water as salt as sea water.
Many Riuers running south and north.
Hudsons Riuer may be one of these.
An exceeding great Riuer.
The south Sea.

WEe departed from the said Sault on Friday the fourth day of Iuly, and returned the same day to the Riuer of the *Irocois*. On Sunday the sixth of Iuly wee departed from thence, and anchored in the Lake. The Monday following wee anchored at the three Riuers. This day wee sayled some foure leagues beyond the said three Riuers. The Tuesday following we came to *Quebec*; and the next day wee were at the end of this Ile of *Orleans*, where the Sauages came to vs, which were lodged in the maine Land on the North side. Wee examined two or three *Algoumequins*, to see whether they would agree with those that wee had examined touching the end and the beginning of the said Riuer of *Canada*. They said, as they had drawne out the shape thereof, that hauing passed the Sault, which wee had seene, some two or three leagues, there goeth a Riuer into their dwelling, which is on the North side. So going on forward in the said great Riuer, they passe a Sault, where they carrie their Canoas, and they come to passe fiue other Saults, which may containe from the first to the last some nine or ten leagues, and that the said Saults are not hard to passe, and they doe but draw their Canoas in the most part of the said Saults or Falls, sauing at two, where they carrie them: from thence they enter into a Riuer, which is as it were a kinde of Lake, which may containe some sixe or seuen leagues: and then they passe fiue other Falls, where they draw their Canoas as in the first mentioned, sauing in two, where they carrie them as in the former: and that from the first to the last there are some twenty or fiue and twenty leagues. Then they come into a Lake containing some hundred and fifty leagues in length: and foure or fiue leagues within the entrance of that Lake there is a Riuer which goeth to the *Algoumequins* toward the North; and another Riuer which goeth to the *Irocois*, whereby the said *Algoumequins* and *Irocois* make warre the one against the other. Then comming to the end of the said Lake, they meete with another Fall, where they carrie their Canoas. From thence they enter into another exceeding great Lake, which may containe as much as the former: They haue beene but a very little way in this last Lake, and haue heard say, that at the end of the said Lake there is a Sea, the end whereof they haue not seene, neither haue heard that any haue seene it. But that where they haue beene, the water is not salt, because they haue not entred farre into it; and that the course of the water commeth from the Sun-setting toward the East; and they knowe not, whether beyond the Lake that they haue seene, there be any other course of water that goeth Westward. That the Sunne setteth on the right hand of this Lake: which is, according to my iudgement, at the North-west, little more or lesse; and that in the first great Lake the water freezeth not (which maketh mee iudge that the climate is there temperate) and that all the Territories of the *Algoumequins* are lowe grounds, furnished with small store of wood: And that the coast of the *Irocois* is Mountainous, neuertheless they are excellent good and fertile soyles, and better then they haue seene any where else: That the said *Irocois* reside some fifty or sixty leagues from the said great Lake. And this assuredly is all which they haue told mee that they haue seene: which differeth very little from the report of the first Sauages. This day wee came within some three leagues of the Ile of *Coudres* or *Filberds*.

Of *Canada*, and of the number of the Fals and Lakes which it passeth by. *Chap. 9.*
Iuly 4.
The Riuer of the *Irocois*.
Another report of the *Algoumequin* Sauages.
A Riuer or Lake 6. or 7. leagues long.
A Lake 150. leagues long.
A Riuer on the North side, going toward the *Algoumequins*.
A Riuer on the south side.
Another exceeding great Lake.
A Sea, the end whereof the Sauages neuer saw.
It seemeth to lie southward.
The Ile *Coudres*

On Thursday the tenth of the said moneth, wee came within a league and an halfe of the Ile *Du Lieure*, or Of the Hare, on the North side, where other Sauages came into our Pinnace, among whom there was a young man, an *Algoumequin*, which had trauelled much in the said great Lake. Wee examined him very particularly, as wee had done the other Sauages. Hee told vs, that hauing passed the said Fall which wee had seene, within two or three leagues there is a Riuer,

The Ile *Du Lieure*, or *Of the Hare*.
The third report, made by a great Trauceller.

Riuer, which goeth to the said *Algoumequins*, where they be lodged: and that passing vp the great Riuer of *Canada*, there are fiue Falls, which may containe from the first to the last some eight or nine leagues, whereof there bee three where they carrie their Canoas, and two others wherein they draw them: that each of the said Falls may be a quarter of a league long: then they come into a Lake, which may containe some fifteene leagues. Then they passe fiue other Falls, which may containe from the the first to the last some twenty or fiue and twenty leagues; where there are not past two of the said Falls which they passe with their Canoas, in the other three they doe but draw them. From thence they enter into an exceeding great Lake, which may containe some three hundred leagues in length: when they are passed some hundred leagues into the said Lake, they meet with an Iland, which is very great; and beyond the said Iland the water is brackish: But when they haue passed some hundred leagues farther, the water is yet salter: and comming to the end of the said Lake, the water is wholly salt. Farther he said, that there is a Fall that is a league broad, from whence an exceeding current of water descendeth into the said Lake. That after a man is passed this Fall, no more land can be seene neither on the one side nor on the other, but so great a Sea, that they neuer haue seene the end thereof, nor haue heard tell, that any other haue seene the same. That the Sunne setteth on the right hand of the said Lakes and that at the entrance thereof there is a Riuer which goeth to the *Algoumequins*, and another Riuer to the *Irocois*, whereby they warre the one against the other. That the Countrie of the *Irocois* is somewhat mountainous, yet very fertile, where there is store of *Indian* Wheat, and other fruits, which they haue not in their Countrie: That the Countrie of the *Algoumequins* is lowe and fruitfull. I enquired of them, whether they had any knowledge of any Mines? They told vs, that there is a Nation which are called, the good *Irocois*, which come to exchange for merchandises, which the *French* ships doe giue to the *Algoumequins*, which say, that there is toward the North a Mine of fine Copper, whereof they shewed vs certaine Bracelets, which they had receiued of the said Good *Irocois*: and that if any of vs would goe thither, they would bring them to the place, which should bee appointed for that businesse. And this is all which I could learne of the one and the other, differing but very little; saue that the second which were examined, said, that they had not tasted of the salt water: for they had not beene so farre within the said Lake, as the others: and they differ some small deale in the length of the way, the one sort making it more short, and the other more long. So that, according to their report, from the Sault or Fall where wee were, is the space of some foure hundred leagues vnto the Salt Sea, which may be the South Sea, the Sunne setting where they say it doth. On Friday the tenth of the said moneth we returned to *Tadoussac*, where our ship lay.

A Lake 15. leagues long.

An exceeding great Lake 300 leagues long.

A very great Iland.

Brackishwater.

More brackish water.

Whole salt water.

A great and maine Sea.

A Riuer which goeth to the *Algoumequins*.

A Mine of fine Copper.

Some 400. leagues from the first Sault to the South-sea.

Their Voyage from *Tadoussac* to the Ile *Percee*: of many Riuers, Lakes and Countries, wherein are found sundry sorts of Mines. *Chap.* 10.

AS soone as wee were come to *Tadoussac*, wee embarqued our selues againe to goe to *Gachepay*, which is distant from the said *Tadoussac* about some hundred leagues. The thirteenth day of the said moneth we met with a companie of Sauages, which were lodged on the South side, almost in the mid-way betweene *Tadoussac* and *Gachepay*. Their *Sagamo* or Captaine which led them is called *Armouchides*, which is held to be one of the wisest and most hardy among all the Sauages: Hee was going to *Tadoussac* to exchange Arrowes, and the flesh of Orignars, which they haue for Beauers and Marterns of the other Sauages, the Mountainers, *Estechemains*, and *Algoumequins*.

100. leagues from *Gachepay* to *Tadoussac*.

Armouchides Sagamo.

The description of the Port of *Gachepay*.

The Bay of *Cods*.

The Ile *Percee*.

The Ile *de Bonaduenture*.

The fifteenth day of the said moneth we came to *Gachepay*, which is in a Bay, about a league and a halfe on the North side. The said Bay containeth some seuen or eight leagues in length, and at the mouth thereof foure leagues in breadth. There is a Riuer which runneth some thirty leagues vp into the Countrie: Then we saw another Bay, which is called the Bay *des Molues*, or the Bay of *Cods*, which may be some three leagues long, and as much in bredth at the mouth. From thence we come to the Ile *Percee*, which is like a Rocke, very steepe, rising on both sides, wherein there is a hole, through which Shalops and Boats may passe at an high water: and at a lowe water one may goe from the maine Land to the said Ile, which is not past foure or fiue hundred paces off. Moreouer, there is another Iland in a manner South-east from the Ile *Percee* about a league, which is called the Ile *de Bonne-aduenture*, and it may bee some halfe a league long. All these places of *Gachepay*, the Bay of *Cods*, and the Ile *Percee*, are places where they make dry and greene Fish. When you are passed the Ile *Percee*, there is a Bay which is called they Bay of *Heate*, which runneth as it were West South-west, some foure and twenty leagues into the land, containing some fifteene leagues in breadth at the mouth thereof. The Sauages of *Canada* say, that vp the great Riuer of *Canada*, about some sixtie leagues, ranging the South coast, there is a small Riuer called *Mantanne*, which runneth some eighteene leagues vp into the Countreys and being at the head thereof, they carrie their Canowes about a league by land, and they come into the said Bay of *Heate*, by which they goe sometimes to the Isle *Percee*. Also they goe from the said Bay to *Tregate* and *Misamichy*. Running along the said coast we passe by many Riuers, and come to a place where there is a Riuer which is called *Souricona*, where Monsieur *Prouert* was to discouer a Mine of Copper. They goe with their Canowes vp this Riuer three or foure dayes, then they passe three or foure leagues by land, to the said Mine, which is

The Bay of *Heate*.

The Riuer of *Mantanne*. *Tregate* and *Misamichy*.

The Riuer *Souricona*.

A Mine of Copper.

hard

hard vpon the Sea ſhoare on the South ſide. At the mouth of the ſaid Riuer, there is an Iland lying a league into the Sea; from the ſaid Iſland vnto the Iſle *Perçee*, is ſome ſixtie or ſeuentie leagues. Still following the ſaid coaſt, which trendeth toward the Eaſt, you meete with a Strait, which is two leagues broad, and fiue and twenty leagues long. On the Eaſt ſide is an Iſle, which is called the Iſle of Saint *Lawrence*, where Cape *Breton* is; and in this place a Nation of Sauages, called the *Souricois*, doe winter.

An Iland.
A Strait betweene the Iles of Cape *Breton* and the maine Land.
Souricois.

Paſſing the Strait of the Iles of Saint *Lawrence*, and ranging the South-weſt Coaſt, you come to a Bay which ioyneth hard vpon the Myne of Copper. Paſſing farther there is a Riuer, which runneth threeſcore or foureſcore leagues into the Countrey, which reacheth neere to the Lake of the *Iroçois*, whereby the ſaid Sauages of the South-weſt Coaſt make warre vpon them. It would be an exceeding great benefit, if there might be found a paſſage on the Coaſt of *Florida* neere to the ſaid great Lake, where the water is ſalt; aſwell for the Nauigation of ſhips, which ſhould not bee ſubiect to ſo many perils as they are in *Canada*, as for the ſhortning of the way aboue three hundred leagues. And it is moſt certaine, that there are Riuers on the Coaſt of *Florida*, which are not yet diſcouered, which pierce vp into the Countries, where the ſoile is exceeding good and fertile, and very good Hauens. The Countrey and Coaſt of *Florida* may haue another temperature of the ſeaſon, and may bee more fertile in abundance of fruites and other things, then that which I haue ſeene: But it cannot haue more euen nor better ſayles, then thoſe which we haue ſeene.

A Riuer which runneth vp into the Land.
Great Riuers and good Hauens on the coaſt of *Florida* or *Virginia*.

The Sauages ſay, that in the foreſaid great Bay of *Hete* there is a Riuer, which runneth vp vp ſome twentie leagues into the Countrey, at the head whereof there is a Lake, which may be about twentie leagues in compaſſe, wherein is little ſtore of water, and the Summer it is dried vp, wherein they find, about a foot or a foot and an halfe vnder the ground a kind of Metall like to ſiluer, which I ſhewed them; and that in another place neere the ſaid Lake there is a Myne of Copper. And this is that which I learned of the foreſaid Sauages.

A Riuer.
A Lake twenty leagues in compaſſe.
A metall like Siluer.
A Mine of Copper.

WE departed from the Ile *Perçee* the nineteenth day of the ſaid moneth to returne to *Tadouſac*. When we were within three leagues of Cape *le Veſque*, or the Biſhops Cape, we were encountred with a ſtorme which laſted two dayes, which forced vs to put roomer with a great creeke, and to ſtay for faire weather. The day following we departed, and were encountred with another ſtorme: Being loth to put roome, and thinking to gaine way wee touched on the North ſhore the eight and twentieth day of Iuly in a creeke which is very bad, becauſe of the edges of Rockes which lie there. This creeke is in 51. degrees and certaine minutes. The next day we anchored neere a Riuer, which is called Saint *Margarites* Riuer, where at a full Sea is ſome three fathomes water, and a fathome and an halfe at a low water: this Riuer goeth farre vp into the Land. As farre as I could ſee within the Land on the Eaſt ſhoare, there is a fall of water which entreth into the ſaid Riuer, and falleth ſome fiftie or ſixtie fathomes downe, from whence commeth the greateſt part of the water which deſcendeth downe. At the mouth thereof there is a banke of Sand, whereon at the ebbe is but halfe a fathome water. All the Coaſt toward the Eaſt is mouing Sand: there is a point ſome halfe league from the ſaid Riuer, which ſtretcheth halfe a league into the Sea: and toward the Weſt there is a ſmall Iland: this place is in fiftie degrees. All theſe Countries are exceeding bad, full of Firre-trees. The Land here is ſomewhat high, but not ſo high as that on the South ſide. Some three leagues beyond we paſſed neere vnto another Riuer, which ſeemed to be very great, yet barred for the moſt part with Rockes: ſome eight leagues farther there is a Point which runneth a league and an halfe into the Sea, where there is not paſt a fathome and an halfe of water. When you are paſſed this Point, there is another about foure leagues off, where is water enough. All this Coaſt is low and ſandie. Foure leagues beyond this there is a creeke where a Riuer entreth: many ſhips may paſſe heere on the Weſt ſide: this is a low point, which runneth about a league into the Sea; you muſt runne along the Eaſterne ſhoare ſome three hundred paces to enter into the ſame. This is the beſt Hauen which is all along the North ſhoare; but it is very dangerous in going thither, becauſe of the flats and ſholds of ſand, which lye for the moſt part all along the ſhoare, almoſt two leagues into the Sea. About ſix leagues from thence, there is a Bay where there is an Iſle of ſand; all this Bay is very ſhallow, except on the Eaſt ſide, where it hath about foure fathoms water: within the channell which entreth into the ſaid Bay, ſome foure leagues vp, there is a faire creeke where a Riuer entreth. All this coaſt is low and ſandie, there deſcendeth a fall of water which is great. About fiue leagues farther is a Point which ſtretcheth about halfe a league into the Sea, where there is a creeke, and from the one point to the other are three leagues, but all are ſhoald, where is little water. About two leagues off, there is a ſtrand where there is a good hauen, and a ſmall Riuer, wherein are three Iſlands, and where Ships may harbour themſelues from the weather. Three leagues beyond this, is a ſandie point which runneth out about a league, at the end whereof there is a ſmall Iſlet. Going forward to *Leſquenim*, you meete with two little low Iſlands, and a little rocke neere the ſhoare: theſe ſaid Ilands are about halfe a league from *Leſquenim*, which is a very bad Port, compaſſed with rockes, and dry at a low water, and you muſt fetch about a little

Our returne from the Ile *Percee* to *Tadouſac*, with the deſcription of the Ile
Chap 11.
Creeks, Ports, Riuers, Iles, Rockes, Falls, Bayes, and Shoalds which are along the North coaſt.
The North ſhoare.
The Riuer of Saint *Margaret*
A ſandy coaſt.
Very bad Countries.
A point that runneth into the ſea.
A good Creeke, where many ſhips may ride.
A Bay.
A Creeke.
Two little low Ilands.
Leſquenim a very bad Port.

poins

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The Riuer where the *Baſks* kill the whales. Our arriuall at *Tadouſac* the 31 of Auguſt.

point of a rocke to enter in, where one Ship onely can paſſe at a time. A little higher there is a Riuer, which runneth a little way into the land. This is the place where the *Basks* kill the Whales; to ſay the truth, the hauen is ſtarke naught. Wee came from thence to the foreſaid hauen of *Tadouſac*, the third day of Auguſt. All theſe Countries before mentioned are low toward the ſhoare, and within the land very high. They are neither ſo pleaſant nor fruitfull as thoſe on the South, although they be lower. And this for a certaintie is all which I haue ſeene of this Northerne coaſt.

Of the *Armouchicois* Sauages and of their monſtrous ſhape. The diſcourſe of *Monſieur de Preuert* of Saint *Malo*, touching the diſcouerie of the South-weſt Coaſt. *Ch.* 12. The Ceremonies which they vſe before they go to the warres.

AT our comming to *Tadouſac*, we found the *Sauages* which wee met in the Riuer of the *Iroquois*, who met with three Canowes of the *Iroquois* in the firſt Lake, which fought againſt tenne others of the Mountayners; and they brought the heads of the *Iroquois* to *Tadouſac*, and there was but one Mountayner wounded in the arme with the ſhot of an Arrow, who dreaming of ſomething, all the other tenne muſt ſeeke to content him, thinking alſo that his wound thereby would mend if this *Sauage* die, his Parents will reuenge his death, either vpon their Nation or vpon others, or at leaſt wiſe the Captaines muſt giue Preſents to the Parents of the dead, to content them; otherwiſe as I haue ſaid, they would be reuenged: which is a great fault among them. Before the ſaid Mountayners ſet forth to the Warre, they aſſembled all, with their richeſt apparell of Furres, Beauers, and other Skinnes adorned with *Pater-noſters* and Chaines of diuers colours, and aſſembled in a great publike place, where there was before them a *Sagamo* whoſe name was *Begourat*, which led them to the Warre, and they marched one behind another, with their Bowes and Arrowes, Maſes and Targets, wherewith they furniſh themſelues to fight: and they went leaping one after another, in making many geſtures of their bodies, they made many turnings like a Snaile: afterward they began to dance after their accuſtomed manner, as I haue ſaid before: then they made their Feaſt, and after they had ended it, the women ſtripped themſelues ſtarke naked, being decked with their faireſt Cordons, and went into their Canowes thus naked and there danced, and then they went into the water, and ſtrooke at one another with their Oares, and beate water one vpon another: yet they did no hurt, for they warded the blowes which they ſtrooke one at the other. After they had ended all theſe Ceremonies, they retired themſelues into their Cabines, and the *Sauages* went to warre againſt the *Iroquois*.

Their departure from *Tadouſac* *Armouchicois* deformed Sauages.

The ſixt day of Auguſt we departed from *Tadouſac*, and the eighteenth of the ſaid moneth we arriued at the Ile *Perçee*, where wee found *Monſieur Preuert* of Saint *Malo*, which came from the Myne, where he had beene with much trouble, for the feare which the *Sauages* had to meet with their enemies, which are the *Armouchicois*, which are *Sauages* very monſtrous, for the ſhape that they haue. For their head is little, and their body ſhort, their armes ſmall like a bone, and their thigh like; their legges great and long, which are all of one proportion, and when they ſit vpon their heeles, their knees are higher by halfe a foot then their head, which is a ſtrange thing, and they ſeeme to be out of the courſe of Nature. Neuertheleſſe, they be very valiant and reſolute, and are planted in the beſt Countries of all the South Coaſt: And the *Souricois* do greatly feare them. But by the incouragement which the ſaid *Monſieur de Preuert* gaue them, hee brought them to the ſaid Myne, to which the *Sauages* guided him. It is a very high Mountaine, riſing ſomewhat ouer the Sea, which gliſtereth very much againſt the Sunne, and there is great ſtore of Verde-greaſe iſſuing out of the ſaid Myne of Copper. He ſaith, that at the foot of the ſaid Mountayne, at a low water there were many morſels of Copper, as was otherwiſe declared vnto vs, which fall downe from the top of the Mountaine. Paſſing three or foure leagues further toward the South, there is another Myne, and a ſmall Riuer which runneth a little way vp into the Land, running toward the South, where there is a Mountaine, which is of a blacke painting, wherewith the *Sauages* paint themſelues: Some ſixe leagues beyond the ſecond Myne, toward the Sea, about a league from the South Coaſt, there is an Ile, wherein is found another kind of Metall, which is like a darke browne: if you cut it, it is white, which they vſed in old time for their Arrowes and Kniues, and did beate it with ſtones. Which maketh me beleeue that it is not Tinne, nor Lead, being ſo hard as it is; and hauing ſhewed them ſiluer, they ſaid that the Myne of that Ile was like vnto it, which they found in the earth, about a foot or two deepe. The ſaid *Monſieur Preuert* gaue the *Sauages* Wedges and Cizers, and other things neceſſarie to draw out the ſaid Myne; which they haue promiſed to doe, and to bring the ſame the next yeere, and giue it the ſaid *Monſieur Preuert*. They ſay alſo that within ſome hundred or one hundred and twentie leagues there are other Mynes, but that they dare not goe thither vnleſſe they haue *Frenchmen* with them to make warre vpon their enemies, which haue the ſaid Mynes in their poſſeſſion. The ſaid place where the Myne is, ſtandeth in 44. degrees and ſome few minutes, neere the South Coaſt within fiue or ſixe leagues: it is a kind of Bay, which is certaine leagues broad at the mouth thereof, and ſomewhat more in length, where are three Riuers, which fall into the great Bay neere vnto the Ile of Saint *Iohn*, which is thirtie or fiue and thirtie leagues long, and is ſixe leagues diſtant from the South ſhoare. There is alſo another little Riuer, which falleth almoſt in the mid way of that whereby *Monſieur Preuert* returned, and there are as it were two kind of Lakes in the ſaid Riuer. Furthermore, there is yet another ſmall Riuer which goeth

The Relation of the Copper Myne on the South Coaſt.

Another Mine

Blacke painting.

An Ile wherein another kind of Metall is found, which is white being cut.

Other Mynes. The deſcription of the place where the ſaid Myne is.

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goeth toward the Mountaine of the painting. All these Riuers fall into the said Bay on the South-east part, neere about the said Ile which the *Sauages* say there is of this white Metall. On the North side of the said Bay are the Mynes of Copper, where there is a good Hauen for ships, and a small Hand at the mouth of the Hauen; the ground is Oze and Sand, where a man may run his ship on shoare. From the said Myne to the beginning of the mouth of the said Riuers is some sixtie or eightie leagues by Land. But by the Sea Coast, according to my iudgement, from the passage of the Ile of Saint *Lawrence* and the *Firme Land*, it cannot be past fiftie or sixtie leagues to the said Myne. All this Countrey is exceeding faire and flat, wherein are all sorts of trees, which wee saw as wee went to the first Sault vp the great Riuer of *Canada*, very small store of Firre-trees and Cypresses. And this of a truth is as much as I learned and heard of the said *Monsieur Preuert*.

A good Hauen at the Copper Mynes.

BEfore we departed from *Tadoussac*, to returne into *France*, one of the *Sagamos* of the Mountayners named *Bechouras*, gaue his Sonne to *Monsieur du Pont* to carrie him into *France*, and he was much recommended vnto him by the Great *Sagamo Anadabijou*, praying him to vse him well, and to let him see that, which the other two *Sauages* had seene which we had brought backe againe. We prayed them to giue vs a woman of the *Irocois*, whom they would haue eaten: whom they gaue vnto vs, and we brought her home with the foresaid *Sauage*. *Monsieur de Preuert* in like manner brought home foure *Sauages*, one man which is of the South Coast, one woman and two children of the *Canadians*.

Their returne. *Chap.13.*

The foure and twentieth of August, we departed from *Gachepay*, the ship of the said *Monsieur Preuert* and ours. The second of September, we counted that wee were as farre as Cape *Rase*. The fift day of the said moneth we entred vpon the Banke, whereon they vse to fish. The sixteenth, we were come into the Sounding, which may be some fiftie leagues distant from the *Vshant*. The twentieth of the said moneth we arriued in *New Hauen* by the grace of God to all our contentments, with a continuall fauourable wind.

Cape *Rase*. The Banke. The soundings *Vshant*.

CHAP. VII.

The Patent of the French *King to* Monsieur de MONTS *for the inhabiting of the Countries of* La Cadia Canada, *and other places in New* France.

HEnry *by the grace of God King of* France *and* Nauarre. *To our deare and well beloued the Lord of* Monts, *one of the ordinarie Gentlemen of our Chamber, greeting. As our greatest care and labour is, and hath alwayes beene, since our comming to this Crowne, maintaine and conserue it in the ancient dignitie, greatnesse and splendour thereof, to extend and amplifie, as much as lawfully may bee done, the bounds and limits of the same. We being, of a long time, informed of the situation and condition of the Lands and Territories of* La Cadia, *moued aboue all things, with a singular zeale, and deuout and constant resolution, which we haue taken, with the helpe and assistance of God, Author, Distributour, and Protectour of all Kingdomes and Estates, to cause the people, which doe inhabit the Countrey, men (at this present time) Barbarous, Atheists, without Faith, or Religion, to be conuerted to Christianitie, and to the Beliefe and Profession of our Faith and Religion: and to draw them from the ignorance and vnbeliefe wherein they are. Hauing also of a long time knowne by the Relation of the Sea Captaines, Pilots, Merchants and others, who of long time haue haunted, frequented and trafficked with the people that are found in the said places, how fruitfull, commodious and profitable may be vnto vs, to our Estates and Subiects, the Dwelling, Possession, and Habitation of these Countries, for the great and apparent profit which may be drawne by the greater frequentation and habitude which may bee had with the people that are found there, and the Trafficke and Commerce which may be, by that meanes safely treated and negotiated. We then for these causes fully trusting on your great wisdome, and in the knowledge and experience that you haue of the qualitie, condition and situation of the said Countrie of* La Cadia: *for diuers and sundry Nauigations, Voyages and Frequentations that you haue made into these parts, and others neere and bordering vpon it: Assuring our selues that this our resolution and intention, being committed vnto you, you will attentiuely, diligently, and no lesse courageously and valorously execute and bring to such perfection as we desire: Haue expresly appointed and established you, and by these Presents, signed with our owne hands, doe commit, ordaine, make, constitute and establish you, our Lieutenant Generall, for to represent our person, in the Countries, Territories, Coasts and Confines of* La Cadia. *To begin from the 40. degree vnto the 46. And in the same distance, or part of it, as farre as may bee done, to establish, extend and make to be knowne our Name, Might and Authoritie. And vnder the same to subiect, submit and bring to obedience all the people of the said Land and the Borderers thereof: And by the meanes thereof, and all lawfull wayes, to call, make, instruct, prouoke and incite them to the knowledge of God, and to the*

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light of the Faith and Christian Religion, to establish it there: And in the exercise and profession of the same, keepe and conserue the said people, and all other Inhabitants in the said places, and there to command in peace, rest and tranquillitie, as well by Sea as by Land: to ordaine, decide, and cause to bee executed all that which you shall iudge fit and necessarie to be done, for to maintaine, keepe and conserue the said places vnder our Power and Authoritie, by the formes, wayes and meanes prescribed by our Lawes. And for to haue there a care of the same with you, to appoint, establish, and constitute all Officers, as well in the affaires of Warre, as for Iustice and Policie, for the first time, and from thence forward to name and present them vnto vs: for to be disposed by vs, and to giue Letters, Titles, and such Prouisoes as shall be necessarie, &c.

Giuen at Fountain-Bleau *the eight day of November: in the yeere our Lord* 1603. *And of our Reigne the fifteenth. Signed* Henry: *and vnderneath by the King,* Potier; *And sealed vpon single label with yellow Waxe.*

The Voyage of Monsieur de MONTS *into New* France, *written by* MARKE LESCARBOT.

The rest of this Patent is here for breuitie omitted: with the Prouisoes, &c. And let not *Englishmen* feare want of roome for *French* Plantations or *Sauage* habitations; these being very thin, the other scarse worthy the name of being, or plantation, hauing so many interruptions, and more frequented by the *French* in way of Trade with *Sauages* then otherwise. I haue omitted many digressions and discourses of the Authour; only for knowledge of those parts, presenting the briefe summe of his most ample Worke. His Map but for cost, I would haue here added. I haue diuers by me which I take more exact, I am sure with many many particulers wanting in his. And both his Mappe and Discourse shew that the *French* discouered not so neere *Virginia*, as *Hudsons* Riuer; and that the *French* Plantations haue beene more Northerly farre, then our Northerne *Virginia*, and to the Southerne, not a shadow in comparison of costs and numbers.

Monsieur de Monts hauing made the Commissions and Prohibitions before said, to bee proclaimed thorow the Realme of *France*, and especially thorow the Ports and maritime Townes thereof, caused two shippes to bee rigged and furnished, the one vnder the conduct of Captaine *Timothy* of *New-hauen*, the other of Captaine *Morell* of *Honfleur*. In the first, hee shipped himselfe, with good number of men of account, as well Gentlemen as others. And for as much as *Monsieur de Poutrincourt* was, and had beene of a long time, desirous to see those Countries of *New France*, and there to finde out and choose some fit place to retire himselfe into, with his Family, Wife and Children, not meaning to be the last that should follow and participate in the glorie of so faire and generous an enterprize, would needs goe thither, and shipped himselfe with the said *Monsieur de Monts*, carrying with him some quantitie of Armours and Munitions of Warre; and so weighed Anchors from *New-hauen* the seuenth day of March 1604. But being departed somewhat too soone, before the Winter had yet left off her frozen Weed, they found store of Icie bankes, against the which they were in danger to strike, and so to be cast away.

The Voyage was long by reason of contrarie winds, which seldome hapneth to them that set out in March for the *New-found-lands*, which are ordinarily carried with an East or Northerne winde, fit to goe to those Lands. And hauing taken their course to the South of the Ile of *Sand* or *Sablon*, or Sand, for to shunne the said Ices, they almost fell from *Caribdis* into *Scylla*, going to strike towards the said Ile, during the thicke mists that are frequent in that Sea. In the end, the sixt of May they came to a certaine Port, where they found Captaine *Rossignol* of *New-hauen*, who did trucke for skinnes with the Sauages, contrary to the Kings Inhibitions, which was the cause that his ship was confiscated. This Port was called *Le Port du Rossignol*, hauing (in this his hard fortune) this onely good, that a good and fit Harborough or Port, in those Coasts beareth his name.

From thence coasting and discouering the Lands, they arriued at another Port, very faire, which they named *Le Port de Moutton*, by reason that a Mutton or Weather hauing leaped ouer-board and drowned himselfe came aboard againe, and was taken and eaten as good prize. Neere the said *Moutton* Port there is a place so repleniſhed with Rabbets and Conies, that they almost did eate nothing else. During that time *Monsieur Champlein* was sent with a shallop to seeke farther off a fitter place to retire themselues, at which Exploit he tarried so long, that deliberating vpon the returne, they thought to leaue him behind: for there was no more victuals: and they serued themselues with that, that was found in the said *Rossignols* ship, without which they had beene forced to returne into *France*, and so to breake a faire enterprize at the very birth and beginning thereof; or to starue, hauing ended the hunting of Conies, which could not still continue.

All New *France* in the end being contained in two ships, they weighed Anchors from Port *du Moutton*, for to imploy their time, and to discouer Lands as much as might before Winter. Wee came to *Cape de Sable*, or the *Sandie* Cape; and from thence we sailed to the Bay of Saint *Marie*, where our men lay at Anchor fifteene dayes, whilest the Lands and passages as well by Sea as by Riuer might be descried and knowne. This Bay is a very faire place to inhabit, because that one is readily carried thither without doubling. There are Mynes of Iron and Siluer; but in no great abundance, according to the triall made thereof in *France*. A Priest losing his way in the Woods was missing sixteene dayes. Whereupon a Protestant was charged to haue killed him be-

cause

cause they quarrelled sometimes for matters of Religion. Finally, they sounded a Trumpet thorow the Forrest, they shot off the Canon diuers times, but in vaine: for the roaring of the Sea, stronger then all that, did expell backe the sound of the said Canons and Trumpets. Two, three and foure dayes passed he appeareth not. In the meane while the time hastens to depart, so hauing tarried so long that hee was then held for dead, they weighed Anchors to goe further, and to see the depth of a Bay that hath some fortie leagues length, and fourteene (yea eighteene) of breadth, which was named *La Baye Francoise*, or the *French* Bay. *Lay Baye Francoise.*

In this Bay is the passage to come into a Port, whereinto our men entred, and made some abode, during the which they had the pleasure to hunt an Ellan, or Stagge, that crossed a great Lake of the Sea, which maketh this Port, and did swimme but easily. This Port is enuironed with Mountaines on the North side: Towards the South bee small Hills, which (with the said Mountaines) doe powre out a thousand Brookes, which make that place pleasanter then any other place in the World: there are very faire falles of waters, fit to make Milles of all sorts. At the East is a Riuer betweene the said Mountaines and Hilles, in the shippes may saile fifteene leagues and more, and in all this distance is nothing of both sides the Riuer but faire Medowes, which Riuer was named *L'Equille*, because that the first fish taken therein was an *Equille*. But the said Port, for the beautie thereof was called Port *Royall*. *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* hauing found this place to bee to his liking demanded it, with the Lands thereunto adioyning, of *Monsieur de Mons*: to whom the King had by Commission, before inserted, granted the distribution of the Lands of New *France* from the fortieth degree to the sixe and fortieth. Which place was granted to the said *Monsieur de Pontrincourt*, who since hath had Letters of confirmation for the same of his Maiestie, intending to retire himselfe thither with his Family, and there to establish the *Christian* and *French* Name, as much as his power shall stretch, and God grant him the meanes to accomplish it. The Port contayneth eight leagues of circuit, besides the Riuer of *L'Equille*. There is within it two Iles very faire and pleasant: the one at the mouth of the said Riuer, which I deeme to bee of the greatnesse of the Citie of *Beauuais*: The other at the side of the mouth of another Riuer, as broad as the Riuer of *Oise*, or *Marne*, entring within the said Port: The said Ile being almost of the greatnesse of the other: and they both are wooddie. In this Port, and right ouer against the former Ile, wee dwelt three yeeres after this Voyage. We will speake thereof more at large hereafter. The Riuer of *L'Equille*. Port *Royall*.

From Port *Royall* they sailed to the Copper Myne, whereof wee haue spoken before elsewhere. It is a high Rocke betweene two Bayes of the Sea, wherein the Copper is conioyned with the stone, very faire and very pure, such as is that which is called *Rosette Copper*. Many Gold-smithes haue seene of it in *France*, which doe say that vnder the Copper Myne there might bee a Golden Myne: which is very probable. For if those excrements that Nature expelleth forth be so pure, namely, small pieces that are found vpon the grauell at the foote of the Rocke, when it is low water, there is no doubt that the Metall which is in the bowels of the earth is much more perfect, but this is a Worke that requireth time. The first myning and working is to haue Bread, Wine and Cattle, as we haue said elsewhere. Our felicitie consisteth not in Mynes, specially of Gold and Siluer, the which serue for nothing in the tillage of the ground, nor to Handicrafts vse. Contrariwise, the abundance of them is but a charge and burthen, that keepeth man in perpetuall vnquiet, and the more he hath thereof, the lesse rest enioyeth he, and his life lesser assured vnto him. A Copper Myne. In the 28. and 29. Chap. of the second Booke of the whole Volume vntranslated. Things first to be prouided in new plantation.

Before the Voyages of *Perou* great riches might haue beene set vp in a small place, in stead that in this our age by the abundance of Gold and siluer the same is come at no value nor esteeme. One hath need of huge Chests and Coffers to put in that, which a small Budget might haue contained. One might haue trauelled with a Purse in ones sleeue, and now a Cloke-bagge and a Horse must expressly be had for that purpose. Wee may iustly curse the houre that greedie Auarice did carrie the *Spaniard* into the West, for the wofull euents that haue ensued thereof. For when I consider that by his greedinesse he hath kindled and maintayned the Warre thorow all Christendome, and his onely studie hath beene how to destroy his Neighbours (and not the *Turke*) I cannot thinke that any other but the Deuill hath beene the Authour of their Voyages. And let not the pretence of Religion be alleaged vnto mee: for (as wee haue said elsewhere) they haue killed all the of-spring of the Countrey with the most inhumane torments that the Deuill hath beene able to excogitate. And by their cruelties haue rendred the Name of God odious, and a name of offence to those poore people, and haue continually and daily blasphemed him in the midst of the *Gentiles* as the Prophet reprocheth to the people of *Israel*. Witnesse him that had rather bee damned, then goe to the Paradise of the *Spaniards*, *&c.* Note. This *French* Author was a *Romish* Catholike, which yet speakes thus freely of the *Spaniards*. *Esay* 52. *vers.* 5. *Hathuey.* see *sup. Casas.*

Among these Copper Rockes there is found sometimes small Rockes couered with Diamonds fixed to them. I will not assure them for fine, but that is very pleasing to the sight. There are also certaine shining blue stones, which are of no lesse value or worth than Turkie Stones. Diamonds. Turkie stones.

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Monsieur de Champdore our guide for the Nauigations in those Countries, hauing cut within a Rocke one of those stones, at his returne from *New France* hee brake it in two, and gaue one part of it to *Monsieur de Monts*, the other to *Monsieur de Poutrincourt*, which they made to be put in Gold, and were found worthy to be presented the one to the King by the said *Poutrincourt*, the other to the Queene by the said *de Monts*, and were very well accepted. I remember that a Goldsmith did offer fifteene Crownes to *Monsieur de Poutrincourt* for that hee presented to his Maiestie.

S. *Iohns* Riuer. 1608. This Riuer is one of the faireſt that may be ſeene, hauing ſtore of Ilands, and ſwarming with fiſhes. This laſt yeere 1608. thy ſaid *Monſieur de Champdore*, with one of the ſaid *Monſieur de Monts* his men, hath beene ſome fiftie leagues vp the ſaid Riuer: and doe witneſſe that there is great quantitie of Vines along the ſhoare, but the Grapes are not ſo bigge as they be in the Countrie of the *Armouchiquois*: There are alſo Onions, and many other ſorts of good hearbs. As for the Trees they are the faireſt that may be ſeene. When wee were there wee ſaw great number of Cedar Trees. Concerning fiſhes the ſaid *Champdore* hath related vnto vs, that putting the Kettle ouer fire, they had taken fiſh ſufficient for their Dinner before that the water was hot. Moreouer this Riuer, ſtretching it ſelfe farre within the Lands of the Sauages doth marueilouſly ſhorten the long trauels by meanes thereof. For in fixe dayes they goe to *Geſhepe*, confining to the Bay or Gulfe of *Chaleur*, or heate, when they are at the end of it, in carrying their Canowes ſome few leagues. And by the ſame Riuer in eight dayes they go to *Tadouſſac* by a branch of the ſame which commeth from the North-weſt. In ſuch ſort that in Port *Royall* one may haue within fifteene or eighteene dayes newes from the *Frenchmen*, dwelling in the great Riuer of *Canada*, by theſe wayes; which could not be done in one moneth by Sea, nor without danger.

Vines.

Great Grapes among the *Armouchiquois*.

Abundance of fiſhes.

The commoditie of Voyaging by the Riuer.

The Ile of S. *Croix* twentie leagues from S. *Iohns* Riuer.

Leauing Saint *Iohns* Riuer, they came following the Coaſt twentie leagues from that place, to a great Riuer (which is properly Sea) where they fortified themſelues in a little Iland ſeated in the middeſt of this Riuer, which the ſaid *Champleine* had beene to diſcouer and view. And ſeeing it ſtrong by nature, and of eaſie defence and keeping, beſides that the ſeaſon beganne to ſlide away, and therefore it was behouefull to prouide of lodging, without running any farther, they reſolued to make their abode there.

Returne to the Bay of S. *Mary*, where the loſt man was found againe.

The *Long Ile*.

Cheries.

As they began to viſit and ſearch the Iland, *Monſieur de Champdore* (of whom we ſhall henceforth make mention, by reaſon he dwelt foure yeere in thoſe parts, conducting the Voyages made there) was ſent backe to the Bay of Saint *Mary*, with a Mine-finder, that had beene carried thither for to get ſome Mynes of ſiluer and Iron, which they did. And as they had croſſed the *French* Bay, they entred into the ſaid Bay of Saint *Marie*, by a narrow Straite or paſſage, which is betweene the Land of Port *Royall*, and an Iland called the *Long Ile*: where after ſome abode they going a fiſhing, *Monſieur Aubri* (the Prieſt before loſt) perceiued them, and beganne with a feeble voice to call as loud as he could; and put his Handkercher, and his Hat on a ſtaues end, which made him better to be knowne. During theſe ſixteene daies hee fed himſelfe but by (I know not what) ſmall fruits, like vnto Cheries, without kernell (yet not ſo delicate) which are ſcarſly found in thoſe Woods. They gaue him food by meaſure, and brought him backe againe to the company at the Iland of Saint *Croix*, whereof euery one receiued an incredible ioy and conſolation.

The deſcription of the Ile of Saint *Croix*.

Before we ſpeake of the ſhips returne into *France*, it is meete to tell you how hard the Ile of Saint *Croix* is to bee found out, to them that were neuer there. For there are ſo many Iles and great Bayes to goe by, before one be at it, that I wonder how euer one might pierce ſo farre for to finde it. There are three or foure Mountaines, imminent aboue the others, on the ſides: But on the North ſide, from whence the Riuer runneth downe, there is but a ſharpe pointed one, aboue two leagues diſtant. The Woods of the maine Land are faire and admirable high and well growne, as in like manner is the graſſe. There is right ouer againſt the Iland freſh water brooks, very pleaſant and agreeable, where diuers of *Monſieur de Monts*, his men did their buſineſſe, and builded there certaine Cabanes. As for the nature of the ground it is moſt excellent and moſt abundantly fruitfull. For the ſaid *Monſieur de Monts*, hauing cauſed there ſome piece of ground to bee tilled, and the ſame ſowed with Rie (for I haue ſeene there no Wheate) hee was not able to tarrie for the maturitie thereof to reape it; and notwithſtanding, the graine, fallen, hath growne and increaſed ſo wonderfully that two yeeres after we reaped and did gather of it as faire, bigge and weightie, as in *France*, which the ſoile had brought forth without any tillage: and yet at this preſent it doth continue ſtill to multiply euery yeere. The ſaid Iland containeth ſome halfe a league of circuit, and at the end of it on the Sea ſide, there is a Mount or ſmall Hill, which is (as it were) a little Ile ſeuered from the other, where *Monſieur de Monts* his Canon was placed: There is alſo a little Chappell built after the Sauage faſhion. At the foot of which Chappell there is ſuch ſtore of Muſcles as is wonderfull, which may bee gathered at low water, but they are ſmall.

The fruitfulneſſe of the ſoyle.

The Iland halfe a league in compaſſe.

Store of Muſcles.

Now let vs prepare and hoiſe vp ſailes. *Monſieur de Poutrincourt* made the Voyage into theſe parts with ſome men of good ſort, not to winter there, but as it were to ſeeke out his ſeate, and find out a Land that might like him. Which he hauing done, had no need to ſoiourne there any longer,

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longer. So then the ſhips being ready for the returne, he ſhipped himſelfe, and thoſe of his companie, in one of them. *The returne of Monſieur du Pontrincourt into France.*

During the foreſaid Nauigation, *Monſieur du Monts* his people did worke about the Fort; which he ſeated at the end of the Iland, oppoſite to the place where he had lodged his Cannon. Which was wiſely conſidered, to the end to command the Riuer vp and downe. But there was an inconuenience, the ſaid Fort did lie towards the North, and without any ſhelter, but of the trees that were on the Ile ſhoare, which all about he commanded to be kept, and not cut downe. *The building at the Ile of S. Croix.*

The moſt vrgent things being done, and hoary ſnowy Father being come, that is to ſay, Winter, then they were forced to keepe within doores, and to liue euery one at his owne home: during which time, our men had three ſpeciall diſcommodities in this Iland, *videlicet*, want of wood, (for that which was in the ſaid Ile was ſpent in buildings) lacke of freſh water, and the continuall watch made by night, fearing ſome ſurpriſe from the Sauages, that had lodged themſelues at the foot of the ſaid Iland, or ſome other enemie. For the malediction and rage of many *Chriſtians* is ſuch, that one muſt take heed of them much more than of Infidels. A thing which grieueth me to ſpeake: would to God I were a lyar in this reſpect, and that I had no cauſe to ſpeake it! When they had need of water or wood, they were conſtrained to croſſe ouer the Riuer, which is thrice as broad of euery ſide, as the Riuer of *Seine*. It was a thing painfull and tedious, in ſuch ſort, that it was needfull to keepe the Boat the whole day, before one might get thoſe neceſſaries. In the meane while the cold and ſnowes came vpon them, and the Ice ſo ſtrong, that the Sider was frozen in the veſſels, and euery one his meaſure was giuen him out by weight. As for Wine it was diſtributed but at certaine dayes of the weeke. Many idle ſluggiſh companions dranke ſnow-water, not willing to take the paines to croſſe the Riuer. Briefly, the vnknowne ſickneſſes like to thoſe deſcribed vnto vs by *Iames Quartier*, in his Relation, aſſailed vs. For remedies there was none to bee found. In the meane while the poore ſicke creatures did languiſh, pining away by little and little, for want of ſweet meates, as Milke or ſpoon-meate for to ſuſtaine their ſtomackes which could not receiue the hard meates, by reaſon of let, proceeding from a rotten fleſh which grew and ouer-abounded within their mouthes: and when one thought to root it out, it did growe againe in one nights ſpace more abundantly than before. As for the tree called *Annedda*, mentioned by the ſaid *Quartier*, the Sauages of theſe Lands knowe it not. So that it was moſt pitifull to behold euery one, very few excepted, in this miſerie, and the miſerable ſicke folkes to die, as it were full of life, without any poſſibilitie to be ſuccoured. There died of this ſickneſſe thirty ſixe, and thirty ſixe or forty more that were ſtricken with it, recouered themſelues by the helpe of the Spring, as ſoone as the comfortable ſeaſon appeared. But the deadly ſeaſon for that ſickneſſe is in the end of Ianuary, the moneths of February and March, wherein moſt commonly the ſicke doe die, euery one at his turne, according to the time they haue begunne to be ſicke: in ſuch ſort, that he which beganne to be ill in February and March, may eſcape, but he that ſhall ouer-haſte himſelfe, and betake him to his bed in December and Ianuary, he is in danger to die in February, March, or the beginning of Aprill.

Monſieur de Pontrincourt made a *Negro* to be opened, that died of that ſickneſſe in our Voyage, who was found to haue the inward parts very ſound, except the ſtomacke, that had wrinkles, as though they were vlcered.

As for the food, this ſickneſſe is cauſed by cold meates, without iuyce, groſſe and corrupted. One muſt then take heed of ſalt meates, ſmoaky, muſty, raw, and of an euill ſent, likewiſe of dried fiſhes, as *New-found-Land* fiſh, and ſtinking Rayes: Briefly, from all melancholy meates, which are of hard digeſting, are eaſily corrupted, and breed a groſſe and melancholy bloud. I would not (for all that) bee ſo ſcrupulous as the Phyſicians, which doe put in number of groſſe and melancholy meates, Beeues fleſh, Beares, wilde Boares and Hogs fleſh (they might as well adde vnto them Beauers fleſh, which notwithſtanding wee haue found very good) as they doe amongſt fiſhes the Tons, Dolphins, and all thoſe that carrie Lard: among the birds, the Hernes, Duckes, and all other water birds: for in being an ouer-curious obſeruator of theſe things, one might fal into the danger of ſtaruing, and to die for hunger. They place yet among the meats that are to be ſhunned Bisket, Beanes and Pulſe, the often vſing of Milke, Cheeſe: the groſſe and harſh Wine, and that which is too ſmall, white Wine, and the vſe of Vinegar: Beere which is not well ſodden, nor well ſcummed, and that hath not Hoppes enough. Alſo waters that runne thorow rotten wood, and thoſe of Lakes and Bogges, ſtill and corrupted waters, ſuch as is much in *Holland* and *Frizeland*, where is obſerued that they of *Amſterdam* are more ſubiect to Palſies and ſtifning of ſinews, then they of *Roterdam*, for the aboueſaid cauſe of ſtill and ſleepy waters: which beſides doe ingender Droplies, Dyſenteries, Fluxes, quartaine Agues, and burning Feuers, ſwellings, vlcers of the Lights, ſhortneſſe of breath, ruptures of children, ſwelling in the veines, ſores in the legges: finally, they wholly belong to the diſeaſe whereof we ſpeake, being drawne by the Spleene, where they leaue all their corruption.

Sometimes this ſickneſſe doth alſo come by a vice which is euen in waters of running Fountaines, as if they be among, or neere Bogges, or if they iſſue from a muddy ground, or from a

Three diſcommodities in wintering at S. Croix.

Wickedneſſe of many Chriſtians.

The Riuer of Roan.

Vnknown ſickneſſes, viz. the Scorbute or Scuruie, the greateſt plague of Nauigations and new Plantations, Fortifications and Garriſons beſieged, where want of freſh diet and of bodily labour, or too much labour and watching, with groſſe aires in the Countries ouergrowne with wood, or with mariſhes, bogs and vnwholſome waters are chiefe breeders thereof. The Author hath made a long diſcourſe of this diſeaſe, the chiefe points whereof are here expreſſed for the benefit of our Engliſh Colonies in America in which I doubt not many hundreds haue hereby periſhed.

The number of the dead and ſicke.

Dangerous moneths.

The opening of a dead body.

What food cauſeth the land diſeaſe.

Bad waters.

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Plin. li. 25. c. 3. place that hath not the Sunnes aſpect. So *Plinie* reciteth that in the Voyage which the Prince *Caſar Germanicus* made into *Germanie*, hauing giuen order to his Armie to paſſe the Riuer of *Rhine*, to the end to get ſtill forward in the Countrie, he did ſet his campe on the Sea ſhoare, vpon the coaſt of *Frizeland*, in a place where was but one onely Fountaine of freſh water to bee found, which notwithſtanding was ſo pernicious, that all they that dranke of it loſt their teeth in leſſe than two yeeres ſpace, and had their knees ſo weake and diſioynted, that they could not beare themſelues. Which is verily the ſickneſſe whereof wee ſpeake, which the Phyſicians doe call *Stomaccacè*, that is to ſay, *Mouthes ſore*; and *Scelotyrbè*, which is as much to ſay, as the ſhaking of thighs and legges. And it was not poſſible to finde any remedie, but by the meanes of an herbe called *Britannica*, or Scuruy-graſſe, which beſides is very good for the ſinewes, againſt the ſores and accidents in the mouth: againſt the Squinancie, and againſt the biting of Serpents. It hath long leaues, drawing in colour a darke greene, and produceth a blacke roote, from which liquor is drawne, as well as from the leafe. *Strabo* ſayth, that the like caſe happened to the Armie that *Ælius Gallus* brought into *Arabia*, by the commiſſion of *Auguſtus* the Emperour. And the like alſo chanced to King Saint *Lewes* his Armie in *Egypt*, as the Lord *de Ioinuille* reporteth. Other effects of bad waters are ſeene neere vnto vs, to wit, in *Sauoy*, where the women (more than men, becauſe they are of a colder conſtitution) haue commonly ſwellings in their throats, as bigge as Bottles.

Stomaccacè. Scelotyrbè.

Britannica, or Scuruy-graſſe, an herbe.

Strabo.

Monſieur de Ioinuille.

The *Gouitres* of *Sauoye.*

What aire is againſt health.

Next to waters, the aire is alſo one of the Fathers and Ingenderers of this ſickneſſe, in boggy and watriſh places, and oppoſite to the South, which is moſt often rainy. But there is yet in New *France* another bad qualitie of the aire, by reaſon of Lakes that be thicke there, and of the great rottenneſſe in the Woods, whoſe odour the bodies hauing drawne vp, during the raines of Autumne and Winter, eaſily are ingendred the corruptions of the mouth, and ſwelling in the legges before ſpoken, and a cold entreth vnſenſibly into it, which benummeth the limbes, ſtifneth the ſinewes, conſtraineth to creepe with crutches, and in the end, to keepe the bed. And for as much as the windes doe participate with the aire, yea are an aire running with a more vehement force than ordinary, and in this qualitie haue great power ouer the health and ſickneſſes of men. This noiſome qualitie of winde proceedeth (in my iudgement) from the nature of the Countrie thorow which it paſſeth, which (as wee haue ſaid) is full of Lakes, and thoſe very great, which bee (as it were) ſtanding and ſtill waters. Whereto I adde the exhalation of the rottenneſſe of woods, that this winde bringeth, and that in ſo much greater quantitie, as the North-weſt part is great, large and ſpacious.

Windes.

Seaſons.

The ſeaſons are alſo to be marked in this diſeaſe, which I haue not ſeene nor heard of, that it begins to worke, neither in the Spring time, Summer nor Autumne, vnleſſe it be at the end of it, but it Winter. And the cauſe thereof is, that as the growing heate of the Spring maketh the humours cloſed vp in the Winter to diſperſe themſelues to the extremities of the body, and ſo cleareth it from melancholy, and from the noiſome humors that haue beene gathered in Winter: ſo the Autumne, as the Winter approacheth, draweth them inward, and doth nouriſh this melancholy and blacke humour, which doth abound ſpecially in this ſeaſon, and the Winter being come ſheweth forth his effects at the coſts and griefe of the poore patients.

Bad food and diſcommodities of the Sea.

Aduice for the ſickneſſes of New *France.*

I would adde willingly to all the aforeſaid cauſes the bad food of the Sea, which in a long Voiage brings much corruption in mans body. This ſickneſſe proceeding from an indigeſtion of rude, groſſe, cold and melancholy meates, which offend the ſtomacke, I thinke it good (ſubmitting my ſelfe to better iudgement and aduice) to accompany them with good ſawces, be it of Butter, Oyle, or Fat, all well ſpiced, to correct as well the qualitie of the meate, as of the bodie inwardly waxen cold. Let this be ſaid for rude and groſſe meates, as Beanes, Peaſe, and fiſh: for he that ſhall eate good Capons, good Partridges, good Ducks, and good Rabets, may be aſſured of his health, or elſe his body is of a bad conſtitution. We haue had ſome ſick, that haue (as it were) raiſed vp from death to life: for hauing eaten twice or thrice of a coolice made of a Cocke, good Wine taken according to the neceſſitie of nature, is a ſoueraigne preſeruatiue for all ſickneſſes, and particularly for this. The young buds of herbs in the Spring time be alſo very ſoueraigne.

Good Wine.

Herbes in the Spring time.

And as for that which concerneth the exteriour parts of the body, we haue found great good in wearing woodden Pantaphles, or Patins with our ſhooes, for to auoide the moiſtneſſe. The houſes neede no opening nor windowes on the North-weſt ſide, being a winde very dangerous; but rather on the Eaſt ſide, or the South. It is very good to haue good bedding (and it was good for mee to haue carried things neceſſary to this purpoſe) and aboue all to keepe himſelfe neate. I would like well the vſe of Stoues, ſuch as they haue in *Germanie*, by meanes whereof they feele no Winter, being at home, but as much as they pleaſe. Yea, they haue of them in many places, in their Gardens, which doe ſo temper the coldneſſe of Winter, that in this rough and ſharpe ſeaſon there one may ſee Orange-trees, Lymmon-trees, Fig-trees, Pomgranat-trees, and all ſuch ſorts of trees, bring forth fruit as good as in *Prouence.*

Stoues.

Stoues in Gardens. Such I haue ſeene at *Beddington* in *Surrie.* at Sir *Nicolas Carews.*

The Sauages vſe ſweatings often, as it were euery moneth, and by this meanes they preſerue themſelues, driuing out by ſweate all the cold and euill humours they might haue gathered. But one ſingular preſeruatiue againſt this perfidious ſickneſſe, which commeth ſo ſtealingly, and

The ſweatings of the Sauages

which

which hauing once lodged it ſelfe within vs, will not bee put out, is to follow the counſell of him that is wiſe amonſt the wiſe, who hauing conſidered all the afflictions that man giue to himſelfe during his life, hath found nothing better then *to reioyce himſelfe, and doe good, and to take pleaſure in his owne workes.* They that haue done ſo, in our companie, haue found themſelues well by it: contrariwiſe ſome alwaies grudging, repining, neuer content, idle, haue beene found out by the ſame diſeaſe. True it is, that for to enioy mirth it is good to haue the ſweetneſſe of freſh meates, Fleſhes, Fiſhes, Milke, Butter, Oyles, Fruits, and ſuch like, which wee had not at will (I meane the common ſort: for alwaies ſome one, or other of the companie did furniſh *Monſieur de Pontrincourt*, his Table with Wilde-fowle, Veniſon or freſh Fiſh) And if wee had halfe a dozen Kine, I beleeue that no body had died there.

A merry heart a principall preſeruatiue againſt the Scruie. *Eccleſ.* 30. 22, 22. Meanes of mirth.

It reſteth a preſeruatiue, neceſſary for the accompliſhment of mirth, and to the end one may take pleaſure on the worke of his hands, is euery one to haue the honeſt companie of his lawfull wife: for without that, the cheere is neuer perfect; ones minde is alwaies vpon that which one loues and deſireth; there is ſtill ſome ſorrow, the body becomes full of ill humours, and ſo the ſickneſſe doth breed. And for the laſt and ſoueraigne remedie, I ſend backe the Patient to the tree of life (for ſo one may well qualifie it) which *Iames Quartier* doth call *Anneda*, yet vnknowne in the coaſt of *Port Royall*, vnleſſe it bee, peraduenture the *Saſafras*, whereof there is quantitie in certaine places. And it is an aſſured thing, that the ſaid tree is very excellent. But *Monſieur Champlain*, who is now in the great Riuer of *Canada*, paſſing his Winter, in the ſame part, where the ſaid *Quartier* did winter, hath charge to finde it out, and to make prouiſion thereof.

Neceſſitie of hauing women into the Country.

Tree of life. Saſafras. *Monſieur Champlain* is now this preſent yeere 1609. in *Canada*.

THe rough ſeaſon being paſſed, *Monſieur de Monts*, wearied with his bad dwelling at Saint *Croix*, determined to ſeeke out another Port in a warmer Countrie, and more to the South: And to that end made a Pinnace to bee armed and furniſhed with victuals, to follow the coaſt, and diſcouering new Countries, to ſeeke out ſome happier Port in a more temperate aire. Hee made in this Voyage but about an hundred and twenty leagues, as wee will tell you now. From Saint *Croix* to ſixty leagues forward, the coaſt lieth Eaſt and Weſt: at the end of which ſixty leagues is a Riuer, called by the Sauages *Kinibeki*. From which place to *Malebarre* it lieth North and South, and there is yet from one to the other ſixty leagues, in right line, not following the Bayes. So farre ſtretcheth *Monſieur de Monts* his Voyage, wherein hee had for Pilot in his Veſſell, *Monſieur de Champdore*. In all this Coaſt ſo farre as *Kinibeki*, there are many places where ſhippes may bee harboured amongſt the Ilands, but the people there is not ſo frequent as is beyond that: And there is no remarkable thing (at leaſt that may bee ſeene in the out ſide of the Lands) but a Riuer, whereof many haue written fables one after another.

The diſcouerie of new Lands by *Monſieur de Monts*: fabulous tales and reports of the Riuer and ſained Towne of *Norombega*. *Kinibeki* ſixty leagues from *S. Croix*.

I will recite that which is in the laſt Booke, intituled, *The vniuerſall Hiſtorie of the Weſt Indies*, Printed at *Douay* the laſt yeere 1607. in the place where hee ſpeaketh of *Norombega*: For in reporting this, I ſhall haue alſo ſaid that which the firſt haue written, from whom they haue had it.

Moreouer, towards the North (ſayth the Author, after hee had ſpoken of Virginia*) is* Norombega, *which is knowne well enough, by reaſon of a faire Towne, and a great Riuer, though it is not found from whence it hath his name: for the* Barbarians *doe call it* Aguncia: *At the mouth of this Riuer there is an Iland very fit for fiſhing. The Region that goeth along the Sea, doth abound in fiſh, and towards New* France *there is great number of wilde beaſts, and is very commodious for hunting; the Inhabitants doe liue in the ſame manner as they of New* France.

Fabulous tales of the Riuer *Norombega*.

If this beautifull Towne hath euer beene in nature, I would faine knowe who hath pulled it downe: For there is but Cabins heere and there made with pearkes, and couered with barkes of trees, or with skinnes, and both the Riuer and the place inhabited is called *Pemptegoet*, and not *Agguncia*. The Riuer (ſauing the tide) is ſcarce as the Riuer on that coaſt, becauſe there are not Lands ſufficient to produce them, by reaſon of the great Riuer of *Canada*, which runneth like this coaſt, and is not foureſcore leagues diſtant from that place in croſſing the Lands, which from elſe-where receiued many Riuers falling from thoſe parts which are towards *Norombega*: At the entrie whereof, it is ſo farre from hauing but one Iland, that rather the number thereof is almoſt infinite, for as much as this Riuer enlarging it ſelfe like the *Greeke* Lambda Λ, the mouth whereof is all full of Iles, whereof there is one of them lying very farre off (and the formoſt) in the Sea, which is high and markable aboue the others.

Pemptegoet.

But ſome will ſay that I equiuocate in the ſituation of *Norombega*, and that it is not placed where I take it. To this I anſwer, that the Author, whoſe words I haue a little before alleaged, is in this my ſufficient warrant, who in his Geographicall Mappe, hath placed in the mouth of this Riuer in the 44. degree, and his ſuppoſed Towne in the 45. wherein we differ but in one degree, which is a ſmall matter. For the Riuer that I meane is in the 45. degree, and as for any Towne, there is none. Now of neceſſity it muſt be this riuer, becauſe that the ſame being paſſed, and that of *Kinibeki*, (which is in the ſame higth) there is no other Riuer forward, whereof account ſhould be

Obiection. Anſwer.

made

made, till one come to *Virginia*. I say further more, that seeing the *Barbarians* of *Norombega* doe liue as they of new *France*, and haue abundance of hunting, it must be, that their Prouince be seated in our new *France*; for fiftie leagues farther to the South-west there is no great game, because the woods are thinner there, and the Inhabitants setled, and in greater number then in *Norombega*.

Kinibeki. The Riuer of *Norombega* being passed, Monsieur *de Monts* went still coasting, vntill he came to *Kinibeki*, where a Riuer is that may shorten the way to goe to the great Riuer of *Canada*. There is a number of Sauages Cabined there, and the land beginneth there to be better peopled. From *Kinibeki* going farther, one findeth the Bay of *Marchin*, named by the Captaine his name that commandeth therein. This *Marchin* was killed the yeare that we parted from New *France* 1607. Farther is another Bay called *Chouakoet*, where (in regard of the former Countries) is a great number of people: for there they till the ground, and the region beginneth to be more temperate, and for proofe of this, there is in this land store of Vines. Yea, euen there be Ilands full of it (which be more subiect to the iniuries of the winde and cold) as we shall say hereafter. There is betweene *Chouakoet* and *Malebarre* many Bayes and Iles, and the Coast is sandy, with shallow ground, drawing neere to the said *Malebarre*, so that scarce one may land there with Barkes.

The Bay of *Marchin*. 1607. *Chouakoet*. The ground manured. Vines. *Malebarre*.

Etechemins. The people that be from Saint *Iohns* Riuer to *Kinibeki* (wherein are compriſed the Riuers of Saint *Croix* and *Norombega*) are called *Etechemins*. And from *Kinibeki* as farre as *Malebarre*, and farther, they are called *Armouchiquois*. They be traitors and theeues, and one had neede to take heede of them. One of them from a man of Saint *Malos* tooke a Kettell, and ran away speedily with his bootie. The *Malouin* running after, was killed by this wicked people: and although the same had not hapned, it was in vaine to pursue after this theefe; for all these *Armouchiquois* are as swift in running as Grayhounds; as we will yet further say in speaking of the voiage that Monsieur *de Pontrincourt* made in the same Country, in the yeare 1606.

The *Armouchiquois* traitours and theeues. The swiftnesse of the *Armouchiquois*.

The arriuall of Monsieur *du Pont*. 1605. The Spring season being passed in the Voyage of the *Armouchiquois*, Mounsieur *du Pont*, surnamed *Graue*, dwelling at *Honfleur*, did arriue with a company of some forty men, for to ease the said Monsieur *de Monts* and his troope, which was to the great ioy of all, as one may well imagine: and Canon shots were free and plentifull at the comming, according to custome, and the sound of Trumpets. The said Monsieur *du Pont*, not knowing yet the state of our *French* men, did thinke to finde there an assured dwelling, and his lodgings ready: but considering the accidents of the strange sickneſſe, whereof we haue spoken, he tooke aduice to change place. Monsieur *de Monts* was very desirous that the new habitation had beene about 40. degrees, that is to say 4. degrees farther then Saint *Croix*: but hauing viewed the Coast as farre as *Malebarre*, and with much paine, not finding what he desired, it was deliberated to goe and make their dwelling in Port *Royall*, vntill meanes were had to make an ampler discouery. So euery one began to packe vp his things: That which was built with infinite labour was pulled downe, except the Storehouse, which was too great and painefull to be transported, and in executing of this, many voyages are made. All being come to Port *Royal* they found out new labours: the abiding place is chosen right ouer against the Iland, that is at the comming in of the Riuer *L'Esquille*, in a place where all is couered ouer, and full of woods as thicke as possibly may be. The Moneth of September did already begin to come, and care was to be taken for the vnlading of Monsieur *du Pont* his Ship, to make roome for them that should returne backe into *France*. Finally, there is worke enough for all. When the Ship was in a readinesse to put to sailes, Monsieur *de Monts* hauing seene the beginning of the new habitation, shipped himselfe for his returne with them that would follow him. Notwithstanding many of good courage (forgetting the griefes and labours passed) did tarry behinde, amongst whom were Monsieur *Champlaine* and Monsieur *Champdoré*, the one for Geographie, and the other for the conducting and guiding of the voiages that should be necessary to be made by Sea.

Transmigration from S. *Croix* to Port *Royal*. New buildings

Trafficke with the Sauages. Beuers, Otters, and Stags. *Tabaguia* is a sauage tearme, signifying banket. The Winter being come, the Sauages of the Countrey did assemble themselues, from farre to Port *Royall*, for to trucke with the *Frenchmen*, for such things as they had, some bringing Beauers skins, and Otters (which are those whereof most account may be made in that place) and also *Ellans* or Stagges, whereof good buffe be made: Others bringing flesh newly killed, wherewith they made many good *Tabagies*, or feasts, liuing merrily as long as they had wherewithall. They neuer wanted any Bread, but Wine did not continue with them till the season was ended. For when we came thither the yeare following, they had beene aboue three Moneths without any Wine, and were very glad of our comming, for that made them to take againe the taste of it.

Hand Mils. The greatest paine they had, was to grinde the Corne to haue Bread, which is very painfull with hand-mils, where all the strength of the body is requisite. This labour is so great, that the Sauages (although they be very poore) cannot beare it, and had rather to be without bread, then to take so much paines, as hath beene tried, offering them halfe of the grinding they should doe, but they choosed rather to haue no corne. And I might well beleeue that the same, with other things, hath beene great meanes to breede the sickneſſe spoken of, in some of Monsieur

du

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du Pont his men; for there died some halfe a dozen of them that winter. True it is, that I finde a defect in the buildings of our *Frenchmen*, which is, they had no ditches about them, whereby the waters of the ground next to them did run vnder their lower-most roomes, which was a great hindrance to their health. I adde besides the bad waters which they vsed, that did not run from a quicke spring, but from the neerest brooke.

The number of the dead. Fault in their buildings.

The furniture of Mousieur *du Pont* to goe to the discouery of new lands.

The wracke of their Barke.

Causes of delay in establishing the dwelling place of the *Frenchmen*.

The winter being passed, and the Sea nauigable, Monsieur *du Pont* would needes atchieue the enterprise begun the yeare before by Monsieur *de Monts*, and to goe seeke out a Port more Southerly, where the ayre might be more temperate, according as he had in charge of the said Monsieur *de Monts*. He furnished then the Barke which remained with him to that effect. But being set out of the Port, and full ready, hoisted vp sailes for *Malebarre*, he was forced by contrary winde twice to put backe againe, and at the third time the said Barke strake against the rocks at the entry of the said Port. In this disgrace of *Neptune*, the men were saued with the better part of prouision and merchandise, but as for the Barke it was rent in peeces. And by this mishap the Voyage was broken, and that which was so desired intermitted. For the habitation of Port *Royall* was not iudged good. And notwithstanding it is, on the North and North-west sides, well sheltered with Mountaines, distant some one league, some halfe a league from the Port and the Riuer *L'Esquelle*. So we see how that enterprises take not effect according to the desires of men, and are accompanied with many perils. So that one must not wonder if the time be long in establishing of Colonies, specially in lands so remote, whose nature, and temperature of aire is not knowne, and where one must fell and cut downe Forrests, and be constrained to take heed, not from the people we call Sauages, but from them that tearme themselues *Christians*, and yet haue but the name of it, cursed and abhominable people, worse then Wolues, enemies to God and humane nature.

This attempt then being broken, Monsieur *du Pont* knew not what to doe, but to attend the succour and supply that Monsieur *de Monts* promised parting from Port *Royall*, at his return into *France*, to send him the yeare following. Yet for all euents he built another Barke and a Shallop for to seeke *French* Ships in the places where they vse to dry fish, such as *Campseau* Port, *English* Port, *Misamichis* Port: the Bay of *Chaleur* (or *Heat*) the Bay of *Mortes* or *Coddes*, and others in great number, according as Monsieur *de Monts* had done the former yeare, to the end to Ship himselfe in them, and to returne into *France*, in case that no Shippe should come to succour him.

The third voyage made by Monsieur *de Poutrincourt*.

ABout the time of the before mentioned Shipwracke, Monsieur *de Monts* being in *France*, knowing Monsieur *de Pontrincourt* his desire, he wrote vnto him, and sent a man of purpose to giue him notice of the Voyage that was in hand. Which the said Monsieur *de Pontrincourt* accepted of. He was no sooner come to *Paris*, but that he was forced to depart, not hauing scarse time to prouide for things necessary. And I hauing had that good hap to be acquainted with him some yeares before, he asked me if I would take part in that businesse?

Being come to *Rochell*, we found there Monsieur *de Monts*, and Monsieur *de Pontrincourt*, that were come in Poste, and our Ship called the *Ionas*, of the burthen of one hundred and fiftie tuns, ready to passe out of the chaines of the Towne, to tarry for winde and tide. The tyde I say, because that a great Ship laden, cannot come to sea from *Rochell*, but in spring tydes, vpon the new and full Moone, by reason that in the Towne roade there is no sufficient depth. I beleeue, that after so many trials, none would haue ventured to goe plant Colonies in those parts, that Countrey being so ill spoken of, that euery one did pittie vs, considering the accidents happened to them that had beene there before. Notwithstanding Monsieur *de Monts* and his associates, did beare manfully this losse.

Rochel.

The courage of Monsieur *de Monts* and his associates.

The Saturday, Whitson eue, the thirteenth of May, we weied our anckers, and sailed in open Sea, so that by little and little we lost the sight of the great Towers and Towne of *Rochell*, then of the Iles of *Rez* and *Oleron*, bidding *France* fare-well. It was a thing fearefull for them that were not vsed to such a dance, to see them carried vpon so moueable an element, and to be at euery monent (as it were) within two fingers breadth to death. We had not long sailed, but that many did their endeuour to yeelde vp the tribute to *Neptune*. In the meane while we went still forward, for there was no more going backe, the planke being once taken vp. The sixteenth of May we met with thirteene *Holanders*, going for *Spaine*, which did inquire of our voiage, and so held their course.

13. of May 1606.

Meetings of Ships.

About the eighteenth day of Iune, we found the Sea-water, during three dayes space, very warme, and by the same warmth, our Wine also was warme in the bottome of our Ship, yet the ayre was not hotter then before. And the one and twentieth of the said Moneth, quite contrary, we were two or three dayes so much compassed with Mistes and Coldes, that wee thought our selues to be in the moneth of Ianuary, and the water of the Sea was extreame cold. Which continued with vs vntill we came vpon the said Banke, by reason of the said Mists, which outwardly did procure this cold vnto vs. When I seeke out the cause of this *Antiperistase*, I attribute it to the Ices of the North, which come floting downe vpon the Coast and Sea adioyning to

Great cold.

The reason of this *Antiperistase*, and the cause of the Ices of *Newfound land*.

New-

New-found-land, and *Labrador*, which we haue ſaid elſewhere, is brought thither with the Sea, by her naturall motion, which is greater there, then elſewhere, becauſe of the great ſpace it hath to run, as in a gulfe, in the depth of *America*, where the natuee and ſituation of the vniuerſall earth doth beare it eaſily. Now theſe Ices (which ſometimes are ſeene in bankes of ten leagues length, and as high as Mountaines and hils, and thrice as deepe in the waters) holding, as it were, an Empire in this Sea, driue out farre from them, that which is contrary to their coldneſſe, and conſequently doe binde and cloſe on this ſide, that ſmall quantity of milde temperature that the Summer may bring to that part, where they come to ſeate and place themſelues.

Warnings neere the great Banke.

Birds called by *Frenchmen*, Godes, Fouquets, Hapſoies

Before we come to the Banke, which is the great Banke where the fiſhing of greene Cod-fiſhes is made (ſo are they called when they are not dry, for one muſt goe aland for the drying of them) the Sea-faring-men, beſides the computation they make of their courſe, haue warnings when they come neere to it, by Birds, which are knowne: euen as one doth them of theſe our parts, returning backe into *France*, when one is within one hundred or one hundred and twenty leagues neere it. The moſt frequent of theſe Birds, towards the ſaid Bankes, be Godes, Fouquets, and other called Happe-foyes.

The Banke whereof we ſpeake, are Mountaines grounded in the depth of the waters, which are raiſed vp to thirty, ſix and thirty, and forty fathams, neere to the vpper face of the Sea. This Banke is holden to be of two hundred leagues in length, and is eighteene, twenty, and twenty foure leagues broad, which being paſſed, there is no more bottome found out, then in theſe parts, vntill one come to the land. The Ships being there arriued, the ſailes are rowled vp, and there fiſhing is made for the greene-fiſh. There is farther off, other Bankes, as I haue marked in the ſaid Map, vpon the which good fiſhing may be made: and many goe thither that know the places. When that we parted from *Rochel*, there was (as it were) a Forreſt of Ships lying at *Chef de Bois* (whereof that place hath taken his name) which went all in a company to that Country, preuenting vs (in their going) but onely of two daies.

The fiſhing of Cod.

Hauing ſeene and noted the Banke, we hoiſted vp ſailes and bare all night, keeping ſtill our Coaſt to the Weſt. But the dawne of day being come, which was Saint *Iohn Baptiſts* Eue', in Gods name we pulled downe the ſailes, paſſing that day a fiſhing of Cod-fiſh, with a thouſand mirths and contentments, by reaſon of freſh meates, whereof we had as much as we would, hauing long before wiſhed for them. Monſieur *de Poutrincourt*, and a yong man of *Retel* named *Le Fleure*, who by reaſon of the Sea-ſickneſſe were not come out from their beds nor Cabines,

Map-foyes, why ſo called.

from the beginning of the Nauigation, came vpon the hatches that day, and had the pleaſure not onely of fiſhing of Cod, but alſo of thoſe Birds, that be called by the *French* Marriners Hapfoyes, that is to ſay, Liuer-catchers, becauſe of their greedineſſe to deuoure to liuers of the Cod-fiſhes that are caſt into the Sea, after their bellies be opened, whereof they are ſo couetous, that though they ſee a great Powle ouer their heads, ready to ſtrike them downe, yet they aduenture themſelues to come neere to the Ship, to catch ſome of them, at what price ſoeuer. And they which were not occupied in fiſhing, did paſſe their time in that ſport. And ſo did they, by their diligence, that we tooke ſome thirty of them.

Sea-dogs skins

In this fiſhing, we ſometimes did take Sea-dogs, whoſe skins our Ioyners did keepe carefully to ſmooth their worke withall. Item, fiſhes called by *Frenchmen* Merlus, which be better then Cod, and ſometimes another kinde of fiſh, called Bars: which diuerſity did augment our delight. They which were not buſie in taking neither Fiſhes nor Birds, did paſſe their time in gathering the hearts, guts, and other inward parts (moſt delicate) of the Cod-fiſh, which they did mince with lard and ſpices, and with thoſe things did make as good *Bolonia* Sauſiges, as any can be made in *Paris*, and we did eate of them with a very good ſtomacke.

Excellent ſawſiges made with the inwards of Cod.

The weather in thoſe Seas contrary then in ours.

From the eighteenth of Iune vntill we did arriue at Port *Royal*, we haue found the weather quite otherwiſe to that we had before. For (as we haue already ſaid) we had cold miſts or fogs, before our comming to the Banke (where we came in faire ſunſhine) but the next day, we fell to the fogs againe, which (a farre off) we might perceiue to come and wrap vs about, holding vs continually priſoners three whole dayes, for two dayes of faire weather that they permitted vs: which was alwayes accompanied with cold, by reaſon of the Summers abſence. Yea euen diuers we haue ſeene our ſelues a whole ſennight, continually in thicke fogges, twice without any ſhew of Sunne, but very little, as I will recite hereafter. And I will bring forth a reaſon for ſuch effects which ſeemeth vnto me probable. As wee ſee the fire to draw the moiſtneſſe of a wet cloth, oppoſite vnto it; likewiſe the Sunne draweth moiſtneſſe and vapours both from the Sea and from the land. But for the diſſoluing of them, there is here one vertue, and beyond thoſe parts another, according to the accidents and circumſtances that are found. In theſe our Countries it raiſeth vp vapours onely from the ground, and from our Riuers: which earthly vapours, groſſe and waighty, and participating leſſe of the moiſt ellement, doe cauſe vs a hot aire, and the earth diſcharged of thoſe vapours, becomes thereby more hot and parching. From thence it commeth, that the ſaid vapours, hauing the earth on the one part, and the Sunne on the other, which heateth them, they are eaſily diſſolued, not remaining long in the ayre, vnleſſe it be in winter, when the earth is waxen cold, and the Sunne beyond the Equinoctiall line, farre off from vs.

The cauſes of Miſts on the Weſt Seas.

From

From the same reason proceedeth the cause why Mists and Fogs be not so frequent, nor so long in the *French* Seas, as the *New-found-land*, because that the Sunne, passing from his rising, aboue the grounds, this Sea, at the comming thereof, receiueth almost but earthly vapours, and by a long space retaineth this vertue to dissolue very soone the exhalation it draweth to it selfe. But when it commeth to the middest of the Ocean, and to the said *New-found-land*, hauing eleuated and assumed in so long a course a great abundance of vapours, from this moist wide Ocean, it doth not so easily dissolue them, as well because those vapours be cold of themselues, and of their nature, as because the element which is neerest vnder them, doth sympathize with them, and preserueth them, and the Sunne beames being not holpen in the dissoluing of them, as they are vpon the earth. Which is euen seene in the land of that Countrie, which (although it hath but small heate, by reason of the abundance of woods) notwithstanding it helpeth to disperse the Mists and Fogges, which be ordinarily there, in the morning, during Summer, but not as at Sea, for about eight a clocke in the morning they begin to vanish away, and serue as a dew to the ground.

The eight and twentieth day of Iune, we found our selues vpon a small banke (other then the great Banke whereof we haue spoken) at forty fathams. From that time forward, we began to descry land-markes (it was *New-found-land*) by hearbes, mosses, flowers, and peeces of wood, that we alwaies met, abounding the more, by so much wee drew neere to it. The fourth day of Iuly, our sailers, which were appointed for the last quarter watch, descried in the morning, very early, euery one being yet in bed, the Iles of Saint *Peter*. And the Friday the seuenth of the said Moneth, we discouered, on the Larboord, a Coast of land, high raised vp. Euen our Dogs did thrust their noses out of the Ship, better to draw and smell the sweet ayre of the land, not being able to containe themselues from witnessing, by their gestures, the ioy they had of it. We drew within a league neere vnto it, and (the sailes being let downe) we fell a fishing of Cod, the fishing of the Banke beginning to faile, They which had before vs made voyages in those parts, did iudge vs to be at Cape *Breton*. The night drawing on, we stood off to the Sea-ward: the next day following, being the eight of the said moneth of Iuly, as we drew neere to the Bay of *Campsean*, came, about the euening, mists, which did continue eight whole dayes, during the which we kept vs at Sea, hulling still, not being able to goe forward, being resisted by West and South-west windes. During these eight dayes, which were from one Saturday to another, God (who hath alwayes guided these voyages, in the which not one man hath been lost by Sea) shewed vs his speciall fauour, in sending vnto vs, among the thicke fogges, a clearing of the Sunne, which continued but halfe an houre: And then had we sight of the firme land, and knew that we were ready to be cast away vpon the rockes, if wee had not speedily stood off to Sea-ward. Finally, vpon Saturday, the fifteenth of Iuly, about two a clocke in the afterdoone, the skie began to salute vs, as it were, with Cannon shots, shedding teares, as being sorry to haue kept vs so long in paine. So that faire weather being come againe, we saw comming straight to vs (we being foure leagues off from the land) two Shallops with open sailes, in a Sea yet wrathed. This thing gaue vs much concent. But whilst we followed on our course, there came from the land odors vncomparable for sweetnesse, brought with a warme winde, so abundantly, that all the Orient parts could not procure greater abundance. We did stretch out our hands, as it were to take them, so palpable were they, which I haue admired a thousand times since. Then the two Shallops did approach, the one manned with *Sauages*, who had a Stagge painted at their sailes, the other with *Frenchmen* of Saint *Maloes*, which made their fishing at the Port of *Camsean*, but the *Sauages* were more diligent, for they arriued first. Hauing neuer seene any before, I did admire, at the first sight, their faire shape, and forme of visage. One of them did excuse himselfe, for that he had not brought his faire beuer gowne, because the weather had beene foule. He had but one red peece of Frize vpon his backe, and *Matachiaz* about his necke, at his wrists, aboue the elbow, and at his girdle. We made them to eate and drinke. During that time they told vs all that had passed, a yeare before, at Port *Royal* whither we were bound. In the meane while they of Saint *Maloe* came, and told vs as much as the *Sauages* had. Adding that the wednesday, when that we did shun the rockes, they had seene vs, and would haue come to vs with the said *Sauages*, but that they left off, by reason we put to the Sea: and moreouer that it had beene alwayes faire weather on the land: which made vs much to maruell: but the cause thereof hath beene shewed before. These *Frenchmen* of Saint *Maloe* were men that did deale for the associates of Monsieur *de Monts*, and did complaine that the Baskes, or men of Saint *Iohn de Luz* (against the King his Inhibitions) had trucked with the *Sauages*, and carried away aboue six thousand Beauers skins. They gaue vs sundry sorts of their fishes, as Bars, Marlus, and great Fletans.

At the parting, some number of ours went aland at the Port of *Campsean*, as well to fetch vs some wood and fresh water, whereof we had neede, as for to follow the Coast from that place to Port *Royall* in a Shallop, for we did feare least Monsieur *de Pont* should be at our comming thither already gone from thence. The *Sauages* made offer to goe to him thorow the woods, with promise to be there within six dayes, to aduertise him of our comming, to the end to cause his stay, for as much as word was left with him to depart, vnlesse hee were succoured within the sixteenth

Land makes.
The discouery of S. Peters Ilands.
Plaine discouery of the Land.
Cap. Breton.
The Bay of Campsean.
Eight dayes.
Gods fauour in danger.
Calm weather.
Mouueilous odours comming from the land.
The boording of two Shallops
The *Sauages* goodly men.
Matachiaz be carkanets, necklaces bracelets and wrought girdles.
During the mists at Sea, it is faire weather on land.
The departing of some of our company, going aland.
The *Sauages* do traueli much way in small time.

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sixteenth day of that moneth, which he failed not to doe: notwithstanding our men desirous to see the Land neerer, did hinder the same which promised vs to bring vnto vs the next day the said wood and water, if wee would approch neere the Land, which wee did not, but followed on our course.

Mists. Calmes.

Tuesday the seuenteenth of Iuly, wee were according to our accustomed manner, surprized with mists and contrarie wind. But the Thursday wee had calme weather, so that whether it were mist or faire weather wee went nothing forward. After this calme wee had two dayes of fogges. The Sunday the three and twentieth of the said moneth, wee had knowledge of the Port *Du Rossignoll*, and the same day in the afternoone, the Sunne shining faire, we cast Anchor at the mouth of Port *du Mouton*, and we were in danger to fall vpon a shoald, being come to two fathomes and a halfe depth. We went aland seuenteene of vs in number, to fetch the wood and water, whereof we had need. There we found the Cabins and Lodgings, yet whole and vnbroken, that *Monsieur de Monts* made two yeeres before, who had soiourned there by the space of one moneth, as we haue said in his place. We saw there, being a sandy Land, store of Okes, bearing Acornes, Cypresse-trees, Firre-trees, Bay-trees, Muske-roses, Gooseberries, Purslen, Raspies, Fernes, *Lysimachia*, (a kind of *Sammonee*) *Calamus odoratus*, *Angelica*, and other Simples, in the space of two houres that wee tarried there. Wee brought backe in our ship wilde Peaze, which we found good. We had not the leisure to hunt after Rabets that be there in great number, not farre from the Port, but we returned aboord as soone as we had laden our selues with water and wood: and so hoised vp sailes.

Port *au Rossignoll*. Port *au Mouton*. What growes in the Land at Port *au Mouton*.

Tuesday the fiue and twentieth day we were about the *Cap de Sable*, in faire weather, and made a good iourney, for about the euening we came to sight of *Long Ile*, and the Bay of Saint *Marie*, but because of the night we put back to the Seaward. And the next day we cast Anchor at the mouth of Port *Royall*, where wee could not enter by reason it was ebbing water, but we gaue two Canon shot from our ship to salute the said Port, and to aduertize the *Frenchmen* that we were there.

Le Cap de Sable. *Long Iland*. The Bay S. *Mary*. The arriuing to Port *Royall*.

Thursday the seuen and twentieth of Iuly, we came in with the floud, which was not without much difficultie, for that we had the wind contrarie, and gusts of wind from the Mountains, which made vs almost to strike vpon the Rockes. And in these troubles our ship bare still contrarie, the Poope before, and sometimes turned round, not being able to do any other thing else. Finally, being in the Port, it was vnto vs a thing maruellous to see the faire distance and largenesse of it, and the Mountaines and Hils that inuironed it, and I wondred how so faire a place did remayne desert, being all filled with Woods, seeing that so many pine away in the World, which might make good of this Land, if onely they had a chiefe Gouernour to conduct them thither. We knew not yet, if *Monsieur du Pont* was gone or no, and therefore wee did expect that hee should send some men to meete vs; but it was in vaine: for hee was gone from thence twelue dayes before. And whilest we did hull in the middest of the Port *Memberton*, the greatest *Sagamos* of the *Souriquois* (so are the people called with whom we were) came to the *French* Fort, to them that were left there, being only two, crying as a mad man, saying in his Language; What! You stand here a dining (for it was about noone) and doe not see a great ship that commeth here; and we know not what men they are: Suddenly these two men ranne vpon the Bulwarke, and with diligence made readie the Canons, which they furnished with Pellets and touch Powder. *Memberton*, without delay, came in a Canow made of barkes of trees, with a Daughter of his, to view vs: And hauing found but friendship, and knowing vs to be *Frenchmen*, made no alarme. Notwithstanding one of the two *Frenchmen* left there, called *La Taille*, came to the shoare of the Port, his match on the cocke, to know what we were (though he knew it well enough, for we had the white Banner displayed at the top of the Mast) and on the sudden foure volley of Canons were shot off, which made innumerable echoes: And from our part, the Fort was saluted with three Canon shots, and many Musket shots, at which time our Trumpeter was not slacke of his dutie. Then we landed, viewed the house, and we passed that day in giuing God thankes, in seeing the Sauages Cabins, and walking thorow the Medowes. But I cannot but praise the gentle courage of these two men, one of them I haue alreadie named, the other is called *Miquelet*: which deserue well to be mentioned here, for hauing so freely exposed their liues in the conseruation of the welfare of New *France*. For *Monsieur du Pont* hauing but one Barke and a Shallop, to seeke out towards *New-found-land*, for *French* shippes, could not charge himselfe with so much furniture, Corne, Meate, and Merchandises as were there; which he had bin forced to cast into the Sea (and which had bin greatly to our preiudice, and we did feare it very much) if these two men had not aduentured themselues to tarrie there, for the preseruing of those things, which they did with a willing and ioyfull minde.

Difficulties in comming in. The beautie of the Port. *Sagamos* signifieth Captaine. Praises of the two *Frenchmen* left alone in Fort of Port *Royall*.

The Friday, next day after our arriuall, *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* affected to this Enterprize, as for himselfe, put part of his people to worke in the tillage and manuring of the ground, whilest the others were employed in making cleane of the Chambers, and euery one to make readie that which belonged to his Trade. In the meane time those people of ours that had left vs at *Campseau*, to come along the Coast, met (as it were miraculously) with *Monsieur du Pont*, among

The tilling of the ground. The meeting with *Monsieur du Pont*.

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among Ilands, that bee in great number in those parts. The said *Monsieur du Pont*, at this happie and fortunate meeting, returned backe to see vs in the Port *Royall*, and to ship himselfe in the *Ionas*, to returne into *France*. As this chance was beneficiall vnto him, so was it vnto vs, by the meanes of his ships that hee left with vs. For without that, wee had beene in such extremitie that we had not beene able to goe nor come any where, our ship being once returned into *France*. Hee arriued there, on Monday the last of Iuly, and tarried yet in Port *Royall*, vntill the eight and twenty of August. All this moneth we made merry.

At the very beginning, we were desirous to see the Countrie vp the Riuer, where wee found Medowes, almost continuall aboue twelue leagues of ground, among which, brookes doe runne without number, which come from the Hills and Mountaines adioyning. The Woods very thicke on the water shoares, and so thicke, that sometimes, one cannot goe thorow them. In the passage to come forth from the same Port, for to goe to Sea, there is a Brooke, which falleth from the high Rockes downe, and in falling dispersteth it selfe into a small raine, which is very delightfull in Summer, because that at the foote of the Rocke there are Caues, wherein one is couered, whilest that this raine falleth so pleasantly: And in the Caue (wherein the raine of this Brooke falleth) is made, as it were, a Rain-bowe, when the Sunne shineth: which hath giuen me great cause of admiration. The forme of a Rain-bow vnder a Caue.

Within fifteene leagues of our dwelling, the Countrey, thorow which the Riuer *L'Equilla* passeth, is all plaine and euen. I haue seene in those parts many Countries, where the land is all euen, and the fairest of the world. But the perfection thereof is, that it is well watered. And for witnesse whereof, not onely in Port *Royall*, but also in all New *France*, the great Riuer of *Canada* is proofe thereof, which at the end of foure hundred leagues is as broad as the greatest Riuers of the world, repleniished with Iles and Rockes innumerable: taking her beginning from one of the Lakes which doe meete at the streame of her course (and so I thinke) so that it hath two courses, the one from the East towards *France*: the other from the West towards the South Sea: which is admirable; but not without the like example found in our *Europe*. For the Riuer which commeth downe to *Trent*, and to *Verone* proceedeth from a Lake which produceth another Riuer, whose course is bent opposite to the Riuer of *Lins*, which falleth into the Riuer *Danube*. So the *Nile* issueth from a Lake that bringeth forth other Riuers, which discharge themselues into the great Ocean. Greatnesse of *Canada* 400. leagues from the mouth. It springs from a Lake.

Let vs returne to our tillage: for to that must wee apply our selues: it is the first mine that must bee sought for, which is more worth than the treasures of *Atabalipa*: And hee that hath Corne, Wine, Cattell, Woollen and Linnen, Leather, Iron, and afterward Cod-fish, he needeth no other treasures, for the necessaries of life. Now all this is (or may be) in the Land by vs described: vpon which *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* hauing caused a second tillage to be made, in fifteene dayes after his arriuall thither, he sowed it with our *French* Corne, as well Wheat and Rie, as with Hempe, Flaxe, Turnep seed, Radice, Cabages, and other seeds: And the eight day following, he saw that his labour had not beene in vaine, but rather a faire hope, by the production that the ground had already made of the seedes which shee had receiued. Which being shewed to *Monsieur du Pont*, was vnto him a faire subiect to make his relation in *France*, as a thing altogether new there. The twentieth day of August was already come, when these faire shewes were made, and the time did admonish them that were to goe in the Voyage, to make ready. Whereunto they beganne to giue order, so that the fiue and twentieth day of the same moneth, after many peales of Ordnance, they weighed anchor to come to the mouth of the Port, which is commonly the first dayes iourney. Which is the first mine. Sowing of Corne. August 28.

Monsieur de Monts being desirous to reach as farre into the South as he could, and seeke out a place very fit to inhabite, beyond *Malebarre*, had requested *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* to passe farther than yet he had done, and to seeke a conuenient Port in good temperature of aire, making no greater account of Port *Royall* than of Saint *Croix*, in that which concerneth health. Whereunto the said *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* being willing to condescend, would not tarrie for the Spring time, knowing he should haue other employments to exercise himselfe withall. But seeing his sowings ended, and his field greene, resolued himselfe to make this Voyage and Discouerie before Winter. So then hee disposed all things to that end, and with his Barke anchored neere to the *Ionas*, to the end to get out in companie. Cause of the Voyage made into the country of the *Armouchiquois*.

The eight and twentieth day of the said moneth each of vs tooke his course, one one way, and the other another, diuersly to Gods keeping. As for *Monsieur du Pont* he purposed by the way to set vpon a Merchant of *Roan*, named *Boyer*, who (contrary to the Kings inhibitions) was in those parts to trucke with the Sauages, notwithstanding hee had beene deliuered out of prison in *Rochell*, by the consent of *Monsieur de Pontrincourt*, vnder promise hee should not goe thither; but the said *Boyer* was already gone. And as for *Monsieur de Pontrincourt*, hee tooke his course for the Ile of Saint *Croix*, the *Frenchmens* first abode, hauing *Monsieur de Champdore* for Master and Guide of his Barque: but beeing hindered by the winde, and because his Barque did leake, hee was forced twice to put backe againe. In the end hee quite passed the Bay *Françoise*, and viewed the said Ile, where hee found ripe Corne, of that which two yeeres before Parting from Port *Royall*. Faire Rie found at *S. Croix*.

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before was ſowed by *Monſieur de Monts*, which was faire, bigge, weighty, and well filled. Hee ſent vnto vs ſome of that Corne to Port *Royall*, where I was requeſted to ſtay, to looke to the houſe, and to keepe the reſt of the companie there, in concord. Whereunto I did agree (though it was referred to my will) for the aſſurance that wee had among our ſelues, that the yeere following wee ſhould make our habitation in a warmer Countrie beyond *Malebarre*, and that wee ſhonld all goe in companie with them that ſhould bee ſent to vs out of *France*. In the meane while I employed my ſelfe in dreſſing the ground, to make incloſures and partitions of Gardens, for to ſowe Corne and Kitchin herbes. Wee cauſed alſo a Ditch to bee made all about the Fort, which was very needfull to receiue the waters and moiſtneſſe, that before did runne vnderneath among the rootes of trees, that had beene fallen downe: which peraduenture did make the place vnhealthfull. I will not ſtand in deſcribing heere, what each of our other workmen and labourers did particularly make. It ſufficeth, that wee had ſtore of Ioyners, Carpenters, Maſons, Stone-caruers, Lock-ſmithes, Taylors, Boord-ſawyers, Mariners, &c. who did exerciſe their Trades, which (in doing their duties) were very kindly vſed, for they were at their owne libertie for three houres labour a day. The ouerplus of the time they beſtowed it, in going to gather Muſſels, which are at lowe water in great quantitie before the Fort, or Lobſters, or Crabbes, which are in Port *Royall*, vnder the Rockes in great abundance, or Cockles, which are in euery part in the oze, about the ſhoares of the ſaid Port: All that kinde of fiſh is taken without Net or Boat. Some there were that ſometimes tooke wilde-fowle, but not being skilfull, they ſpoyled the game. And as for vs, our Table was furniſhed by one of *Monſieur de Monts* men, who prouided for vs in ſuch ſort that wee wanted no fowle, bringing vnto vs, ſometimes halfe a dozen of birds, called by *Frenchmen*, Outards (a kinde of wilde Geeſe) ſometimes as many Mallards, or wilde Geeſe, white and gray, very often two or three dozen of Larkes, and other kindes of birds. As for Bread, no body felt want thereof, and euery one had three quarts of pure and good Wine a day. Which hath continued with vs as long as wee haue beene there, ſauing that, when they, who came to fetch vs, inſtead of bringing commodities vnto vs, helped vs to ſpend our owne. For our allowance, wee had Peaſe, Beanes, Rice, Prunes, Raiſins, drie Codde, and ſalt Fleſh, beſides Oyle and Butter. But whenſoeuer the Sauages, dwelling neere vs, had taken any quantitie of Sturgions, Salmons, or ſmall fiſhes; *Item*, any Beuers, * Ellans, Carabous (or fallow Deere) they brought vnto vs halfe of it: and that which remained they expoſed it ſometimes to ſale publikely, and they that would haue any thereof did trucke Bread for it.

Their meaning is to plant beyond *Malebarre* to the ſouthward.
A ditch profitably made.
What ſtore of workmen and labourers in New *France*.
Their exerciſe and manner of life.
Muſſels, Lobſters, Crabs.
Good prouiſion of wilde fowle.
What quantity of Bread and Wine.
*A kinde of Stag, or red Deere.

Wherein is to be noted a thing that now I remember. It is, that being neceſſary to cut turfes to couer the Piles of wood, heaped to make the ſaid Coales, there was found in the Medowes three foote deepe of earth, not earth, but graſſe or herbes mingled with mudde, which haue heaped themſelues yeerely one vpon another from the beginning of the world, not hauing beene mooued. Neuertheleſſe the greene thereof ſerueth for paſture to the Ellans, which wee haue many times ſeene in our Medowes of thoſe parts, in herds of three or foure, great and ſmall, ſuffering themſelues ſometimes to bee approached, then they ranne to the Woods: But I may ſay moreouer, that I haue ſeene, in croſſing two leagues of our ſaid Medowes, the ſame to bee all troden with trackes of Ellans, for I knowe not there any other clouen footed beaſts. There was killed one of thoſe beaſts, not farre off from our Fort at a place where *Monſieur de Monts* hauing cauſed the graſſe to bee mowed two yeeres before, it was growne againe the faireſt of the world. Some might maruell how thoſe Medowes are made, ſeeing that all the ground in thoſe places is couered with Woods. For ſatisfaction whereof, let the curious Reader knowe, that in high Spring tides, ſpecially in March and September, the floud couereth thoſe ſhoares, which hindereth the trees there to take roote. But euery where, where the water ouerfloweth not, if there bee any ground, there are Woods.

The liberall nature of the Sauages.
What earth is in the Medowes.
Ellans in the Medowes.

Poutrincourts diſcouery.
Pemptegoet the true name of the fabulous *Norombega*.
Kinibeki.
The Bay of *Marchin*.
Confederacy.

LEt vs returne to *Monſieur de Poutrincourt*, whom we haue left in the Ile Saint *Croix*. Hauing made there a reuiew, and cheriſhed the Sauages that were there, hee went in the ſpace of foure dayes to *Pemptegoet*, which is that place ſo famous vnder the name of *Norombega*. There needeth not ſo long a time in comming thither, but hee tarried on the way to mend his Barke: for to that end he had brought with him a Smith and a Carpenter, and quantitie of boords. Hee croſſed the Iles, which bee at the mouth of the Riuer, and came to *Kinibeki*, where his Barke was in danger, by reaſon of the great ſtreames that the nature of the place procureth there. This was the cauſe why hee made there no ſtay, but paſſed further to the Bay of *Marchin*, which is the name of a Captaine of the Sauages, who at the arriuall of the ſaid *Monſieur de Poutrincourt*, beganne to crie out aloud *He He*: whereunto the like anſwere was made vnto him. Hee replied, asking in his Language, What are yee? They anſwered him, Friends: And thereupon *Monſieur de Poutrincourt* approaching, treated amitie with him, and preſented him with Kniues, Hatchets, and *Matachiez*, that is to ſay, Scarfes, Karkenets and Bracelets made of Beades, or Quills made of white and blue Glaſſe; whereof hee was very glad, as alſo for the confederacy that the ſaid *Monſieur de Poutrincourt* made with him, knowing very well that the ſame would

bee

bee a great aide and ſupport vnto him. Hee diſtributed to ſome men that were about him, among a great number of people, the Preſents that the ſaid *Monſieur de Poutrincourt* gaue him, to whom hee brought ſtore of Orignac, or Ellans fleſh (for the *Baskes* doe call a Stagge, or Ellan, Orignac) to refreſh the companie with victuals. That done, they ſet ſayles towards *Chouakoet*, where the Riuer of Captaine *Olmechin* is, and where the yeere following was made the warre of the *Souriquois* and *Etechemins*, vnder the conduct of the *Sagamos Memberton*, which I haue deſcribed in Verſes, which Verſes I haue inſerted among the Muſes of New *France*. At the entry of the Bay of the ſaid place of *Chouakoet* there is a great Iland, about halfe a league compaſſe, wherein our men did firſt diſcouer any Vines (for, although there bee ſome in the Lands neerer to *Port Royall*, notwithſtanding there was yet no knowledge had of them) which they found in great quantitie, hauing the trunke three and foure foote high, and as bigge as ones fiſt in the lower part, the Grapes faire and great, and ſome as big as Plummes, or leſſer: but as blacke, that they left a ſtaine where their liquour was ſpilled: Thoſe Grapes, I ſay, lying ouer buſhes and brambles that growe in the ſame Iland, where the trees are not ſo thicke as in other where, but are ſixe or ſeuen rods diſtant aſſunder, which cauſeth the Grapes to be ripe the ſooner; hauing beſides a ground very fit for the ſame, grauelly and ſandy. They tarried there but two houres: but they noted, that there were no Vines on the North ſide, euen as in the Ile Saint *Croix* are no Cedar trees, but on the Weſt ſide.

Orignac or Ellan: *Champlein* ſaith they are like Oxen.
The Riuer of *Olmechin.*
Port *De Chouakoet.*
An Iland of Vines.

From this Iland they went to the Riuer of *Olmechin*, a Port of *Chouakoet*, where *Marchin* and the ſaid *Olmechin* brought to *Monſieur de Poutrincourt* a priſoner of the *Souriquois* (and therefore their enemy) which they gaue vnto him freely. Two houres after, there arriued two Sauages, the one an *Eteſchemin*, named *Chkoudun*, Captaine of the Riuer Saint *Iohn*, called by the Sauages *Oigoudi*: The other a *Souriquois*, named *Meſſamoet*, Captaine or *Sagamos* of the Riuer of the Port *De la Heue*, where this priſoner was taken. They had great ſtore of Merchandiſes trucked with *Frenchmen*, which they were comming to vtter, that is to ſay, great, meane, and ſmall Kettles, Hatchets, Kniues, Gownes, ſhort Clokes, red Waſte-coates, Bisket, and other things: whereupon there arriued twelue or fifteene Boats, full of Sauages of *Olmechins* ſubiection, being in very good order, all their faces painted, according to their wonted cuſtome, when they will ſeeme faire, hauing their Bow and Arrow in hand, and the quiuer, which they layed downe aboord. At that houre *Meſſamoet* beganne his Oration before the Sauages: ſhewing them, how that in times paſt, they often had friendſhip together: and that they might eaſily ouercome their enemies, if they would haue intelligence and ſerue themſelues with the amitie of the *Frenchmen*, whom they ſaw there preſent to knowe their Countrey, to the end to bring commodities vnto them hereafter, and to ſuccour them with their forces, which forces he knew, and hee was the better able to make a demonſtration thereof vnto them, by ſo much that hee which ſpake, had before time beene in *France*, and dwelt there with *Monſieur de Grandmont*, Gouernour of *Bayonne*. Finally, his ſpeech continued almoſt an houre with much vehemency and affection, with a geſture of body and armes, as is requiſite in a good Oratour. And in the end he did caſt all his merchandiſes (which were worth aboue three hundred crownes, brought into that Countrie) into *Olmechins* his Boat, as making him a preſent of that, in aſſurance of the loue hee would witneſſe vnto him. That done the night haſted on, and euery one retired himſelfe. But *Meſſamoet* was not pleaſed, for that *Olmechin* made not the like Oration vnto him, nor requited his preſent: For the Sauages haue that noble qualitie, that they giue liberally, caſting at the feet of him whom they will honour, the Preſent that they giue him: But it is in hope to receiue ſome reciprocall kindneſſe, which is a kinde of contract, which wee call, without name, *I giue thee, to the end thou ſhouldeſt giue mee.* And that is done thorow all the world. Therefore *Meſſamoet* from that day had in minde to make warre to *Olmechin*. Notwithſtanding, the next day in the morning he and his people did returne with a Boate laden with that which they had, to wit, Corne, Tabacco, Beanes and Pumpions, which they diſtributed here and there. Thoſe two Captaines *Olmechin* and *Marchin* haue ſince beene killed in the warres. In whoſe ſtead was choſen by the Sauages, one named *Beſſabes*, which ſince our returne hath beene killed by *Engliſhmen*: and in ſtead of him they haue made a Captaine to come from within the Lands, named *Aſticou*, a graue man, valiant and redoubted, which, in the twinkling of an eye, will gather vp a thouſand Sauages together, which thing *Olmechin* and *Marchin* might alſo doe. For our Barkes being there, preſently the Sea was ſeene all couered ouer with their Boates, laden with nimble and luſty men, holding themſelues vp ſtraight in them: which wee cannot doe without danger, thoſe Boates being nothing elſe but trees hollowed. From thence *Monſieur de Poutrincourt* following on his courſe, found a certaine Port very delightfull, which had not beene ſeene by *Monſieur de Monts*: And during the Voyage they ſaw ſtore of ſmoke, and people on the ſheare, which inuited vs to come aland: And ſeeing that no account was made of it, they followed the Barke along the ſand, yea moſt often they did outgoe her, ſo ſwift are they, hauing their Bowes in hand, and their Quiuers vpon their backes, alwaies ſinging and dancing, not taking care with what they ſhould liue by the way.

The Riuer of *Olmechin.*
The galantneſſe of the Sauages.
Port *De la Heue.*
The Sauages doe paint their faces.
The Oration of *Meſſamoet.*
Meſſamoets affection to the *Frenchmen.*
The largeſſe and liberality of *Meſſamoet.*
The Sauages be liberall.
A Corn-countrie, Beanes, Pumpions, and Grapes.
Beſſabes.
Engliſhmen.
Aſticou.
Canoas.
A very good Port.
The agilitie of the *Armuchiquois.*

Monſieur de Poutrincourt hauing landed in this Port, behold among a multitude of Sa-

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Fifes.

uages a good number of Fifes, which did play with certaine long Pipes, made as it were with Canes of Reedes, painted ouer, but not with such an harmonie as our Shepheards might doe: And to shew the excellency of their arte, they whisled with their noses in gambolling, according to their fashion.

A Sauage wounded.

And as this people did runne headlong, to come to the Barke, there was a Sauage which hurt himselfe grieuously in the heele against the edge of a Rocke, whereby hee was enforced to remayne in the place. *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* his Chirurgion, at that instant would apply to this hurt that which was of his Arte, but they would not permit it, vntill they had first made their mouthes and mops about the wounded man. They then layed him downe on the ground, one of them holding his head on his lappe, and made many bawlings and singings, whereunto the wounded man answered but with a *Ho*, with a complayning voice, which hauing done they yeelded him to the cure of the said Chirurgion, and went their way, and the Patient also after hee had beene dressed: but two houres after he came againe, the most iocund in the world, hauing put about his head, the binding cloth, wherewith his heele was wrapped, for to seeme the more gallant.

Their mouthes and mops about him that was hurt.

The Presents of a Sauage woman.

Hempe very faire.

Beanes.

Quantitie of Grapes.

The simplicity and ignorance of people.

The day following, our people entred farther into the Port, where being gone to see the Cabins of the Sauages, an old woman of an hundred or sixscore yeeres of age, came to cast at the feete of *Monsieur de Poutrincourt*, a loafe of bread, made with the Wheat called *Mahis*, then very faire Hempe of a long growth; *Item*, Beanes, and Grapes newly gathered, because they had seene *Frenchmen* eate of them at *Chaoüakoet*. Which the other Sauages seeing, that knew it not, they brought more of them than one would, emulating one another; and for recompence of this their kindnesse, there was set on their foreheads a Fillet or Band, of paper, wet with spittle, of which they were very proud. It was shewed them, in pressing the Grape into a Glasse, that of that we did make the Wine which wee did drinke. Wee would haue made them to eate of the Grape, but hauing taken it into their mouthes, they spitted it out, so ignorant is this people of the best thing that God hath giuen to Man, next to Bread. Yet notwithstanding they haue no want of wit, and might be brought to doe some good things, if they were ciuilized, and had the vse of Handy-crafts. But they are subtile, theeuish, traiterous, and though they bee naked, yet one cannot take heed of their fingers; for if one turne neuer so little his eyes aside, and that they spie the opportunitie to steale any Knife, Hatchet, or any thing else, they will not misse nor fayle of it; and will put the theft betweene their buttockes, or will hide it within the sand with their foot so cunningly, that one shall not perceiue it. Indeed I doe not wonder if a people poore and naked be theeuish; but when the heart is malicious, it is vnexcusable. This people is such, that they must bee handled with terrour: for if through loue and gentlenesse one giue them too free accesse, they will practise some surprize, as it hath beene knowne in diuers occasions heretofore, and will yet here-after be seene. And without deferring any longer, the second day after our comming thither, as they saw our people busie awashing Linnen, they came some fifty, one following another, with Bowes, Arrowes and Quiuers, intending to play some bad part, as it was coniectured vpon their manner of proceeding; but they were preuented, some of our men going to meet them, with their Muskets and Matches at the cocke, which made some of them runne away, and the others being compassed in, hauing put downe their weapons, came to a Peninsule, or small head of an Iland, where our men were, and making a friendly shew, demanded to trucke the Tabacco they had for our merchandises.

The bad nature of the *Armouchiquois*.

Note how the *Armouchiquois* must be dealt withall.

This the only way to ciuilize Sauages. Trust them and hang them, nay trust them and they will cut your throat, as in the *Virginian* massacre appeareth.

The next day the Captaine of the said place and Port, came into *Monsieur de Pontrincourts* Barke to see him: wee did maruell to see him accompanied with *Olmechin*, seeing the way was maruellous long to come thither by Land, and much shorter by Sea. That gaue cause of bad suspicion, albeit hee had promised his loue to the *Frenchmen*. Notwithstanding they were gently receiued. And *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* gaue to the said *Olmechin* a complete garment, wherewith being clothed, hee viewed himselfe in a Glasse, and did laugh to see himselfe in that order. But a little while after, feeling that the same hindred him, although it was in October, when hee was returned vnto his Cabins, he distributed it to sundry of his men, to the end that one alone should not be ouerpestered with it. Now during the time of the said *Monsieur de Poutrincourt* was there, being in doubt whether *Monsieur de Monts* would come to make an habitation on that Coast, as hee wished it, hee made there a piece of ground to be tilled, for to sowe Corne and to plant Vines.

Suspicion for the comming of *Olmechin*.

The trouble of garments.

Corne sowed, and Vines planted.

As they were a deliberating to passe farther, *Olmechin* came to the Barke to see *Monsieur de Pontrincourt*, where hauing tarried certaine houres, either in talking or eating, hee said, that the next day an hundred Boates should come, contayning euery one sixe men: but the comming of such a number of men, being but troublesome, *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* would not tarrie for them; but went away the same day to *Malebarre*, not without much difficultie, by reason of the great streames and shoalds that are there. So that the Barke hauing touched at three foot of water onely, we thought to be cast away, and wee beganne to vnlade her, and put victuals into the Shalop, which was behind, for to saue vs on Land: but being no full Sea, the Barke came aflote within an houre. All this Sea is a Land ouerflowed, as that of Mount Saint *Michaels*, a

100. Boats of Sauages.

Malebarre.

Peril of sholds

sandy

ſanday ground, in which, all that reſteth is a plaine flat Countrey as farre as the Mountaines, which are ſeene fifteene leagues off from that place. And I am of opinion, that as farre as *Virginia*, it is all alike. Moreouer, there is here great quantity of Grapes, as before, and a Country very full of people. *Monſieur de Monts* being come to *Malebarre* in an other ſeaſon of the yeare, gathered onely greene Grapes; which he made to be preſerued, and brought ſome to the King. But it was our good hap to come thither in October, for to ſee the maturity thereof. I haue here before ſhewed the difficulty that is found in entering into *Malebarre*. This is the cauſe why *Monſieur de Pontrincourt* came not in with his Barke, but went thither with a Shallop onely, which thirty or forty Sauages did helpe to draw in: and when it was full tide (but the tide doth not mount here but two fathams high, which is ſeldome ſeene) he went out, and retired himſelfe into his ſaid Barke, to paſſe further in the morning, as ſoone as he ſhould ordaine it.

Note. Great antiquity of Grapes.

Hereupon chap. 7.

Two fathames tide onely.

THe night beginning to giue place to the dawning of the day, the ſailes are hoiſed vp, but it was but a very perilous nauigation. For with this ſmall Veſſell they were forced to coaſt the land, where they found no depth: going backe to Sea it was yet worſe; in ſuch wiſe that they did ſtrike twice or thrice, being raiſed vp againe onely by the waues, and the rudder was broken, which was a dreadfull thing. In this extremity they were conſtrained to caſt anker in the Sea, at two fathams deepe, and three leagues off from the land. Which being done, *Daniel Hay* (a man which taketh pleaſure in ſhewing forth his vertue in the perils of the Sea) was ſent towards the Coaſt to view it, and ſee if there were any Port. And as he was neere land he ſaw a Sauage, which did dance, ſinging, *yo, yo, yo*, he called to him to come neerer, and by ſignes asked him if there were any place to retire Ships in, and where any freſh water was. The Sauage hauing made ſigne there was, hee tooke him into his Shallop, and brought him to the Barke, wherein was *Chkoudun* Captaine of the Riuer of *Oigoudi*, otherwiſe Saint *Iohns* Riuer: who being brought before this Sauage, he vnderſtood him no more than did our owne people: true it is, that by ſignes he comprehended better then they what he would ſay. This Sauage ſhewed the places where no depth was, and where was any, and did ſo well indenting and winding here and there, alway the led in hand, that in the end they came to the Port ſhewed by him, where ſmall depth is; wherein the Barke being arriued, diligence was vſed to make a forge for to mend her with her rudder, and an Ouen to bake Bread, becauſe there was no more Biſket left.

Danger.

Oigoudi, or S. *Iohns* Riuer.

Sauages of ſundry Nations vnderſtand not one another.

A forge and an ouen made.

Fifteene dayes were imployed in this worke, during the which *Monſieur de Pontrincourt*, according to the laudable cuſtome of *Chriſtians*, made a Croſſe to be framed and ſet vp vpon a greene Banke, as *Monſieur de Monts* had done two yeeres before at *Kinibeki* and *Malebarre*. Now among theſe painefull exerciſes they gaue not ouer making good cheere, with that which both the Sea and Land might furniſh in that part. For in this Port is plenty of Fowle, in taking of which many of our men applied themſelues: ſpecially the Sea Larkes are there in ſo great flights that *Monſieur de Pontrincourt* killed eight and twenty of them with one Caliuer ſhot. As for fiſhes, there be ſuch abundance of Porpeſes, and another kinde of fiſh, called by *Frenchmen Souffleurs*, that is to ſay, Blowers, that the Sea ſeemes to be all couered ouer with them. But they had not the things neceſſary for this kinde of fiſhing, they contented themſelues then with ſhel-fiſh, as of Oyſters, Skalops, Periwincles, whereof there was enough. The Sauages of the other ſide did Bring fiſh, and Grapes within baskets made of ruſhes, for exchange with ſome of our wares.

A croſſe ſet vp

Abundance of Larkes & fiſhes

Shel-fiſh.

Grapes.

Ruſh-baskets.

After certaine dayes, the ſaid *Monſieur de Pontrincourt*, ſeeing there great aſſembly of Sauages, came aſhoare, and to giue them ſome terrour, made to march before him one of his men, flouriſhing with two naked ſwords. Whereat they much wondred, but yet much more when they ſaw that our Muskets did pierce thicke peeces of wood, where their Arrowes could not ſo much as ſcratch. And therefore they neuer aſſailed our men, as long as they kept watch. And it had beene good to ſound the Trumpet at euery houres end, as Captaine *Iames Quartier* did. For (as *Monſieur de Pontrincourt* doth often ſay) *One muſt neuer lay baite for theeues*; meaning, that one muſt neuer giue cauſe to any enemy to thinke that he may ſurpriſe you: But one muſt alwayes ſhew that he is miſtruſted, and that you are not aſleepe, chiefely when one hath to doe with Sauages, which will neuer ſet vpon him that reſolutely expects them; for ſoone after they killed foure of our men which were cateleſſe. They named this Port, Port *Fortune*.

The triall of *French* weapons before the Sauages.

Good inſtruction.

Port *Fortune*.

Counſell being taken, it was reſolued to returne into Port *Royall*: *Monſieur de Pontrincourt* beſides all this, being yet in care for them whom he had left there, ſo they came againe for the third time into Port *Fortune*, where no Sauage was ſeene. Vpon the firſt winde, the ſaid *Monſieur de Pontrincourt* weighed anker for the returne, and being mindfull of the dangers paſſed he ſailed in open Sea: which ſhortned his courſe, but not without a great miſchiefe of the rudder, which was againe broken; in ſuch ſort, that being at the mercy of the waues, they arriued in the end, as well as they could amongſt the Ilands of *Norembega*, where they mended it. *Monſieur de Pontrincourt* arriued in Port *Royall* the foureteenth day of Nouember, where we receiued him ioyfully.

Reſolution for the returne.

Their returne. Perill.

The arriuall of *Monſieur de Pontrincourt*.

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The pnblike reioycing being finiſhed, *Monſieur de Poutrincourt* had a care to ſee his corne, the greateſt part whereof he had ſowed two leagues off from our Port, by the Riuer *L'Eſquelle*; and the other part about our ſaid Port: and found that which was firſt ſowen very forward, but not the laſt, that had beene ſowed the ſixth and tenth dayes of Nouember, which notwithſtanding did grow vnder the Snow, during Winter, as I haue noted it in my ſowings. It would be a tedious thing to particulariſe all that was done amongſt vs during Winter: as to tell how the ſaid *Monſieur de Poutrincourt* cauſed many times coales to be made, the forge-coale being ſpent: That he cauſed waies to be made thorow the woods: That he went thorow the Forreſts by the guide of the Compaſſe, and other things of ſuch nature. But I will relate that, for to keepe vs merry and clenly concerning victuals, there was an order eſtabliſhed at the Table of the ſaid *Monſieur de Poutrincourt*, which was named *L'ordre de bon temps*, the order of good time (or the order of mirth) at firſt inuented by *Monſieur Champlein*, wherein they (who were of the ſame table) were euery one at his turne and day (which was in fifteene dayes once) Steward and Cater. Now his care was that we ſhould haue good and worſhipfull fare, which was ſo well obſerued, that (although the Belly-gods of theſe parts doe often reproach vnto vs that we had not *La Rue aux Ours* of *Paris* with vs) we haue ordinarily had there, as good cheere as we could haue at *La Rue aux Ours*, and at farre leſſer charges. For there was none, but (two dayes before his turne came) was carefull to goe ahunting or fiſhing, and brought ſome daintie thing, beſides that which was of our ordinary allowance. So well, that at breakfaſt we neuer wanted ſome modicom or other, of fiſh or fleſh: and at the repaſt of dinners or ſuppers, yet leſſe; for it was the great banquet, where the Gouernour of the feaſt, or Steward (whom the Sauages doe call *Atoctegi*) hauing made the Cooke to make all things ready, did march with his Napkin on his ſhoulder, and his ſtaffe of office in his hand, with the colour of the order about his necke, which was worth aboue foure crownes, and all of them of the order following him, bearing euery one a diſh. The like alſo was at the bringing in of the Fruit, but not with ſo great a traine. And at night after grace was ſaid, he reſigned the Collar of the Order, with a cup of wine, to his ſucceſſour in that charge, and they dranke one to another. I haue heretofore ſaid that we had abundance of Fowle, as Mallards, Outards, Geeſe gray and white, Partridges and other Birds: *Item*, of Ellans, or Stag-fleſh, of Caribous or Deere, Beuers, Otters, Beares, Rabbets, Wilde-cats or Leopards, Nibaches, and ſuch like, which the Sauages did take, wherewith we made as good diſhes of meate, as in the Cookes ſhops that be in *La rue aux Ours*, Beare ſtreete, and greater ſtore; for of all meates none is ſo tender as Ellans fleſh (whereof we made good paſties) nor ſo delicate as the Beauers-taile. Yea, we haue had ſometimes halfe a doſen Sturgions at one clap, which the Sauages did bring to vs, part whereof we did take, paying for it, and the reſt was permitted them to ſell publikely, and to trucke it for Bread, whereof our people had abundantly. And as for the ordinary meate brought out of *France*, that was diſtributed equally, as much to the leaſt as to the biggeſt. And the like with Wine, as we haue ſaid. In ſuch actions we had alwayes twenty or thirty Sauages, men, women, girles and Boies, who beheld vs doing our offices. Bread was giuen them *gratis*, as we doe here to the poore. But as for the *Sagamos Memberton*, and other *Sagamos* (when they came to vs) they ſat at table eating and drinking as we did: and wee tooke pleaſure in ſeeing them, as contrariwiſe their abſence was irkeſome vnto vs; as it came to paſſe three or foure times that all went away to the places where they knew that game and Veniſon was, and brought one of our men with them, who liued ſome ſix weekes as they did without Salt, without Bread and without Wine, lying on the ground vpon skins, and that in ſnowie weather. Moreouer they had greater care of him (as alſo of others that haue often gone with them) than of themſelues, ſaying, that if they ſhould chance to dye, it would be laid to their charges to haue killed them.

Such gouernment as we haue ſpoken of, did ſerue vs for preſeruatiues againſt the Country diſeaſe. And yet foure of ours died in February and March, of them who were of a fretfull conditon ſluggiſh. And I remember I obſerued that all had their lodgings on the Weſt ſide, and looking towards the wide open Port, which is almoſt foure leagues long, ſhaped ouale-wiſe, beſides they had all of them ill bedding.

We had faire weather almoſt during all the Winter: for neither raines nor fogges are ſo frequent there as here, whether it be at Sea or on the land: The reaſon is, becauſe the Sun-beames, by the long diſtance, haue not the force to raiſe vp vapours from the ground here, chiefely in a Countrey all wooddy. But in Summer it doth, both from the Sea and the Land, when as their force is augmented, and thoſe vapors are diſſolued ſuddenly or ſlowly, according as one approacheth to the Equinoctiall line. Raines being in thoſe parts rare, in that ſeaſon, the Sunne likewiſe ſhineth there very faire, after the fall of Snowes, which we haue had ſeuen or eight times, but it is eaſily melted in open places, and the longeſt abiding haue beene in February. Howſoeuer it be, the Snow is very profitable for the fruits of the earth, to preſerue them againſt the froſt, and to ſerue them as a fur-gowne.

And as the skie is ſeldome couered with clouds towards *New-found-lands* in Winter time, ſo are there morning froſts, which doe increaſe in the end of Ianuary, February, and in the beginning

The ſtate of Corne.

How they ſpēt their winter.

Coales.

The vſe of the Compaſſe in land voiages.

The inſtitution of the Order of *Bon temps*

La Rue aux Ours or Beare ſtreet is as Pie-corner, or ſuch a Cooke place in *London*.

Store of Sturgions. Before in chap. 13.

The vſage of the Sauages.

The Sauages haue care of the *Frenchmen*.

Preſeruatiue againſt Scurvy

Bad winde.

The ſtate of Winter weather.

Why Raines and Miſts be ſcarſe in winter

Snow is profitable.

Froſts when they are.

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ning of March, for vntill the very time of Ianuary, we kept vs still in our doublets: And I remember that on a Sunday, the foureteenth day of that moneth, in the afternoone, wee sported our selues singing in Musicke vpon the Riuer *L'Esquelle*, and in the same moneth wee went to see Come two leagues off from our Fort, and did dine merrily in the Sun-shine: I would not for all that say that all other yeares were like vnto this. For as that winter was as milde in these parts, these last Winters of the yeares 1607. 1608. haue beene the hardest that euer was seene; it hath also beene alike in those Countries, in such sort, that many Sauages died through the rigour of the weather, as in these our parts many poore people and trauellers haue beene killed through the same hardnesse of Winter weather. But I will say, that the yeare before we were in New *France*, the Winter had not beene so hard, as they which dwelt there before vs haue testified vnto me. Let this suffice for that which concerneth the winter season. But I am not yet fully satisfied in searching the cause, why in one and the selfesame parallell the season is in those parts of New *France* more slow by a moneth than in these parts, and the leaues appeare not vpon the trees but towards the end of the moneth of May: vnlesse wee say that the thicknesse of the wood and greatnesse of Forrests doe hinder the Sunne from warming of the ground: *Item*, that the Country where we were is ioyning to the Sea, and thereby more subiect to cold. And besides that, this land hauing neuer beene tilled is the more dampish, the trees and plants not being able easily to draw sap from their mother the earth. In recompence wherof the Winter there is also more slow, as we haue heretofore spoken.

The state of Ianuary.

Conformity of weather in East and West *France*.

The great Frost 1607.

Wherefore it is the season late

The cold being passed, about the end of March the best disposed amongst vs striued who should best till the ground, and make Gardens, to sowe in them, and gather fruits thereof. Which was to very good purpose, for wee found great discommodity in the Winter for want of Garden hearbes. When euery one had done his sowing, it was a marueilous pleasure in seeing them daily grow and spring vp, and yet greater contentment to vse thereof so abundantly as wee did: so that this beginning of good hope made vs almost to forget our natiue Countrie, and especially when the fish began to haunt fresh-water, and came abundantly into our brookes, in such innumerable quantity that we knew not what to doe with it.

Dressing of Gardens.

Good crop from the ground.

Abundance of fishes.

Whilest some laboured on the ground, *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* made some buildings to be prepared, for to lodge them which he hoped should succeede vs. And considering how troublesome the Hand-mill was, he caused a Water-mill to be made, which caused the Sauages to admire much at it. For indeede it is an inuention which came not into the spirit of men from the first ages. After that, our workmen had much rest, for the most part of them did almost nothing. But I may say that this Mill, by the diligence of our Millers, did furnish vs with three times more Herrings then was needefull vnto vs for our sustenance. *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* made two Hogsheads full of them to be salted, and one hogshead of Sardines, or Pilchers to bring into *France* for a shew, which were left in our returne at Saint *Maloes*, to some Merchants.

The care of *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* in prouiding for the that should comeafter him

The building of a water-mil.

Abundance of Herrings.

Pilchers.

Among all these things the said *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* did not neglect to thinke on his returne. Which was the part of a wise man, for one must neuer put so much trust in mens promises, but one must consider that very often many disasters doe happen to them in a small moment of time. And therefore, euen in the Moneth of Aprill, he made two Barkes to be prepared, a great one and a small one, to come to seeke out *French*-ships towards *Campseau*, or *Newfound-land*, if it should happen that no supply should come vnto vs. But the Carpentry-worke being finished, one onely inconuenience might hinder vs, that is, we had no Pitch to calke our Vessels. This (which was the chiefest thing) was forgotten at our departure from *Rochel*. In this important necessitie, the said *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* aduised himselfe to gather in the woods quantity of the gumme issuing from Firre-trees. Which he did with much labour, going thither himselfe, most often with a Boy or two: so that in the end hee got some hundred pounds weight of it. Now after these labours, it was not yet all, for it was needefull to melt and purifie the same, which was a necessary point and vnknowne to our ship-Master *Monsieur de Champ-dore*, and to his Marriners, for as much as that the Pitch we haue, commeth from *Norwege*, *Suedland*, and *Dantzick*. Neuertheless the said *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* found the meanes to draw out the quintessence of these Gummes and Firre-tree barkes: and caused quantity of Brickes to be made, with the which he made an open furnace, wherein he put a limbecke made with many kettles, ioyned one in the other, which hee filled with those gummes and barkes: Then being well couered, fire was put round about it, by whose violence the gumme enclosed within the lembecke melted, and dropped downe into a bason; but it was needefull to be very watchfull at it, by reason that if the fire had taken hold of the Gumme, all had beene lost. That was admirable, especially in a man that neuer saw any made. Whereof the Sauages being astonied, did say in words borrowed from the *Basques*, *Endia chaue Normandia*, that is to say, that the *Normans* know many things. Now they call all *Frenchmen Normands*, except the *Basques*, because the most part of fishermen that goe a fishing there, be of that Nation. This remedie came very fitly vnto vs, for those which came to seeke vs were fallen into the same want that we were.

Preparation for the return.

Great ouersight.

Monsieur de Pontrincourt his inuention.

Bricke made in New *France*.

Why the Sauages call all *French* men *Normands*.

The

Newes out of *France*, and their returne.

THe Sunne did but beginne to cheere the earth, and to behold his Mistris with an amorous aspect, when the *Sagamos Memberton* (after our Prayers solemnely made to God, and the break-fast distributed to the people, according to the custome) came to giue vs aduertisement that he had seene a sayle vpon the Lake, which came towards our Fort. At this ioyfull newes euery one went out to see, but yet none was found that had so good a sight as he, though he be aboue a 100. yeeres old; neuertheless we spied very soone what it was. It was onely a small Barke vnder the charge of a young man of Saint *Maloes*, named *Chomalier*, who beeing arriued at the Fort, deliuered his Letters to *Monsieur de Poutrincourt*, which were read publikely. They did write vnto him, that for to helpe to saue the charges of the Voyage, the ship (being yet the *Ionas*) should stay at *Campseau* Port, there to fish for Cods, by reason that the Merchants associate with *Monsieur de Monts*, knew not that there was any fishing farther then that place: Notwithstanding if it were necessary he should cause the ship to come to Port *Royall*. Moreouer, that the societie was broken, because that contrary to the King his Edict, the *Hollanders*, conducted by a traiterous *Frenchman*, called *La Ieunesse*, had the yeere before taken vp the Beuers and other Furres, of the great Riuer of *Canada*. Notwithstanding, after that *Monsieur de Poutrincourt*, had a long while mused hereupon, he said, that although he should haue no bodie to come with him, but onely his family, hee would not forsake the enterprize. It was great griefe vnto vs to abandon (without hope of returne) a Land that had produced vnto vs so faire Corne, and so many faire adorned Gardens. All that could be done vntill that time, was to find out a place, fit to make a setled dwelling, and a Land of good fertilitie. And that being done, it was great want of courage to giue ouer the enterprise, for another yeare being passed, the necessitie of maintayning an habitation there, should be taken away, for the Land was sufficient to yeeld things necessarie for life. This was the cause of that griefe which pierced the hearts of them which were desirous to see the Christian Religion established in that Countrey. But on the contrary, *Monsieur de Monts*, and his associates, reaping no benefit, but losse, and hauing no helpe from the King, it was a thing which they could not doe, but with much difficultie to maintayne an habitation in those parts.

The contents of the Letters written to *Monsieur de Poutrincourt*: The societie of *Monsieur de Monts* broken, and why. *Monsieur de Poutrincourt* his resolution. The *English* Nation going to *Virginia* with a zealous intent to plant true religion & so to increase Christs blessed flock, no doubt he will bee their leader.

Monsieur de Monts is enuied.

Now this enuie for the Trade of Beauers with the Sauages, found not onely place in the *Hollanders* hearts, but also in *French* Merchants, in such sort that the priuiledge which had beene giuen to the said *Monsieur de Monts* for ten yeeres was reuoked. The vnsatiable auarice of men is a strange thing, which haue no regard to that which is honest, so that they may rifle and catch by what meanes soeuer. And thereupon I will say moreouer, that there haue beene some of them that came to that Countrey to fetch vs home, that wickedly haue presumed so much as to strip the dead, and steale away the Beauers, which those poore people doe put, for their last benefit, vpon them whom they bury, as we will declare more at large in the Booke following. A thing that maketh the *French* name to be odious, and worthy disdaine among them, which haue no such sordid qualitie at all.

Robbing from the dead.

The Sauages go to the wars.

Fifteene dayes after, the said *Monsieur de Poutrincourt* sent a Barke to *Campseau*, with part of our Workmen, for to beginne to pull downe the house. In the beginning of Iune the Sauages, about foure hundred in number, went away from the dwelling that the *Sagamos Memberton* had newly made, in forme of a Towne, compassed about with high pales, for to go to warres against the *Armouchiquois*, which was at *Chouacoet* some eightie leagues distant from Port *Royall*; from whence they returned victorious.

Voyages vpon the Coast of the *French* Bay.

Monsieur de Poutrincourt being not willing to depart thence, vntill hee had seene the issue of his expectation, that is to say, the ripenesse of his Corne, hee deliberated, after that the Sauages were gone to warres, to make Voyages along the Coast. And because *Chamalier* was desirous to gather some Beuers, he sent him in a small Barke to the Riuer of Saint *Iohn*, called by the Sauages, *Ouigoudi*, and to the Ile Saint *Croix*: And he, the said *Monsieur de Poutrincourt*, went in a shallop to the Copper Myne. I was of the said *Chamalier* his Voyage: we crossed the *French* Bay to goe to the said Riuer, where, as soone as wee arriued, halfe a doozen Salmons newly taken, were brought to vs: we soiourned there foure dayes, during which, we went into the Cabins of *Sagamos Chkoudun*, where we saw some eightie, or a hundred Sauages, all naked except their priuie members, which were a making *Tabagy* (that is to say, a banquetting) with the meale that the said *Chamalier* had trucked with them for their old skinnes full of Lice.

Salmons.

Assembly of Sauages a feasting. Filthy trading.

The Towne of *Ouigoudi* (so I call the dwelling of the said *Chkoudun*) was a great inclosure vpon an Hill, compassed about with high and small Trees, tied one against another, and within it many Cabins, great and small, one of which was as great as a Market Hall, wherein many households retired themselues: And as for the same where they made their *Tabagie*, it was somwhat lesse. A good part of the said Sauages were of *Gachepe*, which is the beginning of the great Riuer of *Canada*; and they told vs, that they came from their dwelling thither in sixe dayes, which made me much to maruell, seeing the distance that there is by Sea, but they shorten very much their wayes, and make great Voyages by the meanes of Lakes and Riuers, at the end of which being come, in carrying their Canowes three or foure leagues, they get to other Riuers that haue a contrary course. All these Sauages were come thither to goe to the warres with *Memberton* against the *Armouchiquois*.

When

When we returned to our Barke, which was at the comming in of the Port, halfe a league off from thence, sheltered by a caule that the Sea hath made there, our men, and specially Captaine *Champdore*, that conducted vs, were in doubt, lest some mischance should happen vnto vs, and hauing seene the Sauages in armes, thought it had beene to doe vs some mischiefe, which had beene very easie, for we were but two, and therefore they were very glad of our returne. After which, the next day came the Wizard or South-sayer of that quarter, crying as a mad man towards our Barke. Not knowing what he meant, hee was sent for in a Cock-boat, and came to parley with vs, telling vs that the *Armouchiquois* were within the Woods, which came to assaile them, and that they had killed some of their folkes that were a hunting: And therefore that we should come aland to assist them. Hauing heard this discourse, which according to our iudgement, tended to no good, we told him that our iournies were limited, and our victuals also, and that it was behouefull for vs to be gone. Seeing himselfe denied, he said that before two yeeres were come about, they would either kill all the *Normans*, or that the *Normans* should kill them. We mocked him and told him that we would bring our Barke before their Fort to ransack them all; but we did it not, for we went away that day: And hauing the wind contrarie, we sheltred our selues vnder a small Iland, where we were two dayes: during which, some went a shooting at Mallard for prouision; others attended on the Cookerie: And Captaine *Champdore* and my selfe, went along the Rockes with Hammers and Chissels, seeking if there were any Mynes. In doing whereof we found quantitie of Steele among the Rockes, which was since molten by *Monsieur de Pontrincourt*, who made wedges of it, and it was found very fine Steele, whereof he caused a Knife to be made, that did cut as a Razor, which at our returne he shewed to the King.

The subtiltie of an *Automin* or Sauage Southsayer.

A Myne of Steele.

From thence we went in three dayes to the Ile Saint *Croix*, being often contraried with the winds. And because we had a bad coniecture of the Sauages, which we did see in great number, at the Riuer of Saint *Iohn*, and that the troupe that was departed from Port *Royall* was yet at *Menane*, (an Ile betweene the said Port *Royall* and Saint *Croix*) which we would not trust, we kept good watch in the night time: At which time wee did often heare Seales voyces, which were very like to the voices of Owles: A thing contrarie to the opinion of them that haue said and written that fishes haue no voice.

Menane. Good watch. Seales voices.

Being arriued at the Ile Saint *Croix*, we found there the buildings, left there all whole, sauing that the Store-house was vncouered of one side. Wee found there yet Sacke in the bottome of a Pipe, whereof we dranke, and it was not much the worse. As for Gardens, wee found there Coale-worts, Sorrell, Lettuces, which we vsed for the Kitchin. Wee made there also good Pasties of Turtle-Doues, which are very plentifull in the Woods, but the grasse is there so high that one could not find them when they were killed and fallen in the ground. The Court was there, full of whole Caskes, which some ill disposed Mariners did burne for their pleasures, which thing when I saw, I did abhorre, and I did iudge, better then before, that the Sauages were (being lesse ciuilized) more humane and honester men, then many that beare the Name of Christians, hauing during three yeeres, spared that place, wherein they had not taken so much as a piece of Wood, nor Salt, which was there in great quantitie, as hard as a Rocke.

The arriuall in the Ile of Saint *Croix*. The state of the same. Turtles.

The Sauages of better nature then many Christians.

Going from thence, we cast Anchor among a great number of confused Iles, where wee heard some Sauages, and wee did call to make them come to vs. They answered vs with the like call. Whereunto one of ours replied, *Ouen Kiran?* that is to say, *What are yee?* they would not discouer themselues. But the next day *Oagimont*, the *Sagamos* of this Riuer, came to vs, and wee knew it was he whom we heard. Hee did prepare to follow *Memberton* and his troupe to the warres, where he was grieuously wounded, as I haue said in my Verses vpon this matter. This *Oagimont* hath a Daughter about eleuen yeeres old, who is very comely, which *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* desired to haue, and hath oftentimes demanded her of him to giue her to the Queene, promising him that he should neuer want Corne, nor any thing else; but he would neuer condiscend thereto.

A number of Iles.

The loue of the Sauages towards their children.

Being entred into our Barke he accompanied vs, vntill wee came to the broad Sea, where hee put himselfe in his shallop to returne backe; and for vs we bent our course for Port *Royall*, where we arriued before day, but we were before our Fort, iust at the very point that faire *Aurora* began to shew her reddie cheekes vpon the top of our wooddie Hils; euery bodie was yet asleepe, and there was but one that rose vp, by the continuall barking of Dogges; but wee made the rest soone to awake, by Peales of Musket-shots and Trumpets sound. *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* was but the day before, arriued from his Voyage to the Mynes, whither we haue said that hee was to goe, and the day before that, was the Barke arriued that had carried part of our Workmen to *Campseau*. So that all being assembled, there rested nothing more then to prepare things necessary for our shipping. And in this businesse our Water-Mill did vs very good seruice, for otherwise there had beene no meanes to prepare Meale enough for the Voyage, but in the end wee had more then wee had need of, which was giuen to the Sauages, to the end to haue vs in remembrance.

Arriuall into Port *Royall*.

Vse of a Water-mill.

Vpon the point that we should take our leaue of Port *Royall*, *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* sent his men, one after another, to find out the ship at *Campseau*, which is a Port being betweene seuen

The description of the Port *de Campseau*.

or

or eight Ilands where ſhips may be ſheltered from windes: and there is a Bay of aboue fifteene leagues depth, and ſixe or ſeuen leagues broad. The ſaid place being diſtant from Port *Royall* aboue one hundred and fiftie leagues. For victuals, wee wanted for no fiſh, for in halfe an houres fiſhing we might take Cod enough for to feed vs a fortnight, and of the faireſt and fatteſt that euer I ſaw, being of the colour of Carpes; which I haue neuer knowne nor noted, but in this part of the ſaid *Cap de Sable*; which after we had paſſed, the tide (which is ſwift in this place) brought vs in ſhort time as farre as to the Port *De La Heue*, thinking that wee were no further then the *Port de Monſon*. There we tarried two dayes, and in the very ſame Port wee ſaw the Cods bite at the Hooke. We found there ſtore of red Gooſeberies, and a *Marcaſſite* of Copper Myne: we alſo made there ſome trucking with the Sauages for skinnes.

Abundance of faire Cod.

Port *de la Heue*

From thence forward we had wind at will, and during that time it happened once, that being vpon the hatches, I cried out to our Pilot *Monſieur de Champdore*, that we were readie to ſtrike, thinking I had ſeene the bottome of the Sea; but I was deceiued by the Rain-bow which did appeare with all his colours in the water, procured by the ſhadow, that our Boare-ſpright ſayle did make ouer the ſame, being oppoſite to the Sunne, which aſſembling his beames, within the hollowneſſe of the ſame ſayle, as it doth within the Cloudes, thoſe beames were forced to make a reuerberation in the water, and to ſhew forth this wonder. In the end wee arriued within foure leagues of *Campſeau*, at a Port, where a good old man of Saint *Iohn de Luz*, called Captaine *Saualet*, receiued vs with all the kindneſſe in the World. And for as much as this Port (which is little, but very faire) hath no name, I haue qualified it in my Geographicall Mappe, with the name of *Saualet*. This good honeſt man told vs that the ſame Voyage was the two and fortieth Voyage that he had made into thoſe parts, and neuer heleſſe the *New-found-land-men* doe make but one in a yeere. He was maruellouſly pleaſed with his fiſhing; and told vs moreouer that hee tooke euery day fiftie Crownes worth of fiſh, and that his Voyage would bee worth one thouſand pounds. He payed wages to ſixteene men, and his veſſell was of eightie tuns, which could carrie 100000. dry fiſhes.

The Rain-bow appearing in the water.

Port *Saualet.*

42. Voyages made in *New-found-land.*

Good fiſhing.

Wee were foure dayes there, by reaſon of the contrary wind. Then came we to *Campſeau*, where we tarried for the other Barke, which came two dayes after vs. And as for *Monſieur de Poutrincourt*, as ſoone as he ſaw that the Corne might be reaped, he pulled vp ſome Rie, root and all, for to ſhew here the beautie, goodneſſe and vnmeaſurable height of the ſame. Hee alſo made gleanes of the other ſorts of Seeds, as Wheat, Barley, Oates, Hempe, and others for the ſame purpoſe. Delighting my ſelfe in this exerciſe, God hath bleſſed my poore labour, and I haue had in my Garden as faire Wheate as any can be in *France*, whereof the ſaid *Monſieur de Poutrincourt* gaue vnto mee a gleane, when hee came to the ſaid Port *de Campſeau*. Hee was readie to depart from Port *Royall*, when *Memberton* and his company arriued, victorious ouer the *Armouchiquois*. At the inſtant requeſt of the ſaid *Memberton* he tarried yet one day. But it was pitious to ſee at his departing, thoſe poore people weepe, who had beene alwayes kept in hope that ſome of ours ſhould alwayes tarrie with them. In the end promiſe was made vnto them, that the yeere following, houſholds and families ſhould bee ſent thither, wholly to inhabit their Land, and teach them Trades for to make them liue as wee doe, which promiſe did ſomewhat comfort them. There was left remayning ten Hogs-heads of Meale, which were giuen to them, with the Corne that we had ſowed, and the poſſeſſion of the Manour if they would vſe it, which they haue not done. For they cannot be conſtant in one place, and liue as they doe.

Exceeding faire Corne.

Faire Wheate.

The Sauages returne from the warres.

The Sauages teares at the going away of the *Frenchmen.*

Meale left behinde.

The eleuenth of Auguſt the ſaid *Monſieur de Poutrincourt* departed, with eight in his companie, from the ſaid Port *Royall*, in a ſhallop to come to *Campſeau*: A thing maruellouſly dangerous to croſſe ſo many Bayes and Seas in ſo ſmall a veſſell, laden with nine perſons, with victuals neceſſarie for the Voyage, and reaſonable great quantitie of other ſtuffe. Being arriued at the Port of Captaine *Saualet*, he receiued them all as kindly as it was poſſible for him: And from thence they came to vs, to the ſaid Port of *Campſeau*, where we tarried yet eight dayes. The third day of September, we weighed Anchors, and with much adoe came wee from among the Rockes, that be about the ſaid *Campſeau*. Which our Mariners did with two ſhallops that did carrie their Anchors very farre into the Sea, for to vphold our ſhip, to the end ſhe ſhould not ſtrike againſt the Rockes. Finally, being at Sea, one of the ſaid ſhallops was let goe, and the other was taken into the *Ionas*, which beſides our lading, did carrie 100000. of fiſh, as well drie as greene. Wee had reaſonable good wind vntill we came neere to the Lands of *Europe*: But we were not ouercloyed with good cheere, becauſe that they who came to fetch vs, preſuming we were dead did cramme themſelues with our refreſhing commodities. Our Workemen dranke no more Wine, after we had left Port *Royall*: And we had but ſmall portion thereof, becauſe that which did ouerabound with vs; was drunke merrily in the company of them that brought vs newes from *France*. The ſixe and twentieth of September wee had ſight of the *Sorlingues*, which bee at the Lands end of *Cornewall* in *England*, and the eight and twentieth thinking to come to Saint *Maloes*.

Monſieur de Poutrincourt his going away.

The departing from *New France.*

The ſight of the *Sorlingues.*

Harueſt of *New France*, ſhewed to the King.

Being at *Paris*, the ſaid *Monſieur de Poutrincourt* preſented to the King with the fruits of the Land from whence he came, and eſpecially the Corne, Wheate, Rie, Barley and Oates, as being the

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the most precious thing that may be brought from what Countrey soeuer. The said *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* had bred tenne Outards, taken from the shell, which hee thought to bring all into *France*, but fiue of them were lost, and the other fiue he gaue to the King, who delighted much in them; and they are at *Fontaine Belleau*. Vpon the faire shew of the fruites of the said Countrey, the King did confirme to *Monsieur de Monts* the priuiledge for the Trade of Beuers with the Sauages, to the end to giue him meanes to establish his Colonies in *New France*. And by this occasion he sent thither in March last, Families, there to beginne Christian and *French* Commonwealths, which God vouchsafe to blesse and increase.

Outards, or wild Geese presented to the King.

Priuiledge of Beuers confirmed to *Monsieur de Monts*.

The said ships being returned, we haue had report by *Monsieur de Champdore*, and others, of the state of the Countrie which we had left, and of the wonderfull beautie of the Corne that the said *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* had sowed before his departure, together of the graines that bee fallen in the Gardens, which haue so increased that it is an incredible thing. *Membertou* did gather six or seuen barrels of the Corne that we had sowed: and had yet one left, which he reserued for the *Frenchmen*, whom he looked for, who arriuing hee saluted with three Musket shots and Bonfires. When it was laid to his charge that he had eaten our Pidgeons, which wee left there, he fell a weeping, and embracing him that told it him, said, that it was the *Machoua*, that is to say, the great Birds which are Eagles, which did eate many of them, while wee were there. Moreouer, all great and small, did inquire how we did, naming euery one by his owne name, which is a witnesse of great loue.

Three ships sent 1608.

Newes from *New France* since our comming from thence.

It is very dangerous to teach the Sauages the vse of Guns.

Eagles.

From Port *Royall*, the said *Champdore* went as farre as *Chouakouet*, the beginning of the *Armouchiquois* Land, where hee pacified that Nation with the *Etechemins*, which was not done without solemnitie. For as hee had begun to speake of it, the Captaine, who is now instead of *Olmechin*, named *Astikou*, a graue man and of a goodly presence, how sauage soeuer hee be, demanded that some one of the said *Etechemins* should be sent to him, and that he would treat with him. *Oagimont*, *Sagamos* of the Riuer Saint *Croix*, was appointed for that purpose, and he would not trust them, but vnder the assurance of the *Frenchmen*, he went thither. Some Presents were made to *Astikou*, who, vpon the speech of peace, began to exhort his people and to shew them the causes that ought to induce them to hearken vnto it. Whereunto they condiscended, making an exclamation at euery Article that he propounded to them. Some fiue yeeres agoe *Monsieur de Monts* had likewise pacified those Nations, and had declared vnto them, that he would bee enemie to the first of them that should begin the Warre, and would pursue him. But after his returne into *France*, they could not containe themselues in peace. And the *Armouchiquois* did kill a *Souriquois* Sauage, called *Panoniac*, who went to them for to trucke Merchandize, which he tooke at the Store-house of the said *Monsieur de Monts*. The Warre aboue mentioned happened by reason of this said murther, vnder the conduct of *Sagamos Membertou*: the said Warre was made in the very same place, where I now make mention, that *Monsieur de Champdore* did treate the peace this yeere. *Monsieur Champlein* is in another place, to wit, in the great Riuer of *Canada*, neere the place where Captaine *Iames Quartier* did winter, where hee hath fortified himselfe, hauing brought thither housholds, with Cattle and diuers sorts of fruit-trees. There is store of Vines, and excellent Hempe, in the same place where he is, which the earth bringeth forth of it selfe. He is not a man to be idle, and we expect shortly newes of the whole Discouerie of this great and vncomparable Riuer, and of the Countries which it washeth on both sides, by the diligence of the said *Champlein*.

The Sauages wisdome.

Monsieur Champlein is now in the Riuer of *Canada*.

Cattell.

Fruit trees.

Vines.

Hempe.

As for *Monsieur de Pontrincourt*, his desire is immutable, in this resolution to inhabit and adorne his Prouince, to bring thither his family, and all sorts of Trades necessary for the life of man. Which, with Gods helpe hee will continue to effect all this present yeere 1609. And, as long as hee hath vigour and strength, will prosecute the same, to liue there vnder the Kings obeysance.

Monsieur de Pontrincourt his resolution, 1609.

The Author hath written another large Booke of the Rites of the Sauages of those parts, which I haue omitted, partly because Champlein *in the former Chapter hath giuen vs large instructions of the same, and because in our* Virginian, *and* New England, *and* New-found-land, *our men will relate the like; and because I seeke to bee short, howsoeuer my Subiect causeth mee to bee voluminous.*

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CHAP. VIII.

Collections out of a French *Booke, called* Additions to Noua Francia; *containing the Accidents there, from the yeere* 1607. *to* 1611.

Monsi. de Mont his sending of Ships.

MOnsieur *de Monts* hauing his priuiledge prorogued for one yeare, with some associates, sent vnto his Gouernment three Ships, furnished with men and victuals. And forasmuch as *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* hath taken his part on the maine Sea, and for the desire that *Monsieur de Monts* hath to pierce through the Land to the Westerne Sea coast, to the end he should not be an hinderance vnto him, and to be able thereby to reach one day, to *China*, he determined to fortifie himselfe in a place of the Riuer of *Canada*, which the Sauages call *Kebec*, some fortie leagues aboue the Riuer of *Saguenay*. There it is narrower, being no broader then a Canon will carry: and so, by that reason, the place is commodious to command, through all that great Riuer. *Monsieur Champlein*, the Kings Geographer, very skilfull in Sea matters, and who delighteth marueilously in these enterprises, tooke vpon him the charge of conducting, and gouerning this first Colonie, sent to *Kebec*. Where being arriued, it was needefull to make houses for him, and his company; wherein there was no toyle wanting, such as we may imagine, as was the labour of Captaide *Iacques Quartier*, at his arriuall in the place of the said Riuer, where he wintered: and so *Monsieur de Monts*, in the Ile of Saint *Croix*; whereby did issue vnknowne sicknesses, which tooke away many men: for there was not found any Timber ready to be put in worke, nor any buildings to lodge the workemen in: they were driuen to fell downe the wood by the roote, to cleare the ground, and to lay the first foundations of a worke, which (with the helpe of God) shall be the subiect of many wonders.

Note the intention of the *French*.

Kebec 40. leag. aboue *Saguenay*

champlein.

A conspiracy.

But as our *Frenchmen* haue oftentimes bin found mutinous in such actions, so there were some among these, which did conspire against the said *Champlein* their Captaine, hauing deliberated to put him to death, first by poison, afterwards by a traine of Gunpowder: and after, hauing pilfered all, to come to *Tadoussac*, where *Baskes* and *Rochell* Ships were, to make their returne in them to these parts. But the Apothecary, of whom the poyson was demanded, disclosed the matter. Whereupon, Information being made, one of them was hanged, and some others condemned to the Gallies, which were brought backe into *France*, in the Ship, wherein *Monsieur du Pont* of *Honfleur* was Commander.

Exemplary punishment.

The people being lodged, some store of Corne was sowed, and a number of Gardens were made, where the ground did restore plentifully, the seedes receiued. This Land bringeth forth, naturally, Grapes in great quantity: the Walnut-trees are there in abundance, and Chestnut-trees also, whose fruite is in the forme of an halfe moone; but the Walnuts are with many corners or edges, which be not diuided. There is also great store of Pumpions, and very excellent Hempe, wherewith the Sauages make fishing lines. The Riuer there doth abound with as much fish, as any other Riuer in the world. It is thought, that Beuers, are not here so good, as vpon the coast of the *Etechemins* and *Souriquois*; yet notwithstanding, I may say very well, that I haue seene skins from thence of blacke Foxes, which seeme to exceede Sables, or Marterns.

The naturall fruite of the land.

Blacke Foxes.

The winter being come, many of our *Frenchmen*, were found greatly afflicted with the sickenesse, which is called the Scuruie, whereof I haue spoken elsewhere, Some of them died thereof, for want of present remedy. As for the tree called *Annedda*, so much renowned by *Iacques Quartier*, it is not now to be found. The said *Champlein* made diligent search for the same, and could haue no newes thereof: and notwithstanding his dwelling is at *Kebec*, neighbouring on the place, where the said *Quartier* did winter. Whereupon, I can thinke nothing else, but that the people of that time, haue bin exterminated by the *Iroquois*, or other their enemies.

Scuruie.

The Spring time being come, *Champlein* hauing had a long time a minde to make new discoueries, was to choose, either to make his way to the *Iroquois*, or to goe beyond the fall of the great Riuer, to discouer the great Lake, whereof mention hath bin made heretofore. Notwithstanding, because the Southerly Countries are more pleasant, for their milde temperature; he resolued himselfe, the first yeare, to visite the *Iroquois*. But the difficulty consisted in the going thither; for we are not able of our selues to make those Voyages, without the assistance of the Sauages. These Countries are not the Plaines of *Champaigne*, nor of *Vatan*, nor the ingratefull wood of *Limosin*. All is there couered with woods, that seeme to threaten the clouds. And at that time his company of men was but weake, as well by reason of the former mortality, as of the infirmities of sicknesses, which were yet continuing. Notwithstanding, being a man, who is astonished with nothing, and of a gentle conuersation, knowing wisely how to acquaint, and accommodate himselfe with those people, after hauing promised them, that when the land of the *Iroquois*, and other Countries should be discouered, the great *French Sagamos* (meaning

Lib. 3. cap. 22.

Champleins counsell.

our

our King) would giue them great rewards: he inuited them to goe to warre against the said *Iroquois*, promising (for himselfe) that he would take part with them. They (in whom the desire of reuenge dieth not, and who delight in nothing more then in warre) passe their word vnto him, and arme themselues about one hundred men, for that effect, with whom the said *Champlein* ventures himselfe, accompanied with one man, and one of *Monsieur de Monts* his footemen. So they began their voyage in the Sauages Barkes, and Canoes, alongst the great Riuer, as farre as the entring into the Riuer of the *Iroquois*: wherein being entred, within certaine dayes, they went vp vnto the Lake of the said *Iroquois*. But one may demand with what did so many people liue, in a Countrie where no Innes are? I wonder as much at that as others doe; for with them there is not any meanes of liuing, but by hunting; and in that, they doe exercise themselues through the woods in their trauailes. *Champlein* and his men, were forced to liue after their manner. For although they had made prouision of Bread, Wine, and Meate, out of the storehouse, the same could not haue serued them, to make accompt of. Finally, being come into the said Lake, they were many dayes a crossing of it (for it is about sixtie leagues of length) without giuing knowledge of their being there, and so the said *Champlein* had time to view their Tillage, and the faire Ilands, that serue for an ornament to their great extension of water. These people are much like to the *Armouchiquois*, in their fashion of liuing. They sowe *Indian* Maiz and Beanes, and haue quantity of faire Grapes, whereof they make no vse: and very good rootes. Euery Family haue their ground round about their dwellings; Forts also, yet no Townes, made with buildings of three or foure stories high, such as they haue in new *Mexico* (a Countrie situated much farther within the lands.)

Their Voiage to the *Iroquois*.

Their arriuall at the Lake, which is sixtie leagues long.

Faire Ilands in the Lake.

The *Iroquois*, and their exercise.

Houses of foure stories.

In the end, our men being discouered, the alarum was giuen among the *Iroquois*, who assembled themselues. And as the *Iroquois* did approach, *Champlein*, who was armed with a Musket, charged with two bullets, would haue set himselfe forward to aime, to make at one of the forwardest of the *Iroquois*, who did braue it, challenging his enemies to the combat. But the Sauages of *Kebec* told him in their language, no, doe not so, for if they once discouer you, not being accustomed to see such folkes, they will forthwith runne away, and make no stand; so shall we loose the glory which we expect of this charge; withdraw your selfe therefore behinde our formost ranke, and when we shall be neere, you shall aduance your selfe, and shoote at those two feathered fellowes, whom you see the formost, in the middest of the troope; which was found good, and executed by the said *Champlein*, who with one shot laid them both to the ground, as he hath related vnto vs. He, who assisted him, did also his duetie. But on a sodaine, all was in disorder, astonished at such a noise, and death so vnexpected. Vpon this feare, the men of *Kebec* loosing no occasion, followed earnestly their enemies, and killed about fiftie of them, whose heads they brought backe, to make therewith merry feasts, and dances, at their returne, according to their custome.

The alarum among the *Iroquois*.

The Prudence of the Sauages.

Flight.

Fiftie of the *Iroquois* slaine.

These things so passed, *Champlein* tooke againe his course towards ancient *France*, where he arriued in October 1609. hauing left the gouernment of New *France* to a good reuerent old man called Captaine *Pierre*. And for as much as the accidents of the former sickneſse, were feared to come; the winter following, Captaine *du Pont* of *Honfleure* (a man very well worthy to hold ranke among the *Heroes* of the said Prouince, for hauing bin the first that came to the Fals of the great Riuer, after *Iacques Quartier*, hauing also wintered in Port *Royall*, and almost euery yeare, made voyages to those parts, for the reliefe of them that were there) gaue aduise, that wood should be ready cut downe, for those that should tarry there all the winter, and thereby to free them from painfull toyles. That helpe hath bin of such force, that besides this, hauing their buildings made, they haue left no infirmitie nor mortality. So he returned, and with him the said *Champlein*, and those that would returne.

1609.

Capt. *Pierre*.

Capt. *du Pont*.

None died, nor were sicke.

In the meane while, preparations were made for another voyage, against the returne of the said *Champlein*, to the end to prosecute his discoueries, and consequently, to relieue the said Captaine *Pierre*. He tooke againe for the second time the Lieutenancy of the said *Monsieur de Monts*, for the gouernment of *Kebec*, and setting out in the beginning of March, was forced diuers times to turne backe, by reason of contrary windes; which made him to arriue late, as did also *Monsieur de Poutrincourt*, of his part. And neuertheleſse, in that small time, which hee had in those parts, he exploited a great peece of worke, hauing gone this yeare, as farre as a great Lake, of an hundred leagues in length, which is beyond the Fals of the great Riuer of *Canada* eighty leagues.

1610.

Champlein his new Voyage.

A Lake of an hundred leags in length discouered.

Hauing then reuiewed the state of all things at *Kebec*, and learned what occurrences had passed there, since his departure; he made an agreement with the Captaines of the said place, and with them of *Tadouſſac*, to goe on warfare aboue the Fall of the said Riuer, promising them to procure an hundred *Frenchmen*, to assist them in the extirping of all their enemies: and that they should haue as many of their owne men, of their side, which they liked very well. But the day appointed being come, and the *Frenchmen* not come, he excused the matter vpon the weather, which had beene boistrous for Sailers: and for want of whom, hee told them, that himselfe would goe with them, and follow their fortunes. They seeing they could doe no better, accepted

Agreement to goe to war, towards the great Lake.

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of his offer, and went together with some other *Frenchmen* more, along the same faire Riuer: the Sauages still hunting for prouision for the kitchin. And they trauailed so farre, that after hauing passed the Fals, they crossed some Lakes, and in the space of eighty leagues, came to that other Lake, which we haue said to be of an hundred leagues in length: where (as the said *Champlein* hath recited vnto me) they were presently set vpon by the Sauages of the Country, and it was behouefull vnto them, to stand in good order, & well to defend themselues, after the said *Champlein* had receiued a blow on the chine bone, whereof he is not yet fully healed. Since, he made a confederacy with other Nations of those parts, farther distant from the mouth of the Lake, who promised him, that the next yeare following (which is this yeare 1611.) they would conduct him with all assurance, as far as the farthest end of the said Lake. He, for his part, promised them faire, and shewed them as well as he could, the greatnesse of our King, and of his Kingdome; and for to make them certaine thereof, he tooke with him a yong man, sonne of a Captaine of those parts, called *Sauignon*, a man of a good shape, strong, vigorous, and of great courage, whom he hath brought into *France*, to make report, vpon his returne, of that which he hath seene. This Country (by the report of the said *Champlein*) is one of the faireſt Countries of the world, much tilled, abounding with chase Deere, and Fish, Vines, Hempe, good Roots, Walnut-trees, Chestnut-trees, Plum trees, and others.

A Battell.

1611.

A faire Country.

There are store of Beuers along this Lake, but the Inhabitants doe burne them, as here wee burne Hogges: and so by that meanes, that haire and wooll, which we goe so farre of, and with so many perils to seeke for, is lost. There are Beasts great and small, differing from ours, and Horses, as the said *Sauignon* hath shewed vs, by the neighing. But I dare not giue for currant that which *Monsieur de Monts* hath recited vnto me, that these Nations haue tame Beares, which they teach, to carry them vpon trees for want of ladders. They haue Forts, such as they of *Virginia* haue, which are great inclosures with trees, ioyned together in forme like a Pale, and within those inclosures are houses made, two or three stories high. The lower and higher parts doe serue for the men when they must defend themselues from the assalts of their enemies. For in the lower parts there are big Bowes, for the bending of which, the strength of six men is required, and they haue Arrowes, that knocke downe men. Aboue, they haue murthering holes, or battlements, from whence to fling or cast stones, and also to shoote with Bowes, when they will hit their enemies a farre off. In the middle roomes are the women, which faile not in doing that helpe which their sexe may affoord. And in this middle story, they lay vp their Corne and other prouisions.

Beuers burnt.

Horses.

Mcruellous industry.

Forts & towns

Houses with stories.

Strong bowes.

Champlein promiseth vs neuer to giue ouer vntill he haue pierced as farre as to the Western Sea, or that of the North, to open the way of *China*; in vaine by so many thought for. As for the Western Sea, I beleeue that at the farther end of the greatest Lake, which is very far beyond that whereof we spake of in this Chapter, there will be found some great Riuer, which will fall into the same, or issue from it (as doth that of *Canada*) and neuer into the said Westerne Sea. And as for the Northerne Sea, there is hope to come neere to it by the Riuer of *Saguenay*, there being but small distance from the head of the said Riuer, to the said Sea.

Hope for the passage to *China*.

Some great Riuer running Westward into the Westerne Sea.

The Northern Sea.

It is now fit to speake of *Monsieur de Poutrincourt*, a Gentleman of long time resolute in these actions, who hauing made his preparation at *Diepe*, set saile the 25. of February 1610. with a number of honest men, and Artificers. This Nauigation hath bin very tedious and troublesome; for from the beginning they were driuen within sight of the *Azores*, and from thence, almost continually beaten with contrary windes, by the space of two moneths: during which time (as idle people doe commonly occupie their spirits in euill) some, by secret practises, durst conspire against their Captaine, whom notwithstanding, the said *Poutrincourt*, according to his accustomed clemency, did pardon.

1610.

A tedious Nauigation.

A conspiracy.

Hauing made a reuiew of that coast, he came into Port *Royall*, where he brought much consolation to the Sauages of that place. As for the buildings, they were found all whole, except the couering, and euery parcell of houshold stuffe, in the same place where they were left.

Their arriuall at Port *Royall*.

Buildings and houshold stuffe preserued.

The first care that the said *Monsieur de Poutrincourt* had, was for the tillage of the ground, and to dispose it to receiue the seede of corne, for the yeare following; which being finished, hee would not neglect that which belonged to the spiritualty, and whereunto the chiefest aime of his trauailes did tend, which was, to procure the saluation of those poore sauage and barbabarous people. After necessary instruction giuen, they were baptized vpon Saint *Iohn* Baptist his day, the foure and twentieth of Iune, 1610. to the number of one and twenty persons; to euery one of which was giuen the name of some great or notable person of these parts.

Pillage of the ground.

The first Christenings made in New *France*.

1. *Memberton* great *Sagamos*, being aboue an hundred yeares of age, was baptized by Sir *Iesse Fleche* Priest, and named by *Monsieur de Poutrincourt*, *Henry*, after the Kings name. 2. *Actaudunech*, third Sonne of the said *Henry Memberton*, was by the said *Poutrincourt*, named *Paul*, after the name of Pope *Paul*. 3. The wife of the said *Henry*, was named by the said *Poutrincourt*, after the Queenes name, that is to say, *Marie*. 4. *Membertouoichis*, *alias Iudas*, elder sonne to *Memberton*, being aboue sixety yeares old, was also baptized, and by *Monsieur de Biencourt*, named *Lewes*, after the name of my Lord the *Daulphin*, &c.

Sagamos doth signifie a Prince, Ruler, or Captaine.

The King was then slaine which they knew not.

Memberton,

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Memberton, chiefe *Sagamos* of these Countries, moued with a religious zeale (but without knowledge) saith, that he will denounce open wars against all them that will refuse to become *Christians*.

Shortly after these spirituall regenerations, *Monsieur de Pontrincourt* his son was sent backe into *France* to take a new charge: In doing whereof, he certified the Queene, what had bin done in those Christenings; whereby she receiued a maruelous contentment. But this one things is to be noted, that though the Nauigation were tedious in going, yet in the returne it was very short; for being come to the fishing banke, which is fiftie leagues on this side *New-found-land*, he was brought in a fortnight into *France*, in which time they commonly make their returne. Vpon the Banke they heare the newes of our good Kings death, whose soule resteth with God, and whose posterity we pray God to blesse. A returne into *France*.

The Author reports another Voyage 1611. *by the Lord of Sauc* Iust; *but I haue haste to the* English *Plantation, for whose sake these are published: there being no great matter of history of those parts therein. As for the Articles of a Societie concluded, and the names of those which entred therein, till we haue greater effect thereof, I shall not trouble you with the recitall thereof.*

CHAP. IX.

The first plantation of English *Colonies in* Virginia *briefely mentioned.*

SIr *Walter Raleigh*, a man more famous then happy, had obtained of Queene *Elizabeth*, of glorious memory, a Patent for discouering and peopling of vnknowne parts not actually possessed by any *Christian* Prince, dated March 25. *A. Reg.* 26. The first Voyage to *Virginia* and possession taken. The 27. of Aprill 1584. he set forth two Barkes vnder the command of Master *Phillip Amadas*, and Master *Arthur Barlow*, which arriued on that part of *America*, which that Virgin Queene stiled *Virginia*, and thereof in her Maiesties name tooke possession Iuly 13. and hauing taken view and liking of the Countrey, and had conference and trade with the Sauages, obseruing aboue fouretoene seuerall sweete smelling timber trees, and many other commodities; they returned with two of the Sauages, *Wancheſe* and *Manteo*, and arriued in *England* in September. *Virginia* named so by Q. *Elizabeth*.

Aprill 9. 1585. Sir *Richard Greeneuile* was sent by Sir *Walter Raleigh* with a fleete of seuen saile, which landed in the Ile of Saint *Iohn Port Ricco*, May 12. and there fortified themselues, and built a Pinnace. The *Spaniard* promised to furnish them with victuals, but did not, whereupon they tooke two Frigates. In *Hiſpaniola* they had friendly greetings and trade. Iune 26. they anchored at *Wocokon*, where by the vnskilfulnesse of *Fernando* the Master, their Admirall strooke on ground and sunke. Second Voyage. Sir *R. Greeneuile*.

In the 25. of Iuly, the Generall returned for *England*, and tooke a *Spaniſh* Ship of three hundred tunne richly laden by the way, boording her with a Boate made of the boords of Chests, which as soone as hee had boorded her fell in sunder and sunke at the Ships side. In the Countrie was a Colonie, left vnder the gouernment of Master *Ralph Lane*, *viz.*, Master *Phillip Amadas*, Master *Hariot*, Master *Acton*, Master *Edward Stafford*, Master *Prideox*, Captaine *Vaughan*, and aboue a hundred others. Master *Lane* writ from his new Fort in *Virginia*, that if *Virginia* had Kine and Horses in reasonable proportion, no Countrie in *Christendome* were comparable to it. They discouered from *Roanoak* to the *Cheſepians*, aboue one hundred and thirty miles, to *Chawanock* North-West as farre. The *Sauages* conspired against the *English*, the principall was *Pemiſapan*, who lost his head in the quarrell, in the beginning of Iune 1586. and Sir *Francis Drake* comming thither from the sacke of diuers *Spaniſh* Townes, to visite the Colony, on the nineteenth, tooke the Colony with him in his victorious Fleete, and brought them into *England*. *Spaniſh* Prise. First Colony. Sir *F. Drake*.

The same yeere had Sir *Walter Raleigh* prepared a ship of a hundred tun, fraught with prouision for the Colonie, which setting forth late, arriued at *Hartoraske* immediatly after the departure of the Colonie, which hauing sought in vaine, she returned with her prouisions for *England*. Third Voyage.

About a fortnight after her departure, Sir *Richard Greeneuile*, Generall of *Virginia*, accompanied with three Ships arriued there, and neither hearing of the Ship, nor of the Colonie which he had left there the yeare before; after long and vaine search, he left fifteene men to hold possession of the Countrie, in the Ile of *Roanoak*, furnished for two yeares, and returned, by the way making spoyle on the Townes of the *Azores*, and there taking diuers *Spaniards*. Fourth Voyage. Second Colonie.

Master *Thomas Hariot* writ a large History of the Men, Beasts, Fishes, Fowles, Plants, and Commodities of *Virginia*, subscribed also by Master *Ralph Lane*, extant in Master *Hacklait* his third Tome. Master *Thomas Hariot*.

In the yeare 1587. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, continuing his purpose of Plantation, sent another Colonie of one hundred and fiftie persons, vnder the gouernment of Master *Iohn White*; to him he appointed twelue Assistants, vnto whom he gaue a Charter, and incorporated them by the name Fifth Voyage and third Colonie.

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of *Gouernour and Assistants of the Citie of Raleigh in Virginia.* These arriued on Iuly 22. at *Hatoraske*, where they went on shore to seeke the fifteene men left there the yeare before, with intent after to plant at the Bay of *Chesepiok*, according to Sir *Walter Raleigh* his directions, there to make their seate and Fort. By *Manteo* they learned how the Sauages had secretly assalted the fifteene *English*, and slaine some, the other being forced to flee, it was not knowne whither. *Manteo* was Christened, and by Sir *Walter Raleighs* direction, made Lord of *Roanoak*. Mistris *Dare* the Gouernours daughter was deliuered of a daughter, which was baptised by the name of *Virginia*.

Bay of *Chesepiok.*

English borne there.

The Company were very important with the Gouernour, to returne for *England*, to supply their defects; to which, with much vnwillingnesse he yeelded, Aug. 27. and Octob. 16. arriued in *Ireland*, and after in *England*.

Anno 1590. the said Master *Iohn White* put to Sea with Ships, and two Pinnaces, with purpose for *Virginia*, where they anchored at *Hatorask* in 36. 20. Aug. 15. They found some of the goods (such as the Sauages could not make vse of) and tokens as if they were at *Croatoan*; but the winds violence permitted no further search, and they returned to the *Azores*, and after to *England*, arriuing at *Plimmouth*, Octob. 24.

Sixth Voyage.

Master BARTHOLOMEVV GOSNOLDS *Letter to his Father, touching his first Voyage to* Virginia, 1602.

MY duetie remembred, &c. Sir, I was in good hope that my occasions would haue allowed mee so much libertie, as to haue come vnto you before this time; otherwise I would haue written more at large concerning the Countrie from whence we lately came, then I did: but not well remembring what I haue already written (though I am assured that there is nothing set downe disagreeing with the truth) I thought it fittest not to goe about to adde any thing in writing, but rather to leaue the report of the rest till I come my selfe; which now I hope shall be shortly, and so soone as with conueniency I may. In the meane time, notwithstanding whereas you seeme not to be satisfied by that which I haue already written, concerning some especiall matters. I haue here briefely (and as well as I can) added these few lines for your further satisfaction: and first as touching that place where we were most resident, it is in the Latitude of 41. degrees, and one third part; which albeit it be so much to the Southward, yet is it more cold then those parts of Europe, *which are scituated vnder the same paralell: but one thing is worth the noting, that notwithstanding the place is not so much subiect to cold as* England *is, yet did we finde the Spring to be later there, then it is with vs here, by almost a moneth: this whether it hapned accidentally this last Spring to be so, or whether is be so of course, I am not very certaine; the latter seemes most likely, whereof also there may be giuen some sufficient reason, which now I omit: as for the Acornes we saw gathered on heapes, they were of the last yeare, but doubtlesse their Summer continues longer then ours. We cannot gather by any thing we could obserue in the people, or by any triall we had thereof our selues; but that it is as healthfull a Climate as any can be. The Inhabitants there, as I wrote before, being of tall stature, comely proportion, strong, active, and some of good yeares, and as it should seeme very healthfull, are sufficient proofe of the healthfulnesse of the place. First, for our selues (thankes be to God) we had not a man sicke two dayes together in all our Voyage; whereas others that went out with vs, or about that time on other Voyages (especially such as went vpon reprisall) were most of them infected with sickenesse, whereof they lost some of their men, and brought home a many sicke, returning notwithstanding long before vs. But* Verazzano, *and others (as I take it, you may reade in the Booke of Discoueries) doe more particularly intreate of the Age of the people in that coast. The Sassafras which we brought we had vpon the Ilands; where though we had little disturbance, and reasonable plenty: yet for that the greatest part of our people were imployed about the fitting of our house, and such like affaires, and a few (and those but easie labourers) vndertooke this worke, the rather because we were informed before our going forth, that a tunne was sufficient to cley* England) *and further, for that we had resolued vpon our returne, and taken view of our victuall, we iudged it then needefull to vse expedition; which afterward we had more certaine proofe of; for when we came to an anker before* Portsmouth, *which was some foure dayes after we made the land, we had not one Cake of Bread, nor any drinke, but a little Vinegar, left: for these and other reasons, we returned no otherwise laden then you haue heard. And thus much I hope shall suffice till I can my selfe come to giue you further notice, which though it be not so soone as I could haue wisht, yet I hope it shall be in conuenient time. In the meane time craning your pardon, for which the vrgent occasions of my stay will pleade, I humbly take my leaue. 7. Septemb. 1602.*

Your dutifull Sonne,

BARTH. GOSNOLD.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XI.

The Relation of Captaine GOSNOLS *Voyage to the North part of* Virginia, *begunne the sixe and twentieth of March,* Anno 42. ELIZABETHÆ Reginæ 1602. *and deliuered by* GABRIEL ARCHER, *a Gentleman in the said Voyage.*

THe said Captaine did set sayle from *Famouth*, the day and yeere aboue written accompanied with thirtie two persons, whereof eight Mariners and Saylers, twelue purposing vpon the Discouery to returne with the ship for *England*, the rest remayne there for population. The fourteenth of Aprill following, wee had sight of Saint *Maries* an Iland of the *Asseris*.

The three and twentieth of the same, beeing two hundred leagues Westwards from the said Iland in the latitude of 37. degrees. The water in the mayne Ocean appeared yellow, the space of two leagues North and South, where sounding with thirtie fadome Line, wee found no ground, and taking vp some of the said water in a bucket, it altered not either in colour or taste from the Sea Azure. Ocean seeming yellow.

The seuenth of May following, we first saw many Birds in bignesse of Cliffe Pidgeons, and after diuers other as Petrels, Cootes, Hagbuts, Pengwins, Murres, Gannets, Cormorants, Guls, with many else in our *English* Tongue of no name. The eight of the same the water changed to a yellowish greene, where at seuentie fadome we had ground. The ninth, wee had two and twentie fadome in faire sandie ground, hauing vpon our Lead many glittering Stones, somewhat heauie, which might promise some Minerall matter in the bottome, we held our selues by computation, well neere the latitude of 43. degrees.

The tenth wee sounded in 27. 30. 37. 43. fadome, and then came to 108. some thought it to be the sounding of the Westermost end of Saint *Iohns* Iland, vpon this banke we saw sculs of fish in great numbers. The twelfth we hoysed out halfe of our shallop, and sounding had then eightie fadome without any current perceiued by *William Strete* the Master, one hundred leagues Westward from Saint *Maries* til we came to the foresaid soundings continually passed fleeting by vs Sea-oare, which seemed to haue their moueable course towards the North-east, a matter to set some subtle inuention on worke, for comprehending the true cause thereof. Sea-oare. The thirteenth, wee sounded in seuentie fadome, and obserued great beds of weedes, much woode and diuers things else floating by vs, when as we had smelling of the shoare, such as from the Southerne Cape and *Andulazia* in *Spaine*. Smell of the shoare.

The fourteenth, about six in the morning we descried Land that lay North, &c. the Northerly part we called the North Land, which to another Rocke vpon the same lying twelue leagues West, that wee called *Sauage Rocke*, because the Sauages first shewed themselues there, fiue leagues towards the said Rocke is an out Point of woodie ground, the Trees thereof very high and straight, from the Rocke East North-east. From the said Rocke, came towards vs a *Biscay* shallop with saile and Oares, hauing eight persons in it, whom we supposed at first to bee Christians distressed. But approching vs neere, wee perceiued them to bee Sauages. These comming within call hayled vs, and wee answered. Then after signes of peace, and a long speech by one of them made, they came boldly aboord vs being all naked, sauing about their shoulders certaine loose Deere-skinnes, and neere their wastes Seale-skinnes tyed fast like to *Irish* Dimmie Trouses. One that seemed to be their Commander wore a Wastecoate of blacke worke, a paire of Breeches, cloth Stockings, Shooes, Hat, and Band, one or two more had also a few things made by some Christians, these with a piece of Chalke described the Coast thereabouts, and could name *Placentia* of the *New-found-land*, they spake diuers Christian words, and seemed to vnderstand much more then we, for want of Language could comprehend. These people are in colour swart, their haire long vptyed with a knot in the part of behind the head. They paint their bodies, which are strong and well proportioned. These much desired our longer stay, but finding our selues short of our purposed place, we set saile Westwards, leauing them and their Coast. About sixteene leagues South-west from thence, wee perceiued in that course two small Ilands, the one lying Eastward from *Sauage Rock*, the other to the Southwards of it, the Coast we left was full of goodly Woods, faire Plaines, with little greene round Hils aboue the Cliffes appearing vnto vs, which are indifferently tailed, but all Rockie, and of shining stones, which might haue perswaded vs a longer stay there. Sauages. Sauage Rocke. Their behauiour.

The fifteenth day we had againe sight of the Land, which made a head being as wee thought an Iland, by reason of a large sound that appeared Westward betweene it and the Mayne, for comming to the West end thereof, we did perceiue a large opening, we called it *Shole-hope*. Neere this Cape we came to Anchor in fifteene fadome, where wee tooke great store of Cod-fish, for which we altered the name, and called it *Cape Cod*. Here wee saw sculs of Herrings, Mackerels and other small fish in great abundance. This is a low sandie shoare, but without danger, also wee Shole-hope. Cape Cod.

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came to Anchor againe in sixteene fadome, faire by the Land in the latitude of 42. degrees. This Cape is well neere a mile broad, and lieth North-east by East. The Captaine went here ashoare and found the ground to be full of Pease, Strawberies, Hurtberies, &c. as then vnripe, the sand also by the shoare somewhat deepe, the fire-wood there by vs taken in was of Cypresse, Birch, Wich-hazell and Beech. A young *Indian* came here to the Captaine, armed with his Bow and Arrowes, and had certaine plates of Copper hanging at his Eares, hee shewed a willingnesse to helpe vs in our occasions.

The sixteenth, we trended the Coast Southerly, which was all champaine and full of grasse, but the Ilands somewhat wooddie. Twelue leagues from *Cape Cod*, we descried a point, with some breach a good distance off, and keeping our loffe to double it, wee came on the sudden into shoale water, yet well quitted our selues thereof. This breach wee called *Tuckers Terror*, vpon his expressed feare. The Point we named Point *Care*, hauing passed it wee bore vp againe with the Land, and in the night came with it anchoring in eight fadome, the ground good. The seuenteenth, appeared many breaches round about vs, so as wee continued that day without remooue.

Tuckers Terror. *Point Care.*

The eighteenth, being faire we sent forth the Boat, to sound ouer a Breach, that in our course lay of another Point, by vs called *Gilberts Point*; who returned vs foure, fiue, sixe and seuen fadome ouer. Also a Discouery of diuers Ilands which after prooued to bee Hils and Hummocks, distinct within the Land. This day there came vnto the ships side diuers Canoas; the *Indians* apparelled as aforesaid, with Tobacco and Pipes steeled with Copper, Skins, artificiall strings and other trifles to barter, one had hanging about his necke a plate of rich Copper in length a foot, in breadth halfe a foot for a brest-plate, the Eares of all the rest had Pendants of Copper. Also one of them had his face ouer painted, and his head stucke with feathers in manner of a Turkey Cocks traine: These are more timerous then those of the *Sauage Rocke*, yet very theeuish.

Gilberts Point. *Diuers Ilands.* *Sauages.*

The nineteenth, we passed ouer the breach of *Gilberts Point* in foure or fiue fadome, and anchored a league or somewhat more beyond it; betweene the last two Points are two leagues, the interim, along shoale water, the latitude here is 41. degrees two third parts.

The twentieth, by the ships side we there killed Pengwins, and saw many sculs of fish. The Coast from *Gilberts Point* to the supposed Iles lyeth East and by South. Here also we discouered two Inlets which might promise fresh water, inwardly whereof we perceiued much smoake, as though some population had there beene: This Coast is very full of people, for that as we trended the same Sauages still runne along the shoare, as men much admiring at vs.

Pengwins.

The one and twentieth, we went coasting from *Gilberts Point* to the supposed Iles, in tenne, nine, eight, seuen, and sixe fadome close aboord the shoare, and that depth lyeth a league off. A little from the supposed Iles appeared vnto vs an opening, with which we stood iudging it to bee the end of that which Captaine *Gosnell* descrieth from *Cape Cod*, and as hee thought to extend some thirtie or more miles in length, and finding there but three fadome a league off, we omitted to make further discouerie of the same, calling it *Shole-hope*.

From this opening the Mayne lyeth South-west, which coasting along we saw a disinhabited Iland which so afterwards appeared vnto vs: we bore with it, and named it *Marthaes Vineyard*, from *Shole-hope* it is eight leagues in circuit, the Iland is fiue miles, and hath 41. degrees and one quarter of latitude: the place most pleasant; for the two and twentieth, we went ashoare, and found it full of Wood, Vines, Gooseberie bushes, Hurtberies, Raspices, Eglentine, &c. Heere we had Cranes, Hearnes, Shoulers Geese, and diuers other Birds which there at that time vpon the Cliffes being sandie with some Rockie stones, did breed and had young. In this place we saw Deere, heere we rode in eight fathome neere the shoare, where wee tooke great store of Cod, as before at *Cape Cod*, but much better.

Marthaes Vineyard.

The three and twentieth wee weyed, and towards night came to Anchor at the Northwest part of this Iland, where the next morning offered vnto vs fast running thirteene Sauages apparelled as aforesaid, and armed with Bowes and Arrowes without any feare. They brought Tobacco, Deere skins and some sodden fish. These offered themselues vnto vs in great familiaritie, who seemed to be well conditioned. They came more rich in Copper then any before. This Iland is sound, and hath no danger about it.

The foure and twentieth, we set saile and doubled the Cape of another Iland next vnto it, which wee called *Douer Cliffe*, and then came into a faire Sound, where wee roade all night, the next morning wee sent off our Boate to discouer another Cape, that lay betweene vs and the Mayne, from which were a ledge of Rockes a mile into the Sea, but all aboue water, and without danger, we went about them, and came to Anchor in eight fadome, a quarter of a mile from the shoare, in one of the stateliest Sounds that euer I was in. This called wee *Gosnolls Hope*; the North banke whereof is the Mayne, which stretcheth East and West. This Iland Captaine *Gosnoll* called *Elizabeths Ile*, where we determined our abode: the distance betweene euery of these Ilands is, *viz.* from *Marthaes Vineyard* to *Douer Cliffe*, halfe a league ouer the Sound, thence to *Elizabeths Ile* one league distant. From *Elizabeths Ile* vnto the Mayne is foure leagues. On the North side neere adioyning vnto the Iland *Elizabeth*, is an Ilet in compasse halfe a myle full

Douer-cliffe-sound. *Gosnolls Hope.* *Elizabeths Ile.*

of

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of Cedars, by me called *Hills Hap*, to the Northward, of which in the mouth of an opening on the Mayne appeareth another the like, that I called *Haps Hill*, for that I hope much hap may be expected from it. *Hills Hap.* *Haps Hill.*

The fiue and twentieth, it was that we came from *Goſnolls Hope*. The ſix and twentieth, we trimmed and fitted vp our Shallop. The ſeuen and twentieth, there came vnto vs an *Indian* and two women, the one we ſuppoſed to be his Wife, the other his Daughter, both cleane and ſtraite bodied, with countenance ſweet and pleaſant. To theſe the *Indian* gaue heedfull attendance for that they ſhewed them in much familiaritie with our men, although they would not admit of any immodeſt touch.

The eight and twentieth we entred counſell about our abode and plantation, which was concluded to be in the Weſt part of *Elizabeths Iland*. The North-eaſt thereof running from out our ken. The South and North ſtandeth in an equall Parallel. This Iland in the Weſterſide admitteth ſome Increekes, or ſandie Coues, ſo girded, as the water in ſome places of each ſide meeteth, to which the *Indians* from the Mayne doe oftentimes reſort for fiſhing of Crabs. There is eight fadome very neere the ſhoare, and the latitude here is 41. degrees 10. minutes, the breadth from Sound to Sound in the Weſter part is not paſſing a mile at moſt, altogether vnpeopled and diſinhabited. It is ouer-growne with Wood and Rubbiſh, *viz.* Okes, Aſhes, Beech, Wal-nut, Weech-halſe, Saſſafrage, and Cedars, with diuers other of vnknowne names. The Rubbiſh is wild Peaze, young Saſſafrage, Cherie trees, Vines, Eglentine, Gooſe-berie buſhes, Hawthorne, Honiſuckles, with others of like qualitie. The herbs and Roots are Strawberies, Raſpis, Ground Nuts, Alexander, Surrin, Tanſie, &c. without count. Touching the fertilitie of the ſoyle by our owne experience made, we found it to be excellent for ſowing ſome *Engliſh* pulſe it ſprowted out in one fortnight almoſt halfe a foot. In this Iland is a ſtage or Pond of freſh water, in circuit two miles, on the one ſide not diſtant from the Sea thirtie yards, in the Centre whereof is a Rockie Iſlet, containing neere an Acre of ground full of wood, on which wee beganne our Fort and place of abode, diſpoſing it ſelfe ſo fit for the ſame. Theſe *Indians* call Gold *Waſſador*, which argueth there is thereof in the Countrey. *Elizabeths Ile in 41. degrees 10. minutes deſcribed.* *Fort begun.*

The nine and twentieth, we laboured in getting of Saſſafrage, rubbiſhing our little Fort or Iſlet, new keeling our ſhallop; and making a Punt or Flat bottome Boate to paſſe to and fro our Fort ouer the freſh water, the powder of Saſſafrage in twelue houres cured one of our Company that had taken a great Surfet by eating the bellies of Dog-fiſh, a very delicious meate.

The thirtieth, Captaine *Goſnoll* with diuers of his company went vpon pleaſure in the ſhallop towards *Hills Hap* to view it, and the Sandie Coue, and returning brought with him a Canoa that foure *Indians* had there left being fled away for feare of our *Engliſh* which we brought into *England*.

The one and thirtieth, Captaine *Goſnoll* deſirous to ſee the Maine, becauſe of the diſtance, hee ſet ſayle ouer; where comming to anchor, went aſhoare with certaine of his companie, and immediatly there preſented vnto him men women and children, who with all curteous kindneſſe entertayned him, giuing him certaine skinnes of wilde beaſts, which may be rich Furres, Tobacco, Turtles, Hempe, artificiall Strings coloured, Chaines, and ſuch like things as at the inſtant they had about them. Theſe are a faire conditioned people. On all the Sea coaſt along we found Muſſell ſhells that in colour did repreſent Mother-of-pearle, but not hauing meanes to dredge, could not apprehend further knowledge thereof. This Maine is the goodlieſt Continent that euer we ſaw, promiſing more by farre then we any way did expect: for it is repleniſhed with faire fields, and in them fragrant Flowers, alſo Medowes, and hedged in with ſtately Groues, being furniſhed alſo with pleaſant Brookes, and beautified with two maine Riuers that (as wee iudge) may haply become good Harbours, and conduct vs to the hopes men ſo greedily doe thirſt after. In the mouth of one of theſe Inlets or Riuers lieth that little Ile before mentioned, called *Happes Hill*, from which vnto the Weſtermoſt end of the Maine, appearing where the other Inlet is, I account ſome fiue leagues, and the Coaſt betweene bendeth like a Bow, and lyeth Eaſt and by North. Beyond theſe two Inlets we might perceiue the Mayne to beare vp South-weſt, and more Southerly. Thus with this taſte of Diſcouery, we now contented our ſelues, and the ſame day made returne vnto our Fort, time not permitting more ſparing delay. *The people.* *Goodly Countrey.*

The firſt of Iune, we employed our ſelues in getting Saſſafrage, and the building of our Fort. The ſecond, third and fourth, we wrought hard to make readie our houſe for the prouiſion to bee had aſhore to ſuſtaine vs till our ſhips returne. This day from the Mayne came to our ſhips ſide a Canoa, with their Lord or chiefe Commander, for that they made little ſtay only pointing to the Sunne, as in ſigne that the next day hee would come and viſit vs, which hee did accordingly.

The fifth, wee continued our labour, when there came vnto vs aſhoare from the Mayne fiftie Sauages, ſtout and luſtie men with their Bowes and Arrowes, amongſt them there ſeemed to be one of authoritie, becauſe the reſt made an inclining reſpect vnto him. The ſhip was at their comming a league off, and Captaine *Goſnoll* aboord, and ſo likewiſe Captaine *Gilbert*, who almoſt neuer went aſhoare, the company with me only eight perſons. Theſe *Indians* in haſtie manner

came

came towards vs, so as we thought fit to make a stand at an angle betweene the Sea and a fresh water, I mooued my selfe towards him seuen or eight steps, and clapt my hands first on the sides of mine head, then on my breast, and after presented my Musket with a threatning countenance, thereby to signifie vnto them, either a choice of Peace or Warre, whereupon hee vsing mee with mine owne signes of Peace, I stept forth and imbraced him, his company then all sate downe in manner like Grey-hounds vpon their heeles, with whom my company fell a bartering. By this time Captaine *Gosnell* was come with twelue men more from aboord, and to shew the Sauage *Seignior* that he was our Captaine, we receiued him in a guard, which he passing thorow, saluted the *Seignior* with ceremonies of our salutations, whereat he nothing mooued or altered himselfe. Our Captaine gaue him a straw Hat and a paire of Kniues, the Hat awhiles hee wore, but the Kniues he beheld with great marueling, being very bright and sharpe, this our courtesie made them all in loue with vs.

The sixt being raine, we spent idlely aboord. The seuenth, the *Seignior* came againe with all his troupe as before, and continued with vs the most part of the day, we going to dinner about noone, they sate with vs and did eate of our Bacaleure and Mustard, dranke of our Beere, but the Mustard nipping them in their noses they could not indure: it was a sport to behold their faces made being bitten therewith. In time of Dinner the *Sauages* had stolne a Target wherewith acquainting the *Seignior*, with feare and great trembling they restored it againe, thinking perhaps we would haue beene reuenged for it, but seeing our familiaritie to continue, they fell a fresh to roasting of Crabs, Red Herrings, which were exceeding great, ground Nuts, &c. as before. Our Dinner ended, the *Seignior* first tooke leaue and departed, next all the rest sauing foure that stayed and went into the Wood to helpe vs digge Sassafrage, whom we desired to goe aboord vs, which they refused and so departed.

The eighth wee diuided the victuals, *viz.* the ships store for *England*, and that of the Planters, which by Captaine *Gilberts* allowance could be but sixe weekes for sixe moneths, whereby there fell out a controuersie, the rather, for that some seemed secretly to vnderstand of a purpose Captaine *Gilbert* had not to returne with supplie of the issue, those goods should make by him to be carried home. Besides, there wanted not ambitious conceits in the mindes of some wrangling and ill disposed persons that ouerthrew the stay there at that time, which vpon consultation thereof had, about fiue dayes after was fully resolued all for *England* againe. There came in this interim aboord vnto vs, that stayed all night, an *Indian*, whom wee vsed kindly, and the next day sent ashoare hee shewed himselfe the most sober of all the rest, wee held him sent as a Spie. In the morning he filched away our Pot-hookes, thinking he had not done any ill therein; being ashoare wee bid him strike fire, which with an Emerald stone (such as the Glasiers vse, to cut Glasse) he did. I take it to be the very same that in *Latine* is called *Smiris*, for striking therewith vpon Touch-wood that of purpose hee had, by meane of a mynerall stone vsed therein, sparkles proceeded and forthwith kindled with making of flame. The ninth, wee continued working on our Store-house for as yet remayned in vs a desired resolution of making stay. The tenth, Captaine *Gosnell* fell downe with the ship to the little Ilet of *Cedars*, called *Hills hoppe*, to take in Cedar wood, leauing mee and nine more in the Fort, onely with three meales meate, vpon promise to returne the next day.

Their purpose o: stay broken off.

The eleuenth, he came not, neither sent, whereupon I commanded foure of my companie to seeke out for Crabbes, Lobsters, Turtles, &c. for sustayning vs till the ships returne, which was gone cleane out of sight, and had the winde chopt vp at South-west, with much difficulty would shee haue beene able in short time to haue made returne. These foure Purveyers, whom I counselled to keepe together for their better safety diuided themselues, two going one wayes and two another, in search as aforesaid. One of these petie companies was assaulted by foure *Indians*, who with Arrowes did shoot and hurt one of the two in his side, the other a lusty and nimble fellow, leapt in and cut their Bow-strings whereupon they fled. Being late in the euening, they were driuen to lie all night in the Woods, not knowing the way home thorow the thicke rubbish, as also the weather somewhat stormie. The want of these sorrowed vs much, as not able to coniecture any thing of them vnlesse very euill.

Sauage assault

The twelfth, those two came vnto vs againe, whereat our ioy was encreased, yet the want of our Captaine, that promised to returne, as aforesaid, strooke vs in a dumpish terrour, for that hee performed not the same in the space of almost three dayes. In the meane wee sustayned our selues with Alexander and Sorrell pottage, Ground-nuts and Tobacco, which gaue nature a reasonable content. Wee heard at last, our Captaine to lewre vnto vs, which made such musike as sweeter neuer came vnto poore men.

The thirteenth, beganne some of our companie that before vowed to stay, to make reuolt; whereupon the planters diminishing, all was giuen ouer. The fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth wee spent in getting Sasafrage and fire-wood of Cedar, leauing House and little Fort by ten men in nineteene dayes sufficient made to harbour twenty persons at least with their necessary prouision.

The seuenteenth, we set sayle, doubling the Rockes of *Elizabeths* Iland, and passing by *Dover* Cliffe,

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Cliffe, came to anchor at *Marthaes* Vineyard being fiue leagues distant from our Fort, where we went ashoare, and had young Cranes, Herneshowes, and Geese, which now were growne to pretie bignesse.

The eighteenth, we set sayle and bore for *England*, cutting off our Shalop, that was well able to land fiue and twenty men, or more, a Boate very necessary for the like occasions. The winds doe raigne most commonly vpon this coast in the Summer time, Westerly. In our homeward course wee obserued the foresaid fleeting weeds to continue till we came within two hundred leagues of *Europe*. Returne.

The three and twentieth of Iuly we came to anchor before *Exmouth*.

CHAP. XI.

Notes of the same Voyage taken out of a Tractate written by IAMES ROSIER to Sir WALTER RALEIGH, and of MACES Voyage to *Virginia*.

ELizabeths Hand is full of high timbred Oakes, their leaues thrice so broad as ours; Cedars, straight and tall; Beech, Elme, Hollie, Wal-nut trees in abundance, the fruit as bigge as ours, as appeared by those wee found vnder the trees, which had lien all the yeere vngathered; Hasle-nut trees, Cherrie trees, the leafe, barke and bigneſſe not differing from ours in England, *but the stalke beareth the blossomes or fruit at the end thereof, like a cluster of Grapes, forsie or fiftie in a bunch; Sassafras trees great plentie all the Iland ouer, a tree of high price and profit; also diuers other fruit-trees, some of them with strange barkes, of an Orange colour, in feeling soft and smooth like Velvet: in the thickest parts of these Woods, you may see a furlong or more round about.* Oakes. Cedars. Beech. Elme. Hollie. Walnut trees. Cherrie trees. Sassafras trees. Diuers other trees.

On the North-west side of this Hand, neere to the Sea-side, is a standing Lake of fresh water, almost three English *miles in compasse, in the midst whereof stands a woody ground, an acre in quantitie, or not aboue: this Lake is full of small Tortoises, and exceedingly frequented with all sorts of fowles before rehearsed, which breed, some lowe on the bankes, and others on lowe trees about this Lake in great abundance, whose young ones of all sorts wee tooke and eate at our pleasure: but all these fowles are much bigger than ours in* England. *Also, in euery Iland, and almost euery part of euery Iland, are great store of Ground-nuts fortie together on a string, some of them as bigge as Hennes egges; they growe not two inches vnder ground: the which Nuts wee found to bee as good as Potatoes. Also, diuers sorts of shell-fish, as Scalops, Mussels, Cockles, Lobsters, Crabs, Oisters, and Wilkes, exceeding good and very great. But not to cloy you with particular rehearsall of such things as God and Nature hath bestowed on these places, in comparison whereof, the most fertile part of all* England *is (of it selfe) but barren; wee went in our Light-horseman from this Iland to the Maine, right against this Iland some two miles off, where comming ashoare, wee stood a while like men ravished at the beautie and delicacy of this sweet soyle; for besides diuers cleere Lakes of fresh water (whereof wee saw no end) Medowes very large, and full of greene grasse; euen the most wooddy places (I speake onely of such as I saw) doe growe so distinct and apart, one tree from another, vpon greene grassie ground, somewhat higher than the Plaines, as if Nature would shew her selfe aboue her power, artificiall. Hard by, wee espied seuen* Indians, *and comming vp to them, at first they expressed some feare; but being emboldned by our courteous vsage, and some trifles which we gaue them, they followed vs to a necke of Land, which wee imagined had beene seuered from the Mayne; but finding it otherwise, wee perceiued a broad Harbour or Riuers mouth, which came vp into the Mayne: and because the day was farre spent, we were forced to returne to the Iland from whence we came, leauing the Discouery of this Harbour, for a time of better leisure. Of the goodnesse of which Harbour, as also of many others thereabouts, there is small doubt, considering that all the Ilands, as also the Maine (where wee were) is all Rockie Grounds and broken Lands.* A Lake three miles about. Smal Tortoises. Abundance of fowles, much bigger than ours in *England*. Ground-nuts. Shell fish. The exceeding beauty of the maine Land. Great Lakes. Large Medows. Seuen *Indians*. A broad Riuer. A good Harbour.

Now the next day, wee determined to fortifie our selues in a little plot of ground in the middest of the Lake aboue mentioned, where wee built an house, and couered it with sedge, which grew about this Lake in great abundance; in building whereof, wee spent three weekes and more: but the second day after our comming from the Maine, wee espied eleuen Canoas or Boats, with fifty Indians *in them, comming toward vs from that part of the Maine, where wee two dayes before landed; and being loath they should discouer our fortification, wee went out into the Sea side to meete them; and comming somewhat neere them, they all sate downe vpon the stones, calling aloud to vs (as wee rightly ghessed) to doe the like, a little distance from them: hauing sate a while in this order, Captaine* Gosnold *willed mee to goe vnto them, to see what countenance they would make; but as soone as I came vp vnto them, one of them, to whom I had giuen a Knife two dayes before in the Maine, knew mee (whom I also very well remembred) and smiling vpon me, spake somewhat vnto their Lord or Captaine, which sate in the midst of them, who presently rose vp and tooke a large Beuer skinne from one that stood about him, and gaue* The *English* House. 11. Canoas with 50. *Indians* in them. Their Captain

it vnto me, which I requited for that time the best I could: but I, pointing towards captaine Gosnold, made signes vnto him, that hee was our Captaine, and desirous to bee his friend, and enter league with him, which (as I perceiued) he vnderstood, and made signes of ioy: whereupon Captaine Gosnold, with the rest of his companie, being twenty in all, came vp vnto them; and after many signes of gratulations (Captaine Gosnold presenting their Lord with certaine trifles which they wondred at, and highly esteemed) wee became very great friends, and sent for meat aboord our Shalop, and gaue them such meates as wee had then ready dressed, whereof they misliked nothing but our Mustard, whereat they made many a sowre face. While wee were thus merrie, one of them had conueighed a Target of ours into one of their Canoas, which wee suffered, onely to trie whether they were in subiection to this Lord, to whom we made signes (by shewing him another of the same likenesse, and pointing to the Canoa) what one of his com- 10
Seuerall sorts of Furres. panie had done: who suddenly expressed some feare, and speaking angerly to one about him (as wee perceiued by his countenance) caused it presently to be brought backe againe. So the rest of the day wee spent in trading with them for Furres, which are Beauers, Luzernes, Marterns, Otters, Wilde-cat skinnes, very large and deepe Furre, blacke Foxes, Conie skinnes, of the colour of our Hares, but somewhat lesse, Deere skinnes very large, Seale skinnes, and other beasts skinnes, to vs vnknowne.

Red Copper in abundance. They haue also great store of Copper; some very red, and some of a paler colour; none of them but
Chaines. haue Chaines, Eare-rings, or Collars of this metall: they head some of their Arrowes herewith much
Collars. like our broad Arrow heads, very workmanly made. Their Chaines are many hollow pieces cemented together, each piece of the bignesse of one of our reeds, a finger in length, ten or twelue of them together on a string, which they weare about their neckes: their Collars they weare about their bodies like 20
Drinking cups of Copper. Bandelieres a handfull broad, all hollow pieces like the other, but somewhat shorter, foure hundred pieces in a Collar, very fine and euenly set together. Besides these, they haue large drinking Cups made like Sculls, and other thinne plates of Copper, made much like our Boare-speare blades, all which they so little esteeme, as they offered their fairest Collars and Chaines for a Knife, or such like trifle, but wee seemed little to regard it; yet I was desirous to vnderstand where they had such store of this mettall, and made
Mines of Copper. signes to one of them (with whom I was very familiar) who taking a piece of copper in his hand, made a hole
Mineral stones with his finger in the ground, and withall pointed to the Maine from whence they came. They strike fire
Emerie stones. in this manner; euery one carrieth about him in a Purse of tewd Leather, a Mineral stone (which I take to be their Copper) and with a flat Emerie stone (wherewith Glaziers cut glasse, and Cutlers glase blades) tied fast to the end of a little sticke, gently hee striketh vpon the Mineral stone, and within a stroke or 30
Flaxe. two, a sparke falleth vpon a piece of Touch-wood (much like our Spunge in England) and with the least sparke he maketh a fire presently. Wee had also of their Flaxe, wherewith they make many strings and cords, but it is not so bright of colour as ours in England: I am perswaded they haue store growing vpon the Maine, as also Mines, and many other rich commodities, which we, wanting both time and meanes could not possibly discouer.

Thus they continued with vs three dayes, euery night retiring themselues to the furthermost part of our Iland two or three miles from our Fort: but the fourth day they returned to the Maine, pointing fiue or sixe times to the Sunne, and once to the Maine, which we vnderstood, that within fiue or sixe dayes they would come from the Maine to vs againe: but being in their Canoas a little from the shoare, they made huge cries and shouts of ioy vnto vs, and wee with our Trumpet and Cornet, and casting vp our 40
Indians apt for seruice. caps into the aire, made them the best farewell wee could: yet sixe or seuen of them remayned with vs behinde, bearing vs companie euery day in the Woods, and helped vs to cut and carrie our Sassafras, and some of them lay aboord our ship.

Sassafras. These people as they are exceeding curteous, gentle of disposition, and well conditioned, excelling all
A goodly people, and of good conditions. others that we haue seene; so for shape of body and louely fauour, I thinke they excell all the people of America; of stature much higher than wee; of complexion or colour, much like a darke Oliue; their eye-browes and haire blacke, which they weare long, tyed vp behinde in knots, whereon they pricke feathers of fowles, in fashion of a Crownet: some of them are blacke thinne bearded; they make beards of the haire of beasts: and one of them offered a beard of their making to one of our Saylers, for his that grew on his face, which because it was of a red colour, they iudged to be none of his owne. They are quicke 50
Their apparell. eyed, and stedfast in their lookes, feareless of others harmes, as intending none themselues; some of the meaner sort giuen to filching, which the very name of Sauages (not weighing their ignorance in good or euill) may easily excuse: their garments are of Deere skinnes, and some of them weare Furres round and close about their neckes. They pronounce our Language with great facilitie; for one of them one day sitting by mee, vpon occasion I spake smiling to him these words: How now, sirrha, are you so sawcy with my Tobacco? which words (without any further repetition) he suddenly spake so plaine and distinctly, as if hee had beene a long Scholer in the Language. Many other such trials wee had,
Their women. which are here needlesse to repeat. Their women (such as wee saw) which were but three in all, were but lowe of stature, their eye-browes, haire, apparell, and manner of wearing, like to the men, fat, and very well-fauoured, and much delighted in our companie; the men are very dutifull to- 60
The goodnesse of the Climat. wards them. And truly, the wholsomnesse and temperature of this Climate, doth not onely argue this people to be answerable to this description, but also of a perfect constitution of body, actiue strong, healthfull, and very witty, as the sundry toyes of theirs cunningly wrought, may easily witnesse.

For the agreeing of this Climate with vs (I speake of my selfe, and so I may iustly doe for the rest of

our

our companie) that we found our health and ſtrength all the while we remayned there, ſo to renew and encreaſe, as notwithſtanding our diet and lodging was none of the beſt, yet not one of our companie (God be thanked) felt the leaſt grudging or inclination to any diſeaſe or ſickneſſe, but were much fatter, and in better health than when we went out of England: *but after our Barke had taken in ſo much Saſſafras, Cedar, Furres, Skinnes, and other commodities, as were thought conuenient; ſome of our companie that had promiſed Captaine* Goſnold *to ſtay, hauing nothing but a ſaning voyage in their mindes, made our companie of Inhabitants (which was ſmall enough before) much ſmaller; ſo as Captaine* Goſnold *ſeeing his whole ſtrength to conſiſt but of twelue men, and they but meanly prouided, determined to returne for* England, *leauing this Iland (which he called* Elizabeths Iland) with as many true ſorrowfull eyes, as were before deſirous to ſee it. *So the eighteenth of Iune, being Friday, we weighed, and with indifferent faire winde and weather came to anchor the three and twentieth of Iuly, being alſo Friday (in all, bare fiue weekes) before* Exmouth. Their returne.

Your Lordſhips to command.

IOHN BRERETON.

A briefe Note of ſuch commodities as we ſaw in the Countrie, notwithſtanding our ſmall time of ſtay.

Trees. Saſſafras trees, the roots whereof at three ſhillings the pound are three hundred thirty ſixe pound the tunne. Cedars tall and ſtraight, in great abundance; Cypres trees, Oakes, Wal-nut trees great ſtore, Elmes, Beech, Hollie, Haſle-nut trees, Cherrie trees, Cotton trees, and other fruit-trees to vs vnknowne. The finder of our Saſſafras in theſe parts, was one Maſter *Robert Meriton*.

Fowles. Eagles, Hernſhawes, Cranes, Bitters, Mallards, Teales, Geeſe, Pengwins, Oſpreis and Hawkes, Crowes, Rauens, Mewes, Dones, Sea-pies, Black-birds with carnation wings.

Beaſts. Deere in great ſtore, very great and large; Beares, Luzernes, blacke Foxes, Beauers, Otters, Wilde-cats very large and great, Dogs like Foxes, blacke and ſharpe noſed; Conies.

Fruits, Plants, and Herbes. Tabacco, excellent ſweet and ſtrong; Vines more plenty than in *France*, Ground-nuts, good meate and alſo medicinable; Strawberries, Raſp-berries, Gooſe-berries, Hurtleberries, Peaſe growing naturally, Flaxe, Iris Florentina, whereof Apothecaries make ſweet balls; Sorrell, and many other herbes wherewith they made Sallets.

Fiſhes. Whales, Tortoiſes, both on Land and Sea; Seales Cods, Mackerell, Breames, Herrings, Thornbacke, Hakes, Rock-fiſh, Dog-fiſh, Lobſters, Crabbes, Muſſels, Wilkes, Cockles, Scallops, Oyſters.

Snakes foure foot in length, and ſixe inches about, which the *Indians* eate for dainty meate, the skinnes whereof they vſe for girdles.

Colours to die with, red, white, and blacke.

Mettals, and Stones. Copper in great abundance, Emerie ſtones, for Glaſiers and Cutlers, Alabaſter very white, Stones glittering and ſhining like Minerall ſtones; Stones of a blue metalline colour, which we take to bee Steele oare; Stones of all ſorts for buildings; Clay, red and white, which may proue good *Terra Sigillata*.

A briefe Note of the ſending another Barque this preſent yeere 1602. *by Sir* WALTER RALEIGH, *for the ſearching out of his Colonie in* Virginia.

Samuel Mace of *Weimouth*, a very ſufficient Mariner, an honeſt ſober man, who had beene at *Virginia* twice before, was employed thither by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to finde thoſe people which were left there in the yeere 1587. To whoſe ſuccour he hath ſent fiue ſeuerall times at his owne charges. The parties by him ſet forth, performed nothing; ſome of them following their owne profit elſewhere; others returning with friuolous allegations. At this laſt time, to auoide all excuſe, hee bought a Barke, and hired all the companie for wages by the moneth: who departing from *Weimouth* in March laſt, 1602. fell fortie leagues to the South-weſtward of *Hataraske*, in 34. degrees or thereabout; and hauing there ſpent a moneth; when they came along the coaſt to ſeeke the people, they did it not, pretending that the extremitie of weather, and loſſe of ſome principall ground-tackle, forced and feared them from ſearching the Port of *Hataraske*, to which they were ſent. From that place where they abode, they brought Saſſafras, *Radix China*, or the *China* Root, *Beniamin*, *Caſſia lignea* and a rind of a tree more ſtrong than any Spice as yet vnknowne, with diuers other commodities, which hereafter in a larger diſcourſe may come to light.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XII.

A Voyage set out from the Citie of Bristoll *at the charge of the chiefest Merchants and Inhabitants of the said Citie with a small Ship and a Barke for the discouerie of the North part of* Virginia, *in the yeere* 1603. *vnder the command of me* MARTIN PRINGE.

VPon many probable and reasonable inducements, vsed vnto sundry of the chiefest Merchants of *Bristoll*, by Master *Richard Hakluyt* Prebendary of Saint *Augustines* the Cathedrall Church of the said Citie, after diuers meetings and due consultation they resolued to set forth a Voyage for the farther Discouerie of the North part of *Virginia*. And first they sent the said Master *Hakluyt* accompanied with one Master *Iohn Angell*, and Master *Robert Salterne* (which had beene in the said Discouerie the yeere before with Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold*) to obtaine permission of Sir *Walter Raleigh* (which had a most ample Patent of all those parts from Queene *Elizabeth*) to entermeddle and deale in that action. Leaue being obtained of him vnder his hand and Seale, they speedily prepared a small ship called the *Speed-well* in burthen about fiftie tunnes, manning the same with some thirtie men and Boyes, wherein went for Master and chiefe Commander in the Voyage one *Martin Pring*, a man very sufficient for his place, and *Edmund Ienes* his Mate, and *Robert Salterne* aboue mentioned, as their chiefe Agent, with a Barke called the *Discouerer*, of six and twentie tunnes or thereabout, wherein went for Master *William Browne*, and *Samuell Kirkland* his Mate, both good and skilfull Mariners, being thirteene men and a Boy in all in that Barke. The aforesaid ship and Barke were plentifully victualled for eight monethes, and furnished with slight Merchandizes thought fit to trade with the people of the Countrey, as Hats of diuers colours, greene, blue and yellow, apparell of coarse Kersie and Canuasse readie made, Stockings and Shooes, Sawes, Pick-axes, Spades and Shouels, Axes, Hatchets, Hookes, Kniues, Sizzers, Hammers, Nailes, Chissels, Fish-hookes, Bels, Beades, Bugles, Looking-glasses, Thimbles, Pinnes, Needles, Threed, and such like. They set saile from *Kingrode* the twentieth day of March.

M. *Salterne* yet liueth neither is his zeale dead to this action. He is now a Minister and hath both by word and writing to mee testified his affection to *Virginia*.

M. *Pring* whose Voyage to the East *Indies* are in the former Tome.

April 10. 1603. We set saile from *Milford Hauen* (where the winds had stayed vs a fortnight, in which space we heard of Queene *Elizabeths* death) the tenth of Aprill 1603. In our course we passed by the Iles of the *Açores*, had first sight of the *Pike*, and afterward of the Iland of *Cuerno* and *Flores*, and after we had runne some fiue hundred leagues, we fell with a multitude of small Ilands on the North Coast of *Virginia*, in the latitude of 43. degrees, the of Iune, which Ilands wee found very pleasant to behold, adorned with goodly grasse and sundry sorts of Trees, as Cedars, Spruce, Pines, and Firre-trees. Heere wee found an excellent fishing for Cods, which are better then those of *New-found-land*, and withall we saw good and Rockie ground fit to drie them vpon; also we see no reason to the contrary, but that Salt may bee made in these parts, a matter of no small importance. We sayled to the South-west end of these Ilands, and there rode with our ships vnder one of the greatest. One of them we named *Foxe Iland*, because we found those kind of beasts thereon. So passing through the rest with our Boates to the mayne Land, which lieth for a good space North-east and South-west, we found very safe riding among them, in sixe, seuen, eight, ten and twelue fathomes. At length comming to the Mayne in the latitude of 43. degrees and an halfe, we ranged the same to the South-west. In which course we found foure Inlets, the most Easterly whereof was barred at the mouth, but hauing passed ouer the barre, wee ranne vp into it fiue miles, and for a certaine space found very good depth, and comming out againe, as we sailed South-westward, wee lighted vpon two other Inlets, which vpon our search we found to pierce not farre into the Land, the fourth and most Westerly was the best, which we rowed vp ten or twelue miles.

They discouer many Ilands. Good fishing place.

Foxe Iland.

In all these places we found no people, but signes of fires where they had beene. Howbeit we beheld very goodly Groues and Woods repleniſhed with tall Okes, Beeches, Pine-trees, Firre-trees, Hasels, Wich-hasels and Maples. We saw here also sundry sorts of Beasts, as Stags, Deere, Beares, Wolues, Foxes, Lusernes, and Dogges with sharpe noses. But meeting with no Sassafras, we left these places with all the foresaid Ilands, shaping our course for *Sauage Rocke*, discouered the yeere before by Captaine *Gosnold*, where going vpon the Mayne we found people, with whom we had no long conuersation, because here also we could find no Sassafras. Departing hence we bare into that great Gulfe which Captaine *Gosnold* ouer-shot the yeere before, coasting and finding people on the North side thereof. Not yet satisfied in our expectation, we left them and sailed ouer, and came to an Anchor on the South side in the latitude of 41. degrees and odde minutes: where we went on Land in a certaine Bay, which we called *Whitson Bay*, by the name of the Worshipfull Master *Iohn Whitson* then Maior of the Citie of *Bristoll*, and one of the chiefe Aduenturers, and finding a pleasant Hill thereunto adioyning, wee called it *Mount Aldworth*, for

Sauage Rocke. People.

Great Gulfe.

Whitson Bay. *M. Aldworth.*

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for Maſter *Robert Aldworths* ſake a chiefe furtherer of the Voyage, aſwell with his Purſe as with his trauell. Here we had ſufficient quantitie of Saſſafras.

At our going on ſhore, vpon view of the people and ſight of the place, wee thought it conuenient to make a ſmall baricado to keepe diligent watch and ward in, for the aduertizement and ſuccour of our men, while they ſhould worke in the Woods. During our abode on ſhore, the people of the Countrey came to our men ſometimes ten, twentie, fortie or threeſcore, and at one time one hundred and twentie at once. We vſed them kindly, and gaue them diuers ſorts of our meaneſt Merchandize. They did eat Peaſe and Beanes with our men. Their owne victuals were moſt of fiſh. The people viſit them.

We had a youth in our company that could play vpon a Gitterne, in whoſe homely Muſicke they tooke great delight, and would giue him many things, as Tobacco, Tobacco-pipes, Snakes ſkinnes of ſixe foot long, which they vſe for Girdles, Fawnes skinnes, and ſuch like, and danced twentie in a Ring, and the Gitterne in the middeſt of them, vſing many Sauage geſtures, ſinging *Io, Ia, Io, Ia, Ia, Io:* him that firſt brake the ring, the reſt would knocke and cry out vpon. Some few of them had plates of Braſſe a foot long, and halfe a foote broad before their breaſts. Their weapons are Bowes of fiue or ſixe foot long of Wich-haſell, painted blacke and yellow, the ſtrings of three twiſts of ſinewes, bigger then our Bow-ſtrings. Their Arrowes are of a yard and an handfull long not made of Reeds, but of a fine light wood very ſmooth and round with three long and deepe blacke feathers of ſome Eagle, Vulture, or Kite, as cloſely faſtened with ſome binding matter, as any Fletcher of ours can glue them on. Their Quiuers are full a yard long, made of long dried Ruſhes wrought about two handfuls broad aboue, and one handfull beneath with prettie workes and compartiments, Diamant wiſe of red and other colours. The Sauages take great delight in muſicke. Dances. Weapons.

We carried with vs from *Briſtoll* two excellent Maſtiues, of whom the *Indians* were more afraid, then of twentie of our men. One of theſe Maſtiues would carrie a halfe Pike in his mouth. And one Maſter *Thomas Bridges* a Gentleman of our company accompanied only with one of theſe Dogs, and paſſed ſixe miles alone in the Countrey hauing loſt his fellowes, and returned ſafely. And when we would be rid of the Sauages company wee would let looſe the Maſtiues, and ſuddenly with out-cryes they would flee away. Theſe people in colour are inclined to a ſwart, tawnie, or Cheſtnut colour, not by nature but accidentally, and doe weare their haire brayded in foure parts, and truſſed vp about their heads with a ſmall knot behind: in which haire of theirs they ſticke many feathers and toyes for brauerie and pleaſure. They couer their priuities only with a piece of leather drawne betwixt their twiſts and faſtened to their Girdles behind and before: whereunto they hang their bags of Tobacco. They ſeeme to bee ſomewhat iealous of their women, for we ſaw not paſt two of them, who weare Aprons of Leather skins before them downe to the knees, and a Beares skinne like an *Iriſh* Mantle ouer one ſhoulder. The men are of ſtature ſomewhat taller then our ordinary people, ſtrong, ſwift, well proportioned, and giuen to treacherie, as in the end we perceiued. The great vſe of Maſtiues. Ornaments.

Their Boats, whereof we brought one to *Briſtoll*, were in proportion like a Wherrie of the Riuer of *Thames*, ſeuenteene foot long and foure foot broad, made of the Barke of a Birch-tree, farre exceeding in bigneſſe thoſe of *England*: it was ſowed together with ſtrong and tough Oziers or twigs, and the ſeames couered ouer with Rozen or Turpentine little inferiour in ſweetneſſe to Frankincenſe, as we made triall by burning a little thereof on the coales at ſundry times after our comming home: it was alſo open like a Wherrie, and ſharpe at both ends, ſauing that the beake was a little bending roundly vpward. And though it carried nine men ſtanding vpright, yet it weighed not at the moſt aboue ſixtie pounds in weight, a thing almoſt incredible in regard of the largeneſſe and capacitie thereof. Their Oares were flat at the end like an Ouen peele, made of Aſh or Maple very light and ſtrong, about two yards long, wherewith they row very ſwiftly: Paſſing vp a Riuer we ſaw certaine Cottages together, abandoned by the Sauages, and not farre off we beheld their Gardens and one among the reſt of an Acre of ground, and in the ſame was ſowne Tobacco, Pompions, Cowcumbers and ſuch like; and ſome of the people had Maiz or *Indian* Wheate among them. In the fields we found wild Peaſe, Strawberries very faire and bigge, Gooſe-berries, Raſpices, Hurts, and other wild fruits. The faſhion of their Boats. Excellent ſweet Rozen and Turpentine. Their Gardens Corne and plants.

Hauing ſpent three Weekes vpon the Coaſt before we came to this place where we meant to ſtay & take in our lading, according to our inſtructions giuen vs in charge before our ſetting forth, we pared and digged vp the Earth with ſhouels, and ſowed Wheate, Barley, Oates, Peaſe, and ſundry ſorts of Garden Seeds, which for the time of our abode there, being about ſeuen Weeks, although they were late ſowne, came vp very well, giuing certaine teſtimonie of the goodneſſe of the Climate and of the Soyle. And it ſeemeth that Oade, Hempe, Flaxe, Rape-ſeed and ſuch like which require a rich and fat ground, would proſper excellently in theſe parts. For in diuers places here we found graſſe aboue knee deepe.

As for Trees the Country yeeldeth Saſſafras a plant of ſouereigne vertue for the *French* Pox, and as ſome of late haue learnedly written good againſt the Plague and many other Maladies; Vines, Cedars, Okes, Aſhes, Beeches, Birch trees, Cherie trees bearing fruit whereof wee did eate, Haſels, Wich-haſels, the beſt wood of all other to make Sope-aſhes withall, Walnut-trees,

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Maples, holy to make Bird-lime with, and a kinde of tree bearing a fruit like a small red Peare-plum with a crowne or knop on the top (a plant whereof carefully wrapped vp in earth, Master *Robert Salterne* brought to Bristoll.) We found also low trees bearing faire Cheries. There were likewise a white kind of Plums which were not growne to their perfect ripenesse. With diuers other sorts of trees to vs vnknowne.

The Beasts here are Stags, fallow Deere in abundance, Beares, Wolues, Foxes, Lusernes, and (some say) Tygres, Porcupines, and Dogges with sharpe and long noses, with many other sorts of wild beasts, whose Cases and Furres being hereafter purchased by exchange may yeeld no small gaine to vs. Since as we are certainly informed, the *Frenchmen* brought from *Canada* the value of thirtie thousand Crownes in the yeere 1604. almost in Beuers and Otters skinnes only. The most vsuall Fowles are Eagles, Vultures, Hawkes, Cranes, Herons Crowes, Gulls, and great store of other Riuer and Sea-fowles. And as the Land is full of Gods good blessings, so is the Sea replenished with great abundance of excellent fish, as Cods sufficient to lade many ships, which we found vpon the Coast in the moneth of Iune, Seales to make Oile withall, Mullets, Turbuts, Mackerels, Herrings, Crabs, Lobsters, Creuises, and Muscles with ragged Pearles in them.

Barke sent home.

By the end of Iuly we had laded our small Barke called the Discouerer, with as much Sassafras as we thought sufficient, and sent her home into *England* before, to giue some speedie contentment to the Aduenturers: who arriued safely in *Kingrode* aboue a fortnight before vs. After their departure we so bestirred our selues, that our shippe also had gotten in her lading, during which time there fell out this accident. On a day about noone tide while our men which vsed to cut downe Sassafras in the Woods were asleepe, as they vsed to doe for two houres in the heat of the day, there came downe about seuen score Sauages armed with their Bowes and Arrowes, and enuironed our House or Barricado, wherein were foure of our men alone with their Muskets to keepe Centinell, whom they sought to haue come downe vnto them, which they vtterly refused, and stood vpon their guard. Our Master likewise being very carefull and circumspect hauing not past two with him in the shippe put the same in the best defence he could, lest they should haue inuaded the same, and caused a piece of great Ordnance to bee shot off, to giue terrour to the *Indians*, and warning to our men which were fast asleepe in the Woods: at the noyse of which Peece they were a little awaked, and beganne a little to call for *Foole* and *Gallant*, their great and fearefull Mastiues, and full quietly laid themselues downe againe, but beeing quickned vp eftsoones againe with a second shot they rowsed vp themselues, betooke them to their weapons and with their Mastiues, great *Foole* with an halfe Pike in his mouth drew downe to their ship: whom when the *Indians* beheld afarre off, with the Mastiue which they most feared, in dissembling manner they turned all to a iest and sport, and departed away in friendly manner: yet not long after, euen the day before our departure, they set fire on the Woods where wee wrought, which wee did behold to burne for a mile space, and the very same day that wee weighed Anchor, they came downe to the shoare in greater number, to wit, very neere two hundred by our estimation, and some of them came in their Boates to our ship, and would haue had vs come in againe: but we sent them backe, and would none of their entertainment.

Danger of the Sauages.

About the eighth or ninth of August, wee left this excellent Hauen at the entrance whereof we found twentie fathomes water, and rode at our ease in seuen fathomes being Land-locked, the Hauen winding in compasse like the shell of a Snaile, and it is in latitude of one and forty degrees and fiue and twentie minutes.

This by the way is not to be forgotten, that our Captaine fell so much to the Northward because he would find high grounds, where commonly the best Hauens are: which also fell out to his expectation. We also obserued that we could find no Sassafras but in sandie ground. In our returne we brought our selues into the latitude of eight and thirtie degrees about the *Açores* for certaine causes, and within fiue weekes space came from our Port of *Virginia*, into the Soundings of *England*, but there being long encountred with Easterly winds, we came at length into *Kingrode*, the second of October 1603. The Discouerer was out fiue moneths and an halfe. The *Speedwell* was out sixe moneths vpon the Voyage.

A Relation of the Voyage made to Virginia, *in the* Elizabeth *of* London, *a Barke of fiftie tunnes by Captaine* BARTHOLOMEW GILBERT, *in the yeere* 1603. *Written by Master* THOMAS CANNER *a Gentleman of* Bernards *Inne his companion in the same Voyage.*

VPon Wednesday in Easter weeke, the seuenteenth of Aprill after, I had taken my leaue of some few of my louing and deere friends in *Bernards* Inne, I rode toward *Southampton*, there to bespeake Bisket and some other prouision for our Barke, wherein Master *Bartholomew Gilbert* went as Captaine, which had beene in *Virginia* the yeere before with Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold*.

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nold. After our businesse was dispatched here, wee came into *Plimmouth*, from whence wee put forth the tenth of May. And the six and twentieth of the same, we were in the latitude of 32. degrees, hoping to haue had sight of the Ile of *Madera*, whereof we missed, in which course we met with two or three *English* men of warre.

The first of Iune, we were in the latitude of 27. degrees, and ihaled ouer toward the Ilands of the West *Indies*, and the fifteenth of this moneth toward night wee saw Land. Master *Gilbert* and the Master *Henrie Suite* dwelling within the Iron Gate of the Towre of *London*, tooke it to be the *Bermudas*: being very neere the shore they sounded many times and had no ground, at the last they found good ground in fourteene or fifteene fathomes. There wee cast Anchor. In the morning we weighed, and sounded still as we trended by the shoare: but after wee were past a Cables length from our Road, we had no Land againe in forty or fifty fathomes: we kept still by the shore not yet being certaine what Iland it was. The sixteenth in the morning, wee spied the people comming from the shore, who when they came neere, cried out for barter or trade: when they came close aboord, they made signes and cried out to see our colours, which we presently put forth in the maine top, and told them we were *Ingleses*, *Amigos*, and *Hermanos*, that is, *Englishmen*, their friends and brothers. Assoone as they vnderstood we were *Englishmen*, they were bolder to come neere: we threw them a Rope, and one came aboord vs: wee traded with them for some Tobacco, Pine-apples, Plantanes, Pompions and such things as they had: wee gaue them Bugles, Kniues, Whistles, and such toyes. Here we kept close by the shore. When this Canoa had traded with vs, and vttered all they had and drunke of our Beere, beeing kindly vsed they departed: and then presently after diuers Canoas came, we traded and vsed them as the first. One of them told vs that Iland was *Santa Lucia*. We bestowed all that forenoone shaking in the wind (for we had no ground to Anchor) neere the shore to trade with them. Then we set our course for Saint *Vincent*, but finding a current against vs and the wind very scant, we doubted we should not fetch it, and that if we did, peraduenture we might bee put to the leeward of *Dominica*, and so consequently of *Mevis* or *Nieues*; for which Iland we were specially bound for to cut *Lignum vitæ*, in the same. Therefore Master *Gilbert* thought good to let Saint *Vincent* alone, although in it is the best Tobacco of all the Ilands, yet in the end hee put roomer for *Dominica*, whereof we had sight the seuenteenth of Iune, and came close to the shore; and presently one Canoa came aboord, as at *Santa Lucia*; being sent with two men belike to discouer vs, and to see what entertainment they should haue, we vsed them kindly and so dismissed them. There came more full of men, with diuers of their commodities.

They trade at *Santa Lucia.*

Dominica.

The nineteenth in the morning being Sunday, we anchored in a good Road at *Mevis*, and after went on shore to seeke *Lignum vitæ*. Master *Gilbert*, with the Master and diuers of the company sought farre into the Woods, but found none but one dirtie Tree, and here and there where one had bin cut: so we were in doubt to find enough heere to load our ship, a iust plague vnto vs for prophaning the Sabbath in trauelling about our worldly businesse, when there was no necessitie. This day in the Euening some went out with the Boate vnto the shore, and brought on boord a Tortoyse so big that foure men could not get her into the Boate but tied her fast by one legge vnto the Boat, and so towed her to the ship, when they had her by the ship, it was no easie matter to get her on boord.

Mevis.

Great Tortoyse.

The next day we went on shore againe to search another part of the wood for *Lignum vitæ*: and then God be thanked we found enough. This day at night we opened our Tortoyse, which had in her about 500. Egges, excellent sweet meate, and so is all the whole fish. Vpon Tuesday in the morning we went all on shore saiing the Carpenter and *Thomas*, and Master *Gilberts* man to fell wood, and this day we felled good store. All the rest of this moneth and three dayes more we continued here euery day labouring sore, first in sawing downe the great trees, and sawing them againe into logs, portable out of the thicke wood to the Sea-shoare, so in the Boates, and so to the ship: where M. *Gilbert* his paines profited double as well in example as in worke, for hee was neuer idle, but either searching out more trees, or fetching drinke for the Labourers, or doing one thing or other: so that in this iust fortnight that wee stayed here, wee had gotten on boord some twenty tuns. Within a few dayes after the Tortoyse was eaten God sent vs another. One of these fishes were sufficient meat for twentie men for three or foure dayes if it could bee preserued, but in that Climate no salting can preserue it aboue two dayes, hardly so long. Now the wood growing thinne, and hardly to be found on this Iland, he thought it best to stay no longer here, but to goe for *Virginia*, to search for better store. And so vpon Sunday the third of Iuly in the afternoone we weighed Anchor, and sailed North-west and by North, and that night passed by Saint *Christopher*, and another little Iland. Munday the fourth in the morning we had sight of the Iland, we went into the Woods to search for *Lignum vitæ*, but found none but one tree, which he cut and went on boord, we sought also for fresh water, but found none: At Euening went on shore into the bottome of the Bay to dray the Net; and there we gat good store of fine fresh fish, and much more, enough to haue laden our Boat we should haue gotten, if at euery draught we had not had in the Net a Tortoyse, which still brak through and so carried away the fish with them. At one draught among the rest we had two in the Net, a yong one and an old on: the Net held the young one.

Lignum vitæ.

S. Christopher.

Abundance of Tortoyses.

They dissemboke.

Wee weighed and went through betweene the two Ilands into the mayne Ocean, toward our long desired Countrey *Virginia*, distant three hundred and fiftie leagues from vs. Wee sayled North North-west.

The seuenth, we ran still North-west and North and by West. The eight, wee kept the same course. The ninth, we kept still the same course. The winde beganne to vere some thing to the Southward, which had beene constant still, from the Ilands of the *Canaries*, vnto the Ilands of the West *Indies*. And now began the winde to draw towards the West, and then is it as constant there. The reason I deferre to longer consideration. The current setteth out of the Gulfe of *Mexico*, and from the mayne shore.

The Westerne winds begin.

Sunday the tenth, we kept still the same course, and had now but a small gale almost becalmed. The eleuenth, we continued the same course with the same small gale we went North. Tuesday the twelfth we kept the same course, if any at all, for, for the most part we were becalmed.

Wednesday the thirteenth, the calme continued, the Sunne being extremely hot in the calme. Thursday the fourteenth, the calme continued as hot as before. These dayes we ayned our *Newland*, fish called Poore *Iohn*, which proued ill done. For after it was ayred, it rotted the sooner, being burnt in the same. On Friday the fifteenth, God sent vs a reasonable gale. The sixteenth and seuenteenth, the calme came againe. Munday, we had a good gale, and went North and by West, and North North-west. The nineteenth, twentieth, and one and twentieth, we had an excellent gale, and ranne North North-west. Then we cast out the Lead and looked out for land, but found no ground nor saw no land, and therefore we much doubted that the current had set vs very farre to the leeward of the place which wee were bound for, being the *Chesepian* Bay; but that could not be knowne till it pleased God to bring vs to land. In the afternoone about sixe of the clocke we cast out the Lead againe, and had ground in thirtie fathomes, whereof we were glad and thanked God, knowing we could not be farre from land.

Poore *Iohn*.

Ground in 30. fathomes.

Saturday the three and twentieth in the morning, about eight of the clocke wee saw land in the height of 40. degrees and odde minutes, very fine low land, appearing farre off to bee full of tall Trees, and a fine sandie shoare, but a great siege: we saw no Harbour, and therefore coasted along to seeke one to the Northward, the wind being at West.

Sunday the foure and twentieth, the wind being aboue the North-east we beat hard to fetch an Head-land, where we thought we saw an Harbour: but when we came vp with it, wee perceiued it was none, and all our labour lost. And therefore the wind being now more full in our teeth at the North-east, wee considered it were better to put roome, so that if the winde should stand, then we should fetch the Bay of *Chesepian*, which Master *Gilbert* so much thirsted after, to seeke out the people for Sir *Walter Raleigh* left neere those parts in the yeere 1587. if not, perhaps we might find some Road or Harbour in the way to take in some fresh water: for now wee had none aboord.

An Headland.

The mouth of the *Chesepian* Bay.

On Munday the fiue and twentieth of Iuly at night wee came neere the mouth of the Bay: but the wind blew so sore, and the Sea was so high, that the Master durst not put in that night into the Sea: and so continued next day.

On Wednesday the seuen and twentieth, at night the winde came faire againe, and wee bare againe for it all night, and the wind presently turned againe. Thursday the eight and twentieth, considering our extremitie for water and wood, victuals and beere likewise consuming very fast, we could no longer beate for it, and therefore ran roomer, determining for this time to seeke it no more.

They departed Eastward from the mouth of the *Chesepioc* Bay.

Friday the nine and twentieth, being not farre from the shoare, which appeared vnto vs exceeding pleasant and full of goodly Trees, and with some shew of the entrance of a Riuer, our Captaine *Bartholomew Gilbert* accompanied with Master *Thomas Canner* a Gentleman of *Bernards* Inne, *Richard Harison* the Masters Mate, *Henry Kenton* our Chirurgion, and one *Derricke* a *Dutchman*, went on shore in the Boate from the ship which lay aboue a mile from the land, and with their weapons marched vp into the Countrey, leauing two youths to keepe the Boate: but shortly after the *Indians* set vpon them, and one or two of them fell downe wounded in sight of our yong men that kept the Boat, which had much a doe to saue themselues and it. For some of the *Indians* roming downe to them, would haue haled it on shore, which notwithstanding they saued, and with heauie hearts gat vnto the ship with the losse of their Captain and foure of their principall men. Thus being but eleuen men and Boyes in all in the ship, though our want of water and wood were great, yet wee durst not aduenture the losse of any more of our small company in this place; Therefore our Master *Henry Sute* tooke his course home for *England* by the Iles of the *Açores*, and fell first with the Pike, and afterward entring into our Chanell, had first sight of *Portland*, and thence came vp the Riuer of *Thames* vnto *Ratcliffe*, about the end of September 1603. finding the Citie most grieuously infected with a terrible plague.

A shew of entrance of a Riuer.

Captaine *Gilbert* and foure more slaine by the *Indians*.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XIII.

Extracts of a Virginian *Voyage made An.* 1605. *by Captaine* GEORGE WAYMOVTH, *in the* Arch-angell. *Set forth by the Right Honorable* HENRY *Earle of* South-hampton, *and the Lord* THOMAS ARVNDEL, *written by* IAMES ROSIER.

VPon Easter day, the last of March, the winde comming at North North-east: about fiue of the clocke after noone, we weighed anchor and put to Sea from the Downes, [in the Name of God] being very well victualled, and furnished with Munition and all necessaries; our whole companie being nine and twenty persons, of whom I dare boldly say, few Voyages haue beene manned forth with better Sea-men generally, in respect of our small number. March. Easter day wee put to Sea.

Munday the thirteenth of May, about eleuen of the clocke in the fore-noone, our Captaine iudging we were not farre from Land, sounded; and we had soft oze in an hundred and sixty fathome: at foure of the clooke after noone wee sounded againe, and had the like oze in an hundred fathome. Sounding wee found ground.

From ten a clocke that night till three a clocke in the morning, our Captain tooke in all Sayles and lay at hull, being desirous to fall with the Land in the day time, because it was an vnknown Coast, which it pleased God in his mercy to grant vs, otherwise surely we had runne our Shippe vpon the hidden Rockes, and perished all: for when we set sayle, we sounded in an hundred fathom: and by eight a clocke, hauing not made aboue fiue or sixe leagues, our Captaine vpon a sudden change of water, supposing verily he saw the land: presently sounded, and had but fiue fathome: much maruelling because we saw no Land, he sent one to the top, who descried a whitish sandy Cliffe, which bare West North-west about sixe leagues off: but comming neerer within three or foure leagues, we saw many breaches still neerer the Land. At last we espied a great breach ahead vs right along the shoare, into which, before we entred, our Captaine thought best to hoise out his Ship-boat and sound it: which if hee had not done, wee had there ended our Voyage, together with our liues: for he bare vp the Ship as neere as he could after the Boate, vntill Master *Cam* his Mate being in the Boat, weffed and called to him to winde about and stand off, for in this breach he had very shoald water, two fathome vpon Rockes, and sometime they supposed they saw the Rocke within three or foure foot, whereon the Sea made a very high strong breach, which we might discerne (from the top) to runne along as wee sayled by it, sixe or seuen leagues to the Southward: and we saw no end thereof. Wherefore we were constrained to put backe againe from the Land; and sounding (the weather being faire) wee found our selues embayed with continuall Shoalds and Rocks, in a most vncertaine ground; as by iudgement of our Captaine and whole companie, they had neuer knowne the like; from fiue and sixe fathome, at the next cast of the Lead wee should haue fifteene and eighteene fathome all hard Rocke ouer many which (by the vnspeakable goodnesse and mercy of God towards vs) wee passed. For if we had bare in with it but the day before (which was exceeding tempestuous) or in the night, we could by no meanes haue escaped the danger. But God so blessed vs, that we had weather and winde as faire as poore men could wish, in this distresse; whereby we both perfectly discerned euery breach, and with the winde were able to turne, where wee saw most hope of safest passage. Thus we parted from the Land, which wee had not so much before desired: and at the first sight reioyced: as now wee all ioyfully praised God, that it had pleased him so miraculously to deliuer vs from so imminent danger of death before our eyes. Our Captaine found himselfe in the latitude of 41 degrees and an halfe. Here we found great store of fish, and saw many Whales, as we had done two or three dayes before. May 14. Land descried. A dangerous place of rocks and shoalds. Latitude 41. degrees and an halfe.

Wee stood off that night and all the next day, being Wednesday: but the winde still continuing for many dayes betweene the points of South South-west and West South-west, so as we could not by any possible meanes make any way to the Southward in regard of our great want of water and Wood (which was now spent) wee much desired Land, and therefore sought for it, where the winde would best suffer vs to refresh our selues.

Thursday the sixteenth day of May, we stood directly in with the Land: and we much maruelled that we descried it not: wherein wee found our Sea Charts very false laying out Land where none was, for though we bare in directly with it according to them: yet in almost fifty leagues running we found none. Sea-charts false.

Friday the seuenteenth of May, about sixe a clocke at night, wee descried Land, which bare from vs North North-east: but because it blew a great gale of winde, the Sea very high and neere night, not fit to come vpon an vnknowne coast, our Captaine stood off till two of the clocke in the morning being Saturday and Whitson Eue: then standing with it againe, wee descried it by eight a clocke in morning, bearing North-east from vs. It appeared a meane high Land, as we after found it, being but an Iland of no great compasse: but I hope the most fortunate Land descried. Saturday wee made the land.

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that euer men discouered, as shall appeare by the sequell. About twelue a clocke that day, wee came to an anchor on the North side of this Iland in forty fathome water, about a league from shoare. This Iland is woody, growne ouer with Firre, Birch, and Beech, as farre as we saw along the shoare, and so likely to be within. On the Verge growe Gooseberries, Strawberries, wilde Pease, and wilde Rose bushes. The fresh water issued down the rocky Cliffes in many places; and much fowle of sundry kindes breed vpon the shoare and Rockes. While wee were at shoare, our men aboord with a few hookes got aboue thirty great Cod and Haddocke, which gaue vs a taste of the great plenty of fish which we found afterward, whereseuer we went vpon the coast.

Our Captaine named this S. Georges Iland.

Great plenty of fish.

From hence we might discerne many Ilands, and the maine Land, from the West South-west to the East North-east; and North North-east from vs a great way as it then seemed (and as we after found it) vp into the Maine, we might discerne very high Mountaines, although the Maine seemed but lowe Land, which gaue vs a hope, that it might please God, to direct vs to the Discouery of some good, although wee were driuen by windes farre from that place, whether both by our direction and desire, we euer intended to shape the course of our Voyage.

Wee descried the Maine and Mountaines.

The next day being Whitsunday, because we rode too much open to the Sea, and windes, wee wayed anchor about twelue a clocke, and came along to the other Ilands more adioyning to the Maine, and in the Road directly with the Mountaines, about three leagues from the first Iland where we anchored. When we came neere vnto them (sounding all along in a good depth) our Captaine manned his Ship-boat, and sent her before, with *Thomas Cam* one of his Mates, whom he knew to be of good experience, to search and sound about and between the Ilands, for a place safe for our ship to ride in. In the meane while we kept aloofe at Sea, hauing giuen order to them in the Boat, by a token to weffe in the ship if he found a conuenient Harbour, which it pleased God to send vs, farre beyond our expectation in a most safe birth, defended from all windes in an excellent depth of water for ships of any burthens in six, seuen, eight, nine and ten fathome vpon a clay oze, very tough, where is good moring, euen on the Rocks vpon the Cliffe side.

Vpon Whitsunday wee came into an excellent Harbour.

We all with great admiration praised God, who had from so apparent danger miraculously deliuered vs, and directed vs vpon this day (vpon which he sent the chiefe promised Director of all goodnesse vnto his Apostles and Disciples) into such a place, wherof here before we reade none to haue made either description or relation, and then which neither our selues could wish, or Nature affoord more secure. In remembrance whereof, our Captaine named it *Pentecost* Harbour.

Pentecost Harbour.

Whitsun Munday the twentieth day of May, by three a clocke in the morning, our Captaine caused the Shalop to be carried ashoare: where while some were busied about her, himselfe set others to worke in digging Wels to receiue the water, which we found issuing downe out of the Land in many places, and rising amidst the rocky Cliffes. In digging (amongst other things) we found in some places (and not deepe) clay ground, blue, red and white, to make Bricke or Tile, fit for building. This day our Pinnace was fitted together and lanched; in small time with two or three hookes were fished sufficiently for our whole companie three dayes, with great Cod, Haddocke, and some Thornbacke. Towards night we drew with a small Same of 20. fathom iust by the shoare, where we got about 30. very good Lobsters, many Rockfish, some Plaise, and other small fishes very good; and fishes called Lumpes, very pleasant to taste. And this wee generally obserued, that all the fish of what kind soeuer we tooke, were well fed, fat, and in tast very sweet.

Clay.

Our Pinnace Lanched.

Varietie of fishes.

Wednesday the two and twentieth of May, our Captaine went ashoare with our men, where wee felled and cut wood for our ships vse, cleansed and scoured our Wells. Wee likewise digged a small plot of ground, wherein among some Garden seeds (which most the birds destroyed) we set Pease and Barley, which in sixteene dayes grew eight inches, and so continued euery day growing more than halfe an inch: although this was but the crust of the ground, and farre inferiour to the mould we after found in the Maine.

All the next day we labored hard to make vp our wood, because our Captaine intended not to spare, or spend any more time in that of our Voyage. This day our Boat fished againe as before, because wee still were much refreshed with the fresh fish.

Wee fished.

Friday the foure and twentieth of May, after we had made an end of cutting wood, and carrying some water aboord our ship. Our Captaine with fourteene shot and Pike marched about, and thorow part of two of the Ilands, one of which we ghessed to be foure or fiue miles in compasse, and a mile broad.

Along the shoare, and some space within where the wood hindereth not, growe plentifully, Rashberries, Gooseberries, Strawberries, Corant trees, Rose bushes, wilde Vines, Angelica a soueraine herbe, many other fruits wee knew not. All within the Ilands, growe wood of sundry sorts, some very great, and generally all tall: Beech, Birch, Ash, Maple, Spruce, Cherrie tree, Ewe, Oake great and firme, with so fine graine and colour, as our Captaine, and men of best experience, had neuer seene the like. But the Firre trees great and small are most abundant, which I name last, as not the least of excellent profit: for from it issueth Turpentine in maruellous plenty, and so sweet as our Chirurgeon and others affirmed they neuer saw so good in *England*. Wee pulled off much Gumme congealed on the outside of the Barke which gaue an odour like Frankincense. This would be a very great benefit for making Tarre and Pitch.

The fruits of the Ilands.

Trees.

Turpentine plentifull, for Tarre and Pitch.

We

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We ſtaied the longer in this place, not onely becauſe of our good Harbour (which is an excellent comfort) but alſo becauſe euery day we found the Iland, more and more to diſcouer vnto vs his pleaſant fruitfulneſſe, inſomuch, as many of our company wiſhed themſelues ſettled here.

Alſo our men found abundance of great Muſſels among the Rockes; and in ſome of them many ſmall Pearles. In one Muſſell (which we drew vp in our Same) was found foureteene Pearles, whereof one was of pretty bigneſſe and orient, in another aboue fifty ſmall Pearles; and if one had had a Dragge, no doubt we had found ſome of great value, ſeeing theſe did certainely ſhew that here they were bred: the ſhels within all gliſtering with mother of Pearle. Pearle.

Thurſday the thirtieth of May, the Captaine with thirteene departed in the Shallop, leauing the Ship in a good harbour.

Diuers Canoas of Sauages came to vs. The ſhape of their body is very proportionable, and well countenanced, not very tall, nor bigge, but in ſtature like to vs; they paint their bodies with blacke, their faces ſome with red, ſome with blacke, and ſome with blew. Their cloathing is Beuer skins, and Deere skins, hanging downe to their knees before and behinde, made faſt together vpon the ſhoulder with a leather ſtring; ſome of them weare ſleeues, ſome buskins of leather sewed very thin and ſoft. Some weare the haire of their skins outward, ſome inward; they haue beſides a peece of skin, which they binde about their waſte, and betweene their legges to couer their priuities. They ſuffer no haire to grow vpon their faces, but vpon their head very long and very blacke, which behinde they binde vp with a ſtring on a long round knot, ſome of them haue haire all curled naturally. They ſeemed all very ciuill and very merry, ſhewing tokens of much thankfulneſſe for thoſe things we gaue them; which they expreſſe in their language by theſe words, *oh, ho*, often repeated. We found them then (as after) a people of very good inuention, quicke vnderſtanding, and ready capacity. Their ſhape of body. Their cloathing. Very thankful. Of good capacity and vnderſtanding.

Their Canoas are made of the barke of Beech, ſtrengthned within with ribbes and hoopes of wood, in ſo good faſhion and with ſuch excellent ingenious art, as our men that had beene often in the *Indies*, ſaid they farre exceeded any that euer they had ſeene. The chiefe of them told me by ſignes, that they would goe fetch Furres and Skins, and pointed to be with vs againe by that time the Sunne ſhould come ſomewhat beyond the midſt of the firmament. Their Canoas very artificiall.

About ten a clocke this day we deſcried our Pinnace returning towards vs. Our Captaine had in this ſmall time diſcouered vp a great Riuer, trending all almoſt into the Maine. Vntill his returne our Captaine left on ſhoare where they landed, in a path (which ſeemed to be frequented) a Pipe, a Brooch, and a Knife, thereby to know if the Sauages had recourſe that way, becauſe they could at that time ſee none of them, onely a Beaſt a farre of, which they thought to be a Deere. Trifles left on ſhoare.

The next day being Saturday, and the firſt of Iune, wee traded with the Sauages all the forenoone vpon the Shoare, where were eight and twenty Sauages, and becauſe our Ship rode nigh, we were but fiue or ſixe, where for Kniues and other trifles, to the value of foure or fiue ſhillings, we had forty good Skins, Beuers, Otter, and other which we knew not what to call them. Our trade being ended, many of them came aboord vs, and eate by our fire, and would be very merry and bold, in regard of our kinde vſage of them. Our Captaine ſhewed them a ſtrange thing, which they wondered; His Sword and mine hauing beene touched with the Loadſtone, tooke vp their Knife and held it faſt when they plucked it away; and made their Knife turne being laid on a blocke: and giuing their Knife a touch with his Sword, made that take vp a Needle, which they much marueiled at. This we did to cauſe them to imagine ſome great power in vs, and for that to loue and feare vs. Wee traded with the Sauages. They wondred at the effect of the Loadſtone

When we went a Shoare to trade with them in one of their Canoas, I ſaw their Bowes and Arrowes, which in their ſight I tooke vp and drew an Arrow in one of them, which I found to be of a reaſonable ſtrength, able to carry an Arrow fiue or ſix ſcore ſtrongly; and one of them tooke it and brew as we draw our Bowes, not like the *Indians*. Their Bowe is made of Beech in faſhion of our Bowes, but they want nocks, onely a ſtring of leather put through a hole at one end, and made faſt with a knot at the other. Their Arrowes are of a much greater ſize then our and longer, feathered with three feathers tyed on, and nocked very artificially, headed with a long ſhanke bone of a Deere, made very ſharpe, and ſome Iron heads, with two fangs in manner of a harping Iron. They haue likewiſe Darts headed with ſharpe bone, one of which I darted among the Stones and it brake not. Theſe they vſe very cunningly to kill Fiſh, Fowle, and Beaſts. Their Bowes and Arrowes. Darts.

They gaue vs the beſt welcome they could, ſpreading Deere skins for vs to ſit on the ground by their fire, and gaue vs of their Tobacco in our Pipes, which was moſt excellent, and ſo generally commended of vs all to be as good as any we euer tooke, being the ſimple Leafe without any compoſition, very ſtrong and of a pleaſant ſweete taſte: they gaue vs ſome to carry to our Captaine, whom they called our *Baſhabe*, neither did they require any thing for it; but we would receiue nothing from them without remuneration. Tobacco excellent the Sauages gaue vs.

Here we ſaw their women, who ſtood behinde them, as deſirous to ſee vs, but not willing to be ſeene, for before whenſoeuer we came a Shoare, they retired into the woods; whether it were We ſaw their Women.

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were it regard of their owne naturall modesty being naked, or by the commanding iealousie of their husbands, which we rather suspected; for it hath beene an inclination noted alwayes generally in Sauages, wherefore we would by no meanes seeme to take any speciall notice of them. They were very well fauoured, low of stature, and exceeding fat; they had two little children very fat, and of good countenance, which they loue tenderly, all naked, except their legges, which were couered with thin leather buskins, fastned with straps to a Girdle about their waste, which they gird very streight, and is decked round about with little round peeces of Copper. To these we gaue Chaines, Bracelets, and other trifles, which the Sauages seemed to accept with great kindnesse.

At our comming away, we would haue had those two that supped with vs to goe aboord and sleepe, as they had promised our Captaine; but it appeared their company would not suffer them, whereat we might easily perceiue they were much grieued: but not long after our departure they came with three more to our Ship, signing to vs, if one of our Company would goe lye a Shoare with them, they would stay with vs. Our Captaine would command none: but *Griffin*, one of them we were to leaue in the Countrey, by their agreement with my Lord the Right Honorable Count *Arundell* (if it should be thought needefull or conuenient) went with them in their Canoa; and three of them stayed aboord vs. Whom our Captaine and whole Company very kindely vsed, himselfe saw their lodging prouided, and them lodged in an old Saile vpon the Orlop, and because they most feared our Dogs, they were tyed vp whensoeuer any of them came aboord vs.

We brought them home againe.

Griffin which lay on Shoare, reported vnto me their manner, and (as I may tearme them) the Ceremonies of their Idolatry, which they performe thus. One among them (the eldest of the company as he iudged) riseth right vp, the rest sitting still, and sodainely cryed, *Bowh, waugh*; then the women fall downe, and lye vpon the ground, and the men altogether answering the same, fall a stamping round about with both feete as hard as they can, making the ground shake, with sundry loud outcries, and change of voyce and sound; many take the fire sticks and thrust them into the earth, and then rest silent a while, of a sudden beginning as before, they looke round about, as though they expected the comming of something (as hee verily supposed) and continue stamping till the yonger sort fetch from the Shoare Stones, of which euery man take one, and first beate vpon them with the fire sticks, then with the Stones beate the ground with all their strength: and in this sort (as he reported) they continued aboue two houres. In the time of their Pauose, our watch aboord were singing, and they signed to him to doe so, which he did, looking and lifting vp his hands to heauen: then they pointed to the Moone, as if they imagined hee worshipped that, which when he with signes denied, they pointed to the Sunne rising, which hee likewise disliked, lifting vp his hands againe, then they looked about, as though they would see what Starre it might be, laughing one to another. After this ended, they which haue wiues take them a part, and withdraw themselues seuerally into the wood all night.

Ceremonies of the Sauages Idolatry.

They lye with their wiues secretly.

The next morning, as soone as they saw the Sunne rise, they pointed to him to come with them to our Ship, and hauing receiued their men from vs, they came with all their Canoas and company houering about our Ship, to whom (because it was the Sabbath day, I signed they should depart, and at the next Sunne rising wee would goe along with them to their houses, which they vnderstood (as we thought) and departed: three of their Canoas coursing about the Iland, and the others towards the Maine. This day about fiue a clocke afternoone, came three other Canoas from the Maine, of which some had beene with vs before, and they came directly aboord vs, and brought vs Tobacco, which we tooke with them in their Pipe, which was made of earth very strong, but blacke and short, containing a great quantity. Some Tobacco they gaue to our Captaine, and some to me, in very ciuill kinde manner: we requited them with Bread and Pease. When we came at Shoare, they all most kindely entertained vs, taking vs by the hands, as they had obserued we did to them aboord in token of welcome, and brought vs to sit downe by their fire, where sat together thirteene of them. They filled their Tobacco Pipe, which was then the short claw of a Lobster, which will hold ten of our Pipes full, and we dranke of their excellent Tobacco as much as we would with them; but wee saw not any great quantity to trucke for, and it seemed they had not much left of old, for they spend a great quantity yearely by their continuall drinking: they would signe vnto vs that it was growne yet but a little aboue ground, but it would be high, with a leafe as broad as both their hands; and often would (by pointing to one part of the Maine Eastward) signe vnto vs that the *Bashabe* (whom wee take to be their King, or some great Commander) had plenty of Furres and much Tobacco.

Their Tobacco Pipe.

They gaue vs Tobacco in a Pipe of a Lobsters Claw.

At our departure they made signe, if any of vs would stay there a shoare, some of them would goe lye aboord with vs: at which motion Master *Beales*, seruant to the Right Honorable Count *Arundell*, being desirous to see the manner of the foresaid Ceremonies, staied with them, and had *Griffin* with him; and three of the Sauages lodged with vs, in manner as the night before.

Master Beales lay a shoare, and Griffin.

Early the next morning being Munday, the third of Iune, when they had brought our men aboord,

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boord, they came about our Shippe, earneſtly by ſignes deſiring we would goe with them along to the Maine, for there they had Furres and Tobacco to traffique with vs. Wherefore our Captaine manned the Shallop, with as many men as he could well, which was but fifteene with the Rowers, and we went along with them: two of their Canoas they ſent away before, and they which were aboord vs all night kept company with vs to direct vs. This we noted as we went along, they in the Canoa with three Oares, would at their will goe a head of vs and about vs, when we rowed with eight Oares ſtrong: ſuch was the ſwiftneſſe by reaſon of the lightneſſe, and exquiſite compoſition of their Canoa and Oares.

Their Canoa out-rowed vs.

When we came neere the point, where we ſaw their fires, where they intended to land, and where they imagined ſome few of vs ſhould come on Shoare with our merchandiſe, as wee had accuſtomed before: when they had often numbred our men very diligently, they ſcoured away to their company, not doubting we would haue followed them. But when wee perceiued this, and knew not either their intents, or number of Sauages on the Shoare, our Captain after conſultation ſtood of and weffed them to vs, determining that I ſhould goe a Shoare firſt to take a view of them, and what they had to traffique, if he whom at our firſt ſight of them ſeemed to be of moſt reſpect, and being then in the Canoa, would ſtay as a pawne for me. When they came to vs (notwithſtanding all our former courteſies) he vtterly refuſed, but would leaue a yong Sauage, and for him our Captaine ſent *Griffin* in their Canoa, while we lay hulling a little of. He at his returne reported, they had there aſſembled together, as he numbred them, two hundred foure-ſcore and three Sauages, euery one his Bowe and Arrowes, with their Dogges, and Wolues which they keepe tame at command: and not any thing to exchange at all, but would haue drawne vs farther vp into a little narrow nooke of a Riuer, for their Furres as they pretended.

283. Sauages aſſembled in a trecherie.

We began to alter our opinion of them, and to ioyne them in the ranke of all Sauages, who haue beene by all trauailers and in all diſcoueries found very treacherous, neuer attempting miſchiefe, vntill (by ſome remiſneſſe) fit opportunity affordeth them certaine ability to execute the ſame. Wherefore we humbly gaue God thankes, who had giuen vs vnderſtanding to preuent this, and thereby warning to foreſee and prepare our ſelues againſt the like danger. And after good aduiſe taken, our Captaine determined, ſo ſoone as we could to Ship ſome of them, leaſt (being ſuſpicious we had diſcouered their plots) they ſhould abſent themſelues from vs, which ſurely they had done, if we had not laid hold of the next occaſion.

Diſpoſition of Sauages in the *Virginian* Maſſacre, & other their dealings found too true.

Tueſday came to the Ship, there were two Canoas, and in either of them three Sauages, of whom two were below at the fire, the other ſtaied about the Ship for victuall: and becauſe we could by no meanes entice them aboord, we gaue them a Can of Peaſe and Bread, which they carried to the ſhoare to eate, but one of them brought backe our Can againe preſently, and ſtaied aboord with the other two, for he being yong of a ready capacitie, and one wee moſt deſired to bring with vs into *England*, had receiued exceeding kinde vſage at our hands, and therefore was much delighted in our company: we ſhipped him, and foure others, two Canoas, with all their Bowes and Arrowes, which is the chiefe ſubſtance they poſſeſſe.

We caught fiue Sauages, two Canoas, and Bowes, Arrows

Saturday the eight of Iune, our Captaine being deſirous to finiſh all buſineſſe about this Harbour, very early in the morning with the Pinnace coaſted fiue or ſixe leagues about the Ilands adioyning, and ſounded all along whereſoeuer he went: he likewiſe diligently ſearched and ſounded along before the mouth of the Harbour, about the Rocks which ſhew themſelues at all times, and are an excellent breach of the water, ſo as no Sea can come in to offend the Harbour. This he did to inſtruct himſelfe, and thereby able to direct others that ſhall happen to come to this place: for euery where both neere the Rockes and in all ſounding about the Ilands, wee neuer fonnd leſſe water then foure or fiue fathome, which was very ſeldome, but ſeuen, eight, nine, and ten fathome, is the continuall ſounding by the ſhoare, in ſome places much deeper, vpon clay Oaze or ſoft Sand.

Our Captaine ſounded about the Ilands Rockes and mouth of the Harbour.

This day about one a clocke afternoone, came from the Eaſtward two Canoas aboord vs, wherein was he that refuſed to ſtay with vs for a Pawne, and with him ſix other Sauages, whom we had not ſeene, who had beautified themſelues after their manner very gallantly, though their cloathing was not different from the former, yet they had newly painted their faces very deepe, ſome all blacke, ſome red, with ſtripes of blew ouer their vpper lip, noſe, and chin. One of them ware a kinde of Coronet about his head, made very cunningly of a ſubſtance like ſtiffe haire, coloured red, broad, and more then a handfull in depth, which he ſo much eſteemed, as he would not for any trucke exchange the ſame: other weare the white feathered skins of ſome Fowle round about their head, Iewels in their eares, & Bracelets of little white round bone, faſtened together vpon a leather ſtring. Theſe made not any ſhew that they had notice of the other before taken, but we vnderſtood them by their ſpeech & ſignes, that they came ſent from the *Baſhabe*, and that his deſire was, we would bring vp our Ship (which they call a *Quiden*) to his houſe, being as they pointed vpon the Maine towards the Eaſt, from whence they came, and that hee would exchange with vs for Furres and Tobacco: but becauſe we had no deſire to diſcouer any further that way, and now making what ſpeede we could vp the Riuer; wee let them vnderſtand, that

Two Canoas came aboord vs from the Baſhabe.

Their Ornaments of gallantneſſe.

if

if their *Bashabe* would come to vs, hee should be very welcome, but wee would not remoue to him.

We went vp into the Riuer with our Ship.

Tuesday, the eleuenth of Iune, we passed vp into the Riuer with our Ship about six and twenty miles; of which (were it not of necessitie I must report somewhat) I had much rather not to write, then by my relation to detract from the worthinesse thereof, not being sufficient in words to expresse the abundant vtilitie and sweete pleasantnesse it yeeldeth. For the Riuer besides that it is subiect hereafter by Shipping to bring in all traffiques of Merchandise.

The profits of the Riuer.

The first and chiefest thing required for a Plantation, is a bold Coast, and faire Land to fall with. The next, a safe Harbour for Ships to ride in.

Saint *Georges* Iland the Land fall.

The first is a speciall attribute to this Shoare, being most free from Sands or dangerous Rockes, in a continuall good depth, with a most excellent Landfall as can be desired; which is the first Iland, named Saint *Georges* Iland. For the second, by iudgement of our Captaine, who knoweth most of the Coast of *England*, and most of other Countries (hauing beene experienced by imployments in discoueries and trauailes from his childehood) and by opinion of others of good iudgement in our Ship. Here are more good Harbours for Ships of all burthens, then all *England* can afoord: And farre more secure from all windes and weathers, then any in *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *France*, *Spaine*, or any other part hitherto discouered, whereof we haue receiued any relation: for (besides without the Riuer in the channell and Sounds about the Ilands adioyning to the Mouth thereof, no better riding can be desired for an infinite number of ships) the Riuer it selfe, as it runneth vp into the Maine very nigh fortie miles towards the great Mountaines, beareth in breadth a mile, sometimes three quarters, and halfe a mile is the narrowest, where you shall neuer haue vnder foure or fiue fathom water hard by the Shoare, but six, seuen, eight, nine, and ten fathom at a low water. And on both sides, euery halfe mile, verie gallant Coues, some able to containe almost a hundred Sayle, where the ground is excellent soft oaze with a tough clay vnder for Anker hold; and where Ships may lye without either Anker or Cable onely mored to the Shoare with a Hazur. It floweth, by their iudgement, sixteene or eighteene foote at a high water. Here are made by nature most excellent places, as Dockes to graue and Carine Ships of all burthens, secured from all windes, which is such a necessary incomparable benefit, that in few places in *England*, or in any other parts of *Christendome*, Art with great charges can make the like.

The breadth of the Riuer for almost 40. miles.

The ground is Oaze & Clay.

What it floweth.

Dockes to graue and Carine Ships.

Salmons and store of fish.

It yeeldeth plentie of Salmons, and other fishes of great bignesse, and assuredly great probabilitie of better things therein to be found, seeing about the Ilands wee had such certaine hope of Pearle and Oare. Besides all these commodities innatiue to this Riuer, the bordering Land is a most rich neighbour trending all along on both sides, in an equall Plaine, neither Mountainous nor Rockie, but verged with a greene bordure of grasse, doth make tender vnto the beholder of her pleasant fertility, if by clensing away the woods, shee were conuerted into Medow. The Wood it beareth is no shrubbish, fit onely for fewell, but good tall Firre, Spruce, Birds, Beech, and Oake, which in many places is not so thicke, but may with small labour be made feeding ground, being plentifull like the outward Ilands with fresh water, which streameth downe in many places.

The Land.

The Wood.

This Riuer preferred before *Orienoque*.

As we passed with a gentle winde vp with our Ship in this Riuer. Any man may conceiue with what admiration wee all consented in ioy; many who had beene trauellers in sundry Countries, and in the most famous Riuers, yet affirmed them not comparable to this they now beheld. Some that were with Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in his Voyage to *Guiana*, in the Discouery of the Riuer *Orienoque*, which eccoed fame to the worlds eares; gaue reasons why it was not to be compared with this, which wanteth the dangers of many Shoalds and broken grounds, wherewith that was encombred. Others preferred it farre before that notable Riuer in the West *Indias*, called *Rio Grande*: some before the Riuers of *Burdwa*, *Orleance*, and *Brest* in *France*, *Nawce*, and the Riuer of *Rhoane*: which although they be great and goodly Riuers, yet it is no detraction from them to be accounted inferiour to this, which not onely yeeldeth all the aforesaid pleasant profits, but also appeared infallibly to vs free from all imagined inconueniences. I will not preferre it before our Riuer of *Thames*, because it is *Natale solum*, *Englands* richest treasure, but wee all did wish those excellent Harbonrs, good Deepes, in a continuall conuenient breadth, and small tide gates, to be as well therein for our Countrie good, as wee found them here (beyond our hopes) in certaine for those to whom it shall please God to grant this Land for habitation: which if it had with the other inseperable adherent Commodities here to be found; then I would boldly affirme it to be the most rich, beautifull, large, and secure harbouring Riuer that the world affordeth; for if man should wish, or Art inuent, a Riuer subiect to all conueniencies, and free from all dangers, here they may take a view in a Plat-forme framed by Nature, who in her perfection farre exceedeth all Arts inuention.

Before the Riuer *Rio Grande*.

Nescio quæ Natale solum, &c.

We marched vp into the land aboue three miles.

Wednesday the twelfth of Iune, our Captaine manned his Shallop with seuenteene men, and ran vp to the Codde of the Riuer, where we landed, leauing six to keepe the Shallop till our returne. Ten of vs with our Shot, and some armed, with a Boy to carry Powder and Match, marched vp into the Countrie towards the Mountaines, which we descried at our first falling with the Land,

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Land, and were continually in our view. Vnto some of them the Riuer brought vs so neere, as we iudged our selues when we landed, to haue beene within a league of them, but we found them not, hauing marched well nigh foure miles vp in the Maine, and passed three great hils; wherefore because the weather was parching hot, and our men in their Armour not able to trauell farre and returne to our Pinnasse that night, we resolued not to passe any further, being all very weary of so tedious and labourſome a trauell.

In this march we passed ouer very good ground, pleasant and fertile, fit for pasture, hauing but little wood, and that Oake, like stands left in our Pastures in *England*, good and great fit timber for any vse; some small Birch, Hazell and Brake, which might in small time be clensed with few men, and made good errable Land; but as it is now will feede Cattell of all kindes with Fodder enough for Summer and Winter. The soyle is good, bearing sundry Hearbes, Grasse, and Strawberries, in many places are low thickets, like our Copisses of small Wood: And it doth all resemble a stately Parke, wherein appeare some old trees with high withered tops, and other flourishing with liuing greene boughes: till we came to the Hils vpon which doe grow exceeding tall, streight, and excellent great timber of sundry kindes, mast for Ships of foure hundred tunnes, and at the bottome of euery hill, a little run of fresh water; but the furthest and last we came vnto ran with a great streame able a driue a small Mill. Wee might see in some places, where Deere and Hares had beene; and by the rooting of ground we supposed wilde Hogs had ranged there, but we could descry no Beast, because our noise still chased them from vs.

Good Pasture.

Timber trees vpon the hils.

Deere. Hares. Hogges.

We were no sooner come aboord our Pinnasse, returning towards our Ship, but wee espied a Canoa comming from the further part of the Cod of the Riuer Eastward, which hasted to vs; wherein with two others was he whom we accounted chiefe of his Company: and his comming was very earnestly importuning to haue one of our men to goe lye with their *Bashabe* or Captaine (as they now tearmed him) who was there ashoare (as they signed) and then the next morning he would come to our Ship with Furres and Tobacco. This we perceiued to be onely a meere deuice to get possession of any of our men, to ransome all those we had taken; which their naturall pollicy could not so shaddow, but we did easily discouer and preuent.

A Ler[illegible] Sa[illegible]

These meanes were by this Sauage practised, because we had one of his kinsmen prisoner, as we iudged by his most kinde vsage of him, being aboord vs together.

Thursday, the thirteenth of Iune, by two a clocke in the morning (because our Captain would take the helpe and aduantage of the Tide) in the Pinnace with our Company well prouided and furnished with Armour and Shot both to defend and offend: we went from our Ship vp to that part of the Riuer which trended West into the Maine, to search that, and wee carried with vs a Crosse to erect at that point; which, because it was not day-light, we left on shoare vntill our returne backe, when we set it vp in manner as the former. And this we diligently obserued, that in no place either about the Ilands, or vp in the Maine, or along the Riuer, wee could discerne any token or signe that euer any *Christian* had beene before; which either by cutting wood, digging for water, or setting vp Crosses (a thing neuer omitted by any *Christian* trauailours) wee should haue perceiued some mention left.

We [illegible] the [illegible] part of [illegible] uer.

We [illegible] other [illegible]. We saw no signe [illegible] *Christian* had be[illegible] before.

But to returne to our Riuer, vp into which we then rowed by estimation twenty miles. What profit or pleasure is described and truely verified in the former part of the Riuer, is wholly doubled in this; for the breadth and depth is such, that any Ship drawing seuenteene or eighteene foote water might haue passed as farre as we went with our Shallop, and by all our iudgements much further, because we left it in so good depth; which is so much the more to be esteemed of greater worth, by how much it trendeth further vp into the Maine: for from the place of our Ships riding in the Harbour, at the entrance into the Sound, to the furthest point wee were in this Riuer, by our estimation was not much lesse then threescore miles. From each Banke of this Riuer, are diuers branching streames running into the Maine, whereby is afforded an vnspeakeable profit, by the conueniency of easie transportation from place to place, which in some Countries is both very chargeable, and not so fit, by Carriages on Wane or Horsebacke. Here wee saw store of Fish, some leaping aboue water, which we iudged to be Salmon, for they were great. All along is an excellent mould of ground, the wood in most places, especially on the Easterne side, very thin, chiefely Oake and small Birch, bordering low vpon the Riuer, all fit for Meddow and pleasant Pasture ground. And in that space wee went, wee had on both sides the Riuer many plaine places of cleere Meddow, some of three or foure acres, some eight or nine, so as we iudged in the whole to be betweene thirty and forty acres of good grasse, and where the Armes runne into the Maine, there likewise went a space on both sides of the cleare grasse, how farre we knew not. In many places we might see pathes Beasts had made to come downe to watering. And we all concluded (as I verily thinke we might rightly) that we should neuer see the like Riuer in euery degree equall, vntill it pleased God we beheld the same againe: for the further we went, the more pleasing it was to euery man, alluring vs still with expectation of better; so as our men (although they had with great labour rowed long, and eate nothing) for we carried with vs no victuall but a little Cheese and Bread, yet they were so refreshed with the pleasant beholding thereof, and so loath to forsake it, as some of them affirmed, they would haue continued willingly

Conueniency of transportation.

Salmon and great plenty of fish.

We were all loath to forsake this Riuer.

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willingly with that onely fare and labour two dayes; but the Tide not suffering vs to make any longer stay (because we were to come backe with the ebbe) and our Captaine better knowing what was fit, then we; and better what they in labour were able to endure, being very loath to make any desperate hazard, where so little necessitie required, thought it best to make returne, because whether we had discouered, was sufficient to conceiue that the Riuer ranne very farre into the Land: for we passed sixe or seuen miles altogether fresh water (whereof we all dranke) forced vp by the flowing of the Salt, which after a great while ebbe where we left it, by bredth and depth of Channell was likely to runne by estimation of our whole companie an vnknowne way further. And as our Captaine verily thought (although hee then concealed it) might possibly make a passage into (or very nigh) the South Sea: which hee neither had commission nor time now to search, but hath left that till his next returne: if it shall so please God to dispose of him and vs.

Friday the fourteenth of Iune early, by foure a clocke in the morning with the Tide, our two Boats, and a little helpe of the winde, we warped our shippe downe to the Riuers mouth: and there came to an anchor about eleuen a clocke. Afterward our Captaine in the Pinnace, searched the sounding all about the mouth and comming into the Riuer, for his certaine instruction of a perfect description.

The Iland where we watered is named *Insula Sanctæ Crucis*, because there wee set our first Crosse

The next day being Saturday, we weighed anchor, and with a briefe from the Land, we sayled vp to our watering place, and there stopped, went ashoare, and filled all our empty caske with fresh water.

Our Captaine made his perfect obseruation on the Rocke.

Temperature of climate.

Our Captaine vpon the Rocke in the middest of the Harbour made his certaine obseruation by the Sunne, of the height, latitude, and variation exactly vpon all his Instruments: 1. Astrolabe. 2. Semisphere. 3. Ring-instrument. 4. Crosse staffe. 5. And an excellent Compas, made for the variation. The latitude he found to be 43. degrees 20. minutes, North. The variation, 11. degrees 15. minutes, *viz.* one point of the Compas Westward. And it is so much in *England* at *Lime-house* by *London*, Eastward. The temperature affoorded to vs no speciall alteration from our disposition in *England:* somewhat hotter vp into the Maine, because it lieth open to the South, but scarse yeelding a sensible difference to any of vs. The aire so wholsome, as I suppose, not any of vs found our selues at any time more healthfull, more able to labour, nor with better stomachs to such good fare, as we partly brought, and partly found.

Sunday the sixteenth of Iune, the winde being faire, and because wee had set out of *England* vpon a Sunday, descried the Ilands vpon a Sunday, and (as we doubted not) by Gods appointment, happily fallen into our Harbour vpon a Sunday: so now beseeching him with like prosperitie to blesse our returne into *England:* and from thence (with his good-will and pleasure) to hasten and fortunate our next arriuall here. Wee set sayle and quit the Land vpon a Sunday.

Tuesday the eighteenth day of Iune, being not runne aboue fiue and thirty leagues from Land, and our Captaine for his certaine knowledge how to fall with the Coast, hauing sounded euery watch, and from fifty fathom had come in good deeping to seuenty, and so to an *hundred. This* day, the weather being faire, after the foure a clocke watch, when he thought not to haue found ground, before sounding in aboue a hundred fathom, we had ground in foure and twenty fathom. Wherefore our Sayles being downe, one of our men presently cast out a hooke, and before hee iudged it at ground was fished and haled vp an exceeding great and well fed Cod: then there were cast out three or foure hookes more, the fish was so plentifull and so great, as when our Captaine would haue set sayle, we desired him to suffer them to take fish a while, because wee were so delighted to see them catch fish so great, so fast as the hooke came downe, some playing with the hooke they tooke by the backe. And one of the Mates, with two hookes at a Lead, at fiue

A fishy banke.

draughts together haled vp ten fishes all were generally very great, some were measured. This caused our Captaine not to maruell at the shoalding: for he perceiued it was a fish-banke, which (for our farewell from the Land) it pleased God in the continuance of his blessings to giue vs knowledge of.

Sunday the fourteenth of Iuly about six a clocke at night we were come into sounding in our Channell: but for want of sight of the Sunne and Starre, to make a true obseruation: and with contrary windes we were constrained to beate vp and downe till Tuesday the sixteenth of *Iuly*, when by fiue a clocke in the morning wee made *Sylly*: from whence hindred with calmes and small windes. Vpon Thursday the eighteenth of Iuly about foure a clocke wee came to anchor safely in *Dartmouth*, which Hauen haply (with Gods assistance) wee made the last and first Harbour in *England*, as the *Termini* of our Voyage.

A briefe Note of what profits we found the Countrie yeeld: in the small time of our stay there.

Trees. Oake, of an excellent graine, straight, and great timber; Elme, Beech, Birch, very tall and, great of whose Barque they make their Canoas; Nut-hasle, Hasle, Alder, Cherry tree, Ash,

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Ash, Maple, Ewe, Spruce, Asp, Fir in great abundance; many other fruit trees which we know not.

Fowles. Eagles, Hernshawes, Cranes, Duks great; Geese, Swans, Penguins, Shark, Crow, Rauen, Kite, Soga, Mewes, Doues, Turtles, birds of sundry colours; and many other fowles vnknown.

Beasts: Deere red and fallow, Beare, Wolfe, Beauer, Otter, Hare, Conie, Marterns, Sables, Hogs, Porkespines. Polcats, Cats, wilde great, Dogs some like Foxes, some like our other beasts the *Sauages* signe vnto vs with hornes and broad eares; which we take to be Olkes or Loshes.

Fishes. Whales, Porpoise, Seales, Cod, very great; Haddocke, great; Herring, Plaise, Thornbacke, Rock-fish, Lobster, great; Crabbe, Mussels, Cockles, Wilks, Cunner-fish, Lumpe-fish, Whiting: the *Sauages* signe vnto vs that they haue Tortoise very great.

Plants, Fruits, Herbs. Tobacco, excellent, sweet and strong; Vine, wilde; Strawberries, Raspberries, Gooseberries, Hurtleberries, Corant trees, in abundance; Rose bushes; Pease, which the *Sauages* signe to be very great in the Maine; Ground-nuts; Angelica, a most soueraigne herbe; and an herbe that spreadeth like Camomell, and smelleth like sweet Marjoram, great plenty. Good Dies, which appeare by their painting, which they carrie with them in bladders.

Words which I learned of the Sauages, *in their Language.*

Sunne or Moone, *Kesus.* Cod-fish, *Biskeiore.* A fish with hornes, *Manedo.* Lobster, *Shoggab.* Rock-fish, *Shagatocke.* Cockle-fish, *Hesucke.* Muskell, *Shoorocke.* Cunner-fish, *Tattaucke.* Crabbe, *Wussorasha.* Porpoise, *Muscopeiuck.* Plaise, *Anego.* Tortoise, *Romcaneeke.* Pease, *Vshcomono.* Tobacco, *Temoch.* A leafe, *Mebeere.* A weed, *Cashterush.* A Firre tree, *Seteock.* A stone, *Nabscurr.* A Bowe, *Shoanor.* An Arrow, *Tobood.* Barke of a tree, *Masquere.* Water, *Shamogeon.* Sand, *Cheemuck.* Crowe, *Cagagoose.* Haire, *Messer* or *Meris.* A beard, *Nicowur.* A Beare, *Rogsoo.* Beauer, *Paneah.* Otter, *Nymemano.* Rat, *Sanuke.* Polcat, *Pocamka.* Cat, *Pushuck.* Fallow Deere, *Coribo.* Hogge, *Madosa.* Red Deere, *Moosurr.* They tell vs of other beasts, which they call, *Tasquus, Pisho, Narsim.* Teeth, *Ibider.* A hand and finger, *Breecke.* A Naile of the hand, *Cushe.* A legge, *Codd.* A foot, *Mussete.* Plum-tree, *Epsegan.* Strawberry, *Pshoa.* Gooseberry, *Shewanor.* Cherry tree, *Essegonomino.* Corant tree, *Asheemena.* Rashberrie, *Kiskeemy.* A lippe, *Meteau.* Fire, *Squida.* The maine Land, *Bemoquducke.* Sea, *Shonbbe.* Father, *Wado.* Sonne, *Vsto.* Wane of the Sea, *Toboogg.* Pitch and Tallow, *Poco.* Wilde Rose, *Minnsheck.* Birch, *Pasquar.* Sword, *Edagawancke.* Mountaine, *Machoucke.* Winde, *Puckchawsen.* Bloud, *Pagagocun.* Red Paint, *Woroman.* Blacke Paint, *Cogosho.* A Dogge, *Remoose.* A Ship or Boat, *Quiden.* An Oare, *Wuttoboganor.* A Garnepo Fly, *Chussuab.* Bread, *Pauue.* Raine, *Soogoran.* A note, *Peesh-ten.* An Axe or Hatchet, *Tomaheegon.* A Knife, *Quedogon.* Oake, *Askabesse.* White Bone, whereof they haue Chaines, Girdles, Bracelets, *Speesone.* The Cheeke, *Canoab.* A Shirt or Coat, *Tenoganuke.* The Chinne, *Queb.* An Eye, *Sheesuck.* Eylid, *Momon.* Forehead, *Scottoquab.* An Eare, *Fawwucke.* A fish-hooke, *Makeecon.* A Rainbow, *Shomogon.*

The Names of their chiefe Gouernours, whom they call *Sagemoh.* 1. *Bashabez.* 2. *Abatuckquishe.* 3. *Bdabanedo*, one of them we haue. 4. *Abokeesussick.* 5. *Shurokinit.* 6. *Pshabeno.* 7. *Mentoelmet.* 8. *Ageemobuck.* 9. *Mawermet.* 10. *Chanacoboun.* 11. *Amilquin.* 12. *Muasacoremoneete.* These dwell vpon the Maine, and weare an ornament of white bone vpon their head; and Chaines, and Bracelets, and Girdles, and haue their skinne garments laced with them.

The Names of our *Virginians.* *Bdabanedo*, Brother to the *Bashabes.* *Amooret*, his Brother. *Satacomoab.* *Maneduck, Scikaworrowse.*

Thus haue I giuen thee the proceedings of Virginia *and New* Englands *Discouerie: for the originall beginning of the Discouerie, Sir* Sebastian Cabot *was the first Discouerer both of it and the rest of the Continent of* America. *The first Plantation was more Southerly by the charges of Sir* Walter Raleigh: *as before is shewed. The next yeere New Patents were obtained of his Maiestie, for a double Plantation in these parts. I trouble not the Reader with the whole Patent, both because it hath sustained diuersified alteration, diuision and subdiuision, and because I more minde things there done, than here; for which cause I haue also omitted the Articles and instruction two dayes after dated, signed, and sealed, with the Prinie Seale for the gouernment of the said Plantation, of both which I haue the Copies by mee; I onely here giue thee the beginning of the first Patent, Aprill* 10. 1606.

CHAP. XIIII.

The description of the Ilands of Açores, *or the* Flemish *Ilands, taken out of* Linschoten, *with certaine occurrents, and* English *acts.*

THE Iles of *Açores*, or the *Flemish* Ilands are seuen, that is, *Tercera*, Saint *Mary*, Saint *George*, *Gratiosa*, *Pico*, and *Faiael*. There are yet two Ilands called *Flores* and *Corno*, which are not contained vnder the name of *Açores*: but yet at this day are vnder the gouernment of the same Ilands, so that they are in all, accounted nine Ilands. They are called *Açores*, that is to say, Sparhawkes or Hawkes, because that in their first discouery, they found many Sparhawks, in them, whereof they hold the name, although at this day there is not any there to bee found. They are also

Linscot. c. 97. nine Ilands. Why called *Açores.*

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called the *Flemish* Ilands, that is, of the *Netherlanders*, because the first that inhabited the same, were *Netherlanders*, whereof till this time there is a great number, and off-spring remayning, that in manner and behauiour are altogether like *Netherlanders*, and there is yet in the same Iland a running water, that issueth out of a Hill, and so runneth into the Sea, whereas yet those issues or off-springs of *Netherlanders* inhabite, and is called *Aribera dos Framengos*, that is, the *Flemish* Riuer.

Tercera. The principall Iland of them all, is that of *Tercera*, called *Insula de Iesus Christus* of *Tercera*. It is betweene fifteene or sixteene miles in compasse, and is altogether a great Cliffe of Land, whereby in it there is little roome: for it is as it were walled round about with Cliffes: but where any strand or sand is, there standeth a Fort. It hath no Hauens nor entrance of waters, for the securitie and safety of the shippes, but onely before the chiefe Towne called *Angra*, where it hath an open Hauen, which in forme is like a Halfe-moone, by the *Portugals* called *Angra*, whereof the Towne hath her name. It hath on the one side in manner of an elbow sticking forth, two high Hills, called *Bresyl*, which stretch into the Sea, so that afarre off they seeme to bee diuided from the Iland. Those Hills are very high, so that being vpon them, a man may see at the least tenne, or twelue, and sometimes fifteene miles into the Sea, being cleare weather. Vpon these Hills there stand two small stone Pillers, where there is a Centinell placed, that continually watcheth to see what shippes are at Sea, and so to aduertise those of the Iland: for that as many shippes as he seeth comming out of the West, that is from the *Spanish Indies*, or *Brasilia*, *Cabo verde*, *Guinea*, and the *Portugall Indies*, and all other wayes lying South or West, for euery shippe hee setteth a Flagge vpon the Pillar in the West, and when the shippes which hee descrieth, are more than fiue, then hee setteth vp a great ancient, betokening a whole Fleete of shippes. The like hee doth vpon the other Pillar, which standeth in the East, for such shippes as come from *Portugall*, or other places out of the East or North parts, these Pillars may bee easily seene in all places of the Towne, by reason of the highnesse of the Hills, so that there is not one shippe or sayle that is at Sea, or maketh towards the Iland, but it is presently knowne throughout all the Towne, and ouer all the whole Iland: for the watch is not holden onely vpon those two Hills jutting into the Sea, but also vpon all corners, Hills and Cliffes throughout the Iland, and as soone as they perceiue any shippes, the Gouernour and Rulers are presently aduertised thereof, that they may take such order therein as neede requireth. Vpon the furthest corner into the Sea standeth a Fort, right against another Fort that answereth it: so that those two Forts doe shut and defend the Mouth or open Hauen of the Towne, where the shippes lie in the Road, and so no shippe can either goe in or come forth, without the licence or permission of those two Forts. This Towne of *Angra* is not onely the chiefe Towne of *Tercera*, but also of all other Townes within the Ilands thereabouts. Therein is resident, the Bishop, the Gouernour for the King, and the chiefe place of Iudgement, or tribunall Seate of all the Ilands of *Açores*.

Angra. Three miles from this Towne lieth another Towne towards the North, called *Villa de Praya*, (for *Praya* is as much to say, as Strand) because it lieth hard by a great strand, and for that cause there is little traffique thither, as not hauing any conuenient place for shippes to come at it: yet sometimes there commeth some one, that by reason of contrary winde cannot get before the Towne of *Angra*, and so by constraint discharge their goods in that Towne, which from thence are carried by Land to *Angra*, and yet some part thereof is spent and vsed there. It is walled and well housed, but not many people in it, and such as are in it, doe get their liuings most by husbandry: for there are very faire Corne lands. The Iland is likewise very fruitfull and pleasant, it hath much Corne and Wine, but the Wine is not very good to carry into other Countries thereabouts, because it is small and will not long continue, so that it is vsed in the Countrey by the common people: but such as are of wealth, for the most part drinke Wines of *Madera*, and *Canaria*. It aboundeth in Flesh, Fish, and all other necessaries and meates for mans bodie, wherewith in time of need they might helpe themselues. Oyle there is none, but it commeth out of *Portugall*. Also Salt, Pots, Pans, and all kind of earthen Vessells, Chalke, and such like are brought thither out of other places, for there they are not to bee found: for fruits they haue (besides Peaches of diuers kindes, and in so great abundance that is is strange) Cherries, Plums, Walnuts, Hasle-nuts, Chesnuts, but those not very good: of Apples, Peares, Oranges and Lemons, with all such like fruits there are sufficient. Of all sorts of Herbes and Plants, as Coleworts, Radishes, and such like they haue at their certaine times of the yeere. They haue likewise in that Iland a certaine fruit that groweth vnder the earth, like Radishes or other roots, but the Leaues or Plants are Trees like Vines, but different leaues, and groweth longwise vpon the ground: it beareth a fruit called *Batatas*, that is very good, and is so great that it weigheth a pound, some more, some lesse, but little esteemed: and yet it is a great sustenance and food for the common sort of people. It is of good account in *Portugall*, for thither they vse to bring it for a Present, and those of the Iland by reason of the great abundance doe litle esteeme it. There is also another kind of stuffe that is sowed like Corne, and is a fruit: it groweth vpon the root of the grasse or leaues, and is round and as bigge

Angra descried

Wines small.

Commodities.

Fruits.

Batatas.

Iuniffa.

as

as a great Peaſe, but not ſo round: in eating it taſteth like Earth-nuts, but harder to bite: it is likewiſe a good meate, and much eſteemed in other places: but by reaſon of the great quantitie thereof, it is moſt vſed to fatten their Hogges, and is called *Iunſſa*. There is alſo in the Iland a certaine Plant, which is found in all places thereof in the open fieldes: it groweth as high as a man, and beareth no fruit, onely the roote thereof is a ſubſtance, of the thickneſſe of a mans two fiſts, and in ſhew as if it were naturall golden haire, and in handling like ſoft Silke, which is vſed there to ſtuffe and fill their Beddes in ſtead of Wooll and Feathers: and I doe certainly beleeue, if any man of vnderſtanding would take it in hand, it would well be wouen. A roote fit to be wouen.

The principalleſt traffique of this Iland, is their Woade, ſuch as wee vſe for dying (where- Woade.
of much is made in that Iland, and is fetched from thence by *Engliſhmen*, *Scots*, and *Frenchmen*, in barter for Cloathes and other wares, who continually traffique into that Iland: and although by reaſon of the warres, the *Engliſhmen* are forbidden to traffique thither, yet vnder the names of *Scots* and *Frenchmen*, they haue continuall trade there. The Iland hath not any wilde beaſts or fowles, but very few, ſauing onely *Canary* birds, which are there by thouſands, *Canary birds.* where many Birders take them, and thereof make a daily liuing, by carrying them into diuers places. It hath alſo wonderfull many Quailes, which they call *Codorniſen*: of tame fowles, as Hennes, and *Gynnie* Hennes are there likewiſe great ſtore. Hunting is there little vſed, but onely for Conies, which are very great: Hares, Harts, Partridges, Veniſon, and ſuch like, are not there to be found, becauſe of the little reſpect and care the Inhabitants haue to breed any ſuch things. Fiſh is very plentifull, and of diuers kindes, and very good: in Summer there is great ſtore taken, for in Winter they can hardly brooke the Seas. The chiefe moneths of Winter Winter. weather for raine and ſtormes are, Ianuarie, Februarie, March and Aprill, and alſo the moneth of September is commonly very ſtormy: all the other moneths it is commonly good weather. The Countrey is very hilly, and in ſome places wooddy, full of buſhes and trees: it is hard to trauell, becauſe their wayes for the moſt part are ſtony, ſo that for a mile, or a mile and a halfe together, men can ſee no ground, but onely ſtones, which for ſharpneſſe and faſhion ſhew like Stones. pointed Diamants, whereby one can hardly treade vpon it, leſt it ſhould cut through both ſhooes and feet: and yet it is all planted with Vines, ſo full and thicke, that in Summer time you can hardly ſee through it, for that the rootes thereof doe growe betweene the ſtones: ſo that a man would thinke it impoſſible that any thing ſhould growe therein: and which is more, in ſome places it ſeemeth impoſſible for a man to treade vpon it, being ſo wilde and deſart as it ſheweth, and nothing but hard ſtones and Rockes. On good ground their Vines will not growe, but onely in the wilde and ſtony places: and for that cauſe they are much eſteemed.

The good groundes and plaine fieldes, which in ſome places are very many, eſpecially by *Villa da Praya*, are ſowed with Corne and Woade, and they haue ſo much Corne, that they neede not bring any from other places: although that beſides their Inhabitants, and naturall borne Ilanders, they haue continually with them fourteene Companies of *Spaniards*, which are all fedde and nouriſhed by the Corne that groweth in the Countrey, vnleſſe there chance to come a hard and vnfruitfull yeere, as oftentimes it doth, for then they are forced to helpe themſelues with forraine Corne, and that eſpecially becauſe of the Souldiers that lie in the Iland: and yet it is ſtrange, that the Corne, and all other things in the Iland continue not aboue one yeere, and that which is kept aboue a yeere is naught, and nothing worth. And therefore Corne will laſt but a yeere. to keepe their Corne longer than a yeere, they are forced to burie it in the earth for the ſpace of foure or fiue moneths together, to the which end euery Townesman hath his Pit at one end of the Towne in the common high-way, which is appointed for the purpoſe, and euery man ſetteth his marke vpon his Pit-ſtone: the Corne is but lightly buried in the earth: the holes Corne buried. within are round, and the toppes thereof ſo wide that a man may creepe in, whereunto there is a ſtone purpoſely made to couer it, which ſhutteth it vp very cloſe. Some of the Pittes are ſo great, as that they may hold two or three laſtes of Corne, ſome greater, and ſome ſmaller, as euery man hath his prouiſion: and as ſoone as the Corne is reaped, and fanned (which is in Iuly) euery man putteth his Corne into thoſe Pittes, laying ſtraw vnder and round about it, and then they fill it full, or but halfe full, according as their quantitie is, and ſo ſtop it vp with the ſtone, which they couer with earth, and ſo let it ſtand vntill Chriſtmas, when euery man that will fetch home his Corne: ſome let it lie longer, and fetch it by little and little, as they vſe it: but the Corne is as good when they take it out, as it was at the firſt houre that they put it in: and although that Carts, Horſes, and men doe commonly paſſe ouer it, and alſo that the raine raineth vpon it, yet there entreth not any drop of raine or moiſture into it: and if the Corne were not buried in that manner, it would not continue good aboue foure moneths together, but would be ſpoiled: and when it hath beene thus for a long time buried in the earth, it will continue the whole yeere through, and then they keepe it in Chiſts, or make a thing of Mats, like a Coope, to preſerue it in, not once ſtirring or mouing it, and ſo it continueth very good.

The greateſt commoditie they haue in the Land, and that ſerueth their turnes beſt, is their Oxen: and I beleeue they are the greateſt and faireſt that are to bee found in all Chriſtendome, Great Oxen.

Called by their names.

with vnmeasurable great and long hornes. Euery Oxe hath his seuerall name like men, and although there bee a thousand of them in a heard, and that one of them bee called by his name, he presently commeth forth vnto his master that calleth him. The Land is very high, and as it seemeth hollow: for that as they passe ouer a Hill of stone, the ground soundeth vnder them as if it were a Seller, so that it seemeth in diuers places to haue holes vnder the earth, whereby it is much subiect to Earthquakes, as also all the other Ilands are: for there it is a common thing, and

Brimstone.

all those Ilands for the most part haue had Myne of Brimstone, for that in many places of *Tercera*, and Saint *Michael*, the smoake and sauour of Brimstone doeth still issue forth of the ground,

Hot Springs.

and the Countrey round about is all sindged and burnt. Also there are places wherein there are Fountaines and Wells, the water whereof is so hot that it will boyle an egge, as well as if it hung ouer a fire.

Gualua Spring turning wood into stone.

In the Iland of *Tercera*, about three miles from *Angra*, there is a Fountaine in a place called *Gualua*, which hath a propertie, that all the wood which falleth into it, by length of time conuerteth into stone, as I my selfe by experience haue tried. In the same Fountaine by the roote of a tree, whereof the one halfe runneth vnder that water, and is turned into as hard stone as if it were Steele: and the other part of the roote (which the water toucheth not) is still wood and root, as it should be. The Iland hath great store and excellent kinds of wood, speCedars common.

cially Cedar trees, which growe there in so great numbers, that they make Scutes, Carts, and other grosse workes thereof, and is the commonest wood that they vse to burne in those Countries, whereby it is the wood that with them is least esteemed, by reason of the great quantity

Sanguinbo wood.

thereof. There is another kinde of wood called *Sanguinbo*, and is very faire of a red colour, and

White and yellow woods.

another sort that they call white Wood, being of it selfe as white as Chalke: other that is perfect yellow, and all naturall without any dying: and therefore there are diuers good workemen in *Tercera*, that are skilfull in Ioyners Occupation, and make many fine pieces of worke, as Deskes, Cupboords, Chists, and other such like things, whereof many are carried into *Portugall*, and much esteemed there, as well for the beauty of the wood, as for the workmanship. And specially the *Spanish* Fleet, which ordinarily refresh themselues in that Iland, doe carrie much of it from thence; for it is the best and finest that is made in all *Spaine* and *Portugall*, although it bee not comparable to the Deskes, and fine workmanship of *Nurembergh*, and those Countreyes: but for Wood it excelleth all other Countreyes, for that they haue in the *Spanish* Fleete, besides their owne kindes of woods, at the least a thousand sorts of wood of all colours that man can imagine or deuise, and so faire, that more fairer can not bee painted. There

Teixo a kind of wood as hard as iron.

is a certaine kinde of wood in the Iland *Pico*, situate and lying twelue miles from *Tercera*, called *Teixo*, a most excellent and princely wood, and therefore it is forbidden to bee cut, but onely for the Kings owne vse, or for his Officers. The wood is as hard as Iron, and hath a colour within, as if it were wrought, like red Chamlet, with the same water, and the older it is, and the more vsed, the fairer it is of colour, so that it is worthie to bee esteemed, as in truth it is.

Inhabitants.

All those Ilands are inhabited by *Portugals*: but since the troubles in *Portugall*, there haue beene diuers *Spanish* Souldiers sent thither, and a *Spanish* Gouernour, that keepe all the Forts and

Souldiers.

Castles in their possessions, although the *Portugals* are put to no charges, nor yet hardly vsed by them, but are rather kept short, so that not one Souldier dareth goe out of the Towne, with out licence: and therefore men may quietly trauell throughout the Iland, both day and night, without any trouble. Likewise they will not suffer any stranger to trauell to see the Countrey: and this order was not brought vp by the *Spaniards*, but by the *Portugals* themselues,

Strangers.

before their troubles, (for they would neuer permit it:) and which is more, all strangers that came thither were vsually appointed a certaine streete, wherein they should sell their wares, and might not goe out of that streete. Now it is not so straightly looked vnto, but they may goe in all places of the Towne, and within the Iland, but not about it, to view the Coast: which notwithstanding was granted vnto vs, by the Gouernour himselfe, who lent vs his Horses to ride about, and gaue vs leaue to see all the Forts, which at this time is not permitted to the naturall borne Ilanders, neither are they so much credited. Wee rode twice about the Iland, which hee granted vs leaue to doe, by meanes of certaine particular friendship wee had with him: neither could the *Portugals* hinder vs therein, because wee were in the Kings seruice, as Factors for the Kings Pepper, and for that, they accounted vs as naturall borne *Portugals*: for the Gouernour would willingly haue had mee, to haue drawne a plot of the whole Iland, that hee might haue sent it to the King: wherein I excused my selfe: yet I made him the Towne with the Hauen, comming in, and Forts of *Angra*, which hee sent vnto the King, the like whereof you may in this Booke behold: for the which the Gouernour was greatly affected vnto mee, and shewed mee much friendship. Wee had in our Lodging a *French* Merchant and a *Scot*, that willingly would haue gone with vs, to see the Iland, but could not be suffered: for the *Portugals* thinke that they would take the proportion thereof, and so seeke to deFeate them of their right.

But

But returning to our matter, the Ilands are very good, and holesome ayre, and the diseases that are most common in those Countries, though not very plentifull, but onely here and there one, are one sickenesse called *O Ar*, that is, a kinde of *bad ayre* that taketh them, and maketh them altogether lame, or halfe lame of their limmes, or of some one limme: and another sickenesse, that is called *O Sange*, that is, a certaine bloud, that hastely commeth vpon a man, as a swelling in the eyes, or other places of the face, or of the body, and is as red as bloud, for (as they say) it is nothing else but meere bloud: these are two diseases like the plague, and are commonest sicknesses in those Countries, which grow by reason of the great windinesse of the Ilands, that are subiect to all stormes and foule weathers, and are vnreasonable moist, which is one of the principall causes of these diseases: for the windes are there so strong and dangerous, that they consume both the Iron and the Steele of their houses, and bring them into powder: for I haue seene Iron grates in the Kings Custome house, as thicke as a mans arme, and the windowes of hard free stone, which were so consumed by the winde, that the Iron in some places was become as thin as a straw, and the stone in like sort: and therefore in those Countries they vse to make their Rooses and Painthouses of stones, which they digge in the water, out of sands vpon the Sea coast of those Ilands, whereon the winde hath not so great a power to consume it: and yet that Customehouse had not beene made aboue six or seuen yeares before, at the most.

The ayre, a disease.

Strong windes.

In this Iland besides the two Townes, there are diuers great Villages, as Saint *Sebastians*, Saint *Barberan*, *Altares*, *Gnahua*, *Villanoua*, with many other Parishes and Hamlets: so that for the most part it is built and inhabited, saiuing onely the places that are wilde and full of Woods, which can hardly be trauelled, much lesse inhabited. Their most traffique is (as I said before) the wood that groweth in those Countries, I meane for such as deale in Merchandise, and the workemen that make it: but the rest waite for the fleetes that come and goe to and from the *Spanish* and *Portugall Indies*, from *Brasilia*, *Cabo Verde* and *Guinea*: all which Countries doe commonly come vnto *Tercera* to refresh themselues, as lying very fitly for that purpose: so that all the inhabitants doe thereby richly maintaine themselues, and sell all their wares, as well handy workes as victuals vnto those Ships: and all the Ilands round about doe as then come vnto *Tercera* with their wares, to sell it there. For the which cause the *Englishmen* and other strangers keepe continually about those Ilands, being assured that all Ships for want of refreshing must of force put into those Ilands, although at this time many Ships doe auoide those Ilands, to the great discommodity of the Ilands and the Ships.

From *Tercera* Southeast, about seuen and twenty or eight and twenty miles, lyeth the Iland of Saint *Michael*, which is about twenty miles long, and is likewise full of Townes and Villages inhabited by *Portugals*, for ayre and all other things like vnto *Tercera*. The chiefe Towne is called *Punta del Gada*, where there is great traffique of *English*, *Scots*, and *Frenchmen*, onely (as in *Tercera*) because of the woad, which is more abundant in that Iland, then in all the rest of them: for that euery yeare there is made aboue two hundreth thousand Quintals of Wood. It hath likewise great abundance of Corne, so that they helpe to victuall all the Ilands that are round about them. It hath neither Hauens nor Riuers, but onely the broad Sea, and haue lesse safegard and defence then those which are of *Tercera*: but there they lye not vnder the commandement of any Fort; so that many set sayle with all the windes, and put to Sea, which in the road of *Tercera* they may not doe: and therefore the strangers Ships had rather sayle to Saint *Michaels*, for there they can not be constrained to doe any thing, but what they will themselues to doe. There is also a company of *Spaniards* in a Castle that standeth by the Towne of *Punta del Gada*, which is made by the *Spaniards* for the defence and maintenance of the same towne.

S. *Michael.*

From the Iland of Saint *Michaels* Southwards twelue miles, lyeth the Island *Santa Maria*, which is about ten or twelue miles compasse, & hath no traffique but onely of pot earth, which the other Ilands fetch from thence. It hath no Woad, but is full of all victuals like *Tercera*, and inhabited by the *Portugals*. There are no *Spaniards* in it: because it is a stony Country, like *Tercera*, and hard to boord: whereby the inhabitants themselues are sufficient and able enough to defend it. While I remained in *Tercera*, the Earle of *Cumberland* came thither, to take in fresh water, and some other victuals; but the inhabitants would not suffer him to haue it, but wounded both himselfe and diuers of his men, whereby they were forced to depart without hauing any thing there.

Saint *Mary.*

From *Tercera* North Northwest about seuen or eight miles, lyeth a little Iland called *Gratiosa*, and is but fiue or sixe miles in compasse, a very pleasant and fine Iland, full of all fruits and all other victuals, so that it not onely feedeth it selfe, but also *Tercera*, and the other Ilands about it, and hath no other kinde of Merchandise; it is well built and inhabited by *Portugals*, and hath no Soldiers in it, because it is not able to beare the charge. The Earle of *Cumberland* while I lay in *Tercera*, came vnto that Iland, where himselfe in person, with seuen or eight in his company went on land, asking certaine Beasts, Hens, and other Victuals, with Wine and fresh water, which they willingly gaue him, and therewith he departed from thence, without doing them any hurt: for the which the inhabitants thanked him, and commended him for his curtesie, and keeping of his promise.

Gratiosa.

Earle of *Cumberland.* See *sup. l. 6. c. 1.*

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Saint *George.*

From *Tercera* West North-west, eight or nine miles, lyeth the Iland of Saint *George*. It is about twelue miles long, but not aboue two or three miles at the furthest in breadth: it is woody and full of hils: it hath no special traffique, but onely some Woad, and yet very little of it. The inhabitants liue most by Cattell and tilling of the Land, and bring much victuals to sell in *Tercera*: it hath likewise many Cedar trees, and other kindes of wood, that from thence are brought vnto *Tercera*, and sold vnto the Joyners, which for that occasion dwell onely in *Tercera*.

Fayael.

From Saint *George* West South-west seuen miles, lyeth the Iland called *Fayael*, which is seuenteene or eighteene miles in compasse: it is one of the best Ilands next vnto *Tercera*, and Saint *Michaels*: it aboundeth in all sorts of victuals, both flesh and fish, so that from this Iland the most part of victuals and necessaries commeth by whole Caruels vnto *Tercera*: it hath likewise much Woad, so that many *English* Ships doe traffique thither. The principall road and place is the Towne called *Vitta dorta*: there the Ships likewise doe lye in the open Sea vnder the Land, as they doe before all the other Ilands: by this Towne there lyeth a Fortresse, but of small importance: and because the inhabitants of themselues doe offer to defend the Iland against all enemies, the Soldiers discharged from thence, which before that time lay in the Fort, complaining that they were not able to maintaine nor lodge them. The same time that the Earle of *Cumberland* was in the Iland of *Gratiosa*, he came likewise to *Fayael*, where at the first time that hee came, they began to resist him, but by reason of some controuersie among them, they let him land where he rased the Castle to the ground, and sunke all their Ordnance in the Sea, taking with him certaine Caruels and Ships that lay in the road, with prouision of all things that hee wanted: and therewith departed againe to Sea. Whereupon the King caused the principall actors therein to be punished, and sent a company of Souldiers thither againe, which went out of *Tercera*, with all kinde of warlike munition, and great shot, making the Fortresse vp againe, the better to defend the Iland, trusting no more in the *Portugals*. In that Iland are the most part of the *Netherlanders* off-spring, yet they vse the *Portugals* language, by reason they haue beene so long conuersant among them, and those that vsed the *Dutch* tongue are all dead: they are greatly affected to the *Netherlanders* and strangers.

Fayael taken taken by Earle *Cumberland.*

Pico.

High Hill.

From *Fayael* Southeast three miles, and from Saint *George* South-west foure miles, and from *Tercera* South-west and by West twelue miles, lyeth the Iland called *Pico*, which is more then fifteene miles in length. It is so named of a high Mountaine that standeth therein called *Pico*, which is so high, that some thinke it is higher then the *Pico* of *Canaria*. When it is cleare weather, it may as perfectly be seene in *Tercera*, as if it were not halfe a mile from thence, and yet it lyeth aboue twenty fiue miles from it: for it is at the furthest end of the Iland towards *Fayael*. The top of it is seene cleare and bright, but the nether part is couered with clouds, and with the *Horizon*, whereby the Iland is much spoken of. It is very fruitfull of all kindes of victuals, like *Fayael*, and hath great store of wood, as Cedars & all other kindes, and also the costly wood *Teixo*. There they build many Caruels and small Ships: and from thence, by reason of the abundance of wood, they serue the other Ilands with wood. It is also inhabited as the rest are, their chiefe traffique being Cattle & husbandry. It hath much Wine, & the best in all those Ilands, and it hath the sauorest & pleasantest Oranges that are throughout all *Portugall*: so that they are brought into *Tercera* for a present, as being there very much esteemed, and in my iudgement they are the best that euer I tasted in any place. *Angra*, in the Iland of *Tercera* is the chiefe Towne and Ruler ouer all the *Flemish* Ilands.

Pleasant Oranges.

C. 98.

Flores.

From *Tercera* Westward to the Iland named *Flores* are seuenty miles: it is about seuen miles compasse, it is also inhabited by *Portugals*, & hath no speciall merchandise, but onely some wood, it is full of Cattle, and other necessary prouisions, and lyeth open to all the world, & to whosoeuer will come thither, as well *Englishmen* as others: for that the inhabitants haue not the power to resist them. A mile from thence Northward, lyeth a little Iland of two or three miles in compasse called *De Corno*. The inhabitants are of the same people that dwell in *Flores*. Between those two Ilands and round about them, the *Englishmen* doe commonly stay, to watch the Ships that come out of the West: for those are the first Ilands, that the Ships looke out for and descry, when they saile vnto *Tercera*, wherby the inhabitants do but little prosper, because they are at the pleasure & commandment of all that will come vnto them, and take their goods from them, as often times it hapneth. Yet for all their pouerty, not to loose both lands and goods, they must content themselues, and saile with euery winde.

Corno.

The Ile of *Tercera* lyeth vnder thirty nine degrees, in the same height that *Lisbone* lyeth: and is distant from *Lisbone* lying right East and West two hundred and fifty *Spanish* miles.

Of certaine notable and memorable accidents that happened during my continuance in Tercera: *in which are related many* English *fleetes, Sea-fights and Prizes.*

C. 99.

THe second of October, *Anno* 1589. at the Towne of *Villa dan Praya*, in the Iland of *Tercera*, two men being in a field hard without the towne were killed with lightning. The ninth of the

the same month there arriued in *Tercera* 14. Ships, that came from the *Spanish Indies*, laden with Cochenile, Hides, Gold, Siluer, Pearles, and other rich wares. They were fifty in company, when they departed out of the Iland of *Hauana*, whereof, in their comming out of the Channell, eleuen sunk in the same Channell by foule weather, the rest by a storme were scattered & seperated one from the other. The next day there came another Ship of the same company, that sailed close vnder the Iland, to get into the Road; where she met with an *English* Ship, that had not aboue three cast Peeces, & the *Spaniard* twelue. They fought a long time together, which we being in the Iland might stand & behold: whereupon our Gouernor of *Tercera* sent two Boats of Musketiers to helpe the Ship: but before they could come at her, the *English* Ship had shot her vnder water, and we saw her sinke into the Sea, with all her sailes vp, and not any thing seene of her aboue the water. The *Englishmen* with their Boats saued the Captaine and about thirty others with him, but not one peny worth of the goods, & yet in the Ship there was at the least to the value of 200000. Ducats in Gold, Siluer, and Pearles, the rest of the men were drowned, which might be about 50. persons, among the which were some Friers and women, which the *Englishmen* would not saue. Those that they had saued they set on land, & then they sailed away. The 27. of the same month, the said 14. Ships hauing refreshed themselues in the Iland, departed from *Tercera* towards *Sinil*, and comming vpon the coast of *Spaine*, they were taken by the *English* Ships, that lay there to watch for them, two onely excepted which escaped away, & the rest were wholly carried into *England*.

About the same time the Earle of *Cumberland*, with one of the Queenes Ships, and fiue or six more, kept about those Ilands and came oftentimes so close vnder the Iland, and to the Road of *Angra*, that the people on land might easily tell all his men that he had aboord, and knew such as walked on the Hatches; they of the Iland not once shooting at them, although they might easily haue done it, for they were within Musket shot both of the Towne and Fort. In these places he continued for the space of two Moneths, and sailed round about the Ilands, and landed in *Gratiosa* and *Fayael*, as in the description of those Ilands I haue already declared. Here he tooke diuers Ships and Caruels, which he sent into *England*: so that those of the Iland durst not once put forth their heads. At the same time about three or foure dayes after the Earle of *Cumberland* had beene in the Iland of *Fayael*, and was departed from thence, there arriued in the said Iland of *Fayael* six *Indian* Ships, whose Generall was one *Iuan Derym*: and there they discharged in the Iland fortie Millions of Gold and Siluer. And hauing with all speede refreshed their Ships, fearing the comming of the *Englishmen*, they set saile, and arriued safely in Saint *Lucas*, not meeting with the enemy, to the great good lucke of the *Spaniards*, and hard fortune of the *Englishmen*; for that within lesse then two daies, after the Gold and Siluer was laden again into the *Spanish* Ships, the Earle of *Cumberland* sailed againe by that Iland; so that it appeared that God would not let them haue it, for if they had once had sight thereof, without doubt it had beene theirs, as the *Spaniards* themselues confessed.

40. Millions, If the number be true.

In the moneth of November, there arriued in *Tercera* two great Ships, which were the Admirall and Viceadmirall of the Fleete laden with Siluer, who with stormy weather were seperated from the Fleete, and had beene in great torment and distresse, and ready to sinke; for they were forced to vse all their Pumps: so that they wished a thousand times to haue met with the *Englishmen* to whom they would willingly haue giuen their Siluer, and all that euer they brought with them, onely to saue their liues. And although the Earle of *Cumberland* lay still aboue those Ilands, yet they met not with him, so that after much paine and labor they got into the Road before *Angra*, where with all speed they vnladed, & discharged aboue 5. Millions of Siluer, all in peeces of 8. and 10. pound great: so that the whole Bay lay couered with plates & Chests of Siluer, full of Ryals of eight, most wonderfull to behold: euch Million being ten hundred thousand Ducats, besides Pearles, Gold, and other stones, which were not registred. The Admirall & chiefe commander of those Ships and Fleete called *Aluaro Flores de Quiniones* was sicke of the Neapolitan disease, and was brought to land, whereof not long after he dyed in *Sanila*. He brought with him the Kings broad Seale and full authority to be Generall & chiefe commander vpon the Seas, and of all Fleets or Ships, and of all places & Ilands, or Lands whereseuer he came: whereupon the Gouernor of *Tercera* did him great honor, and betweene them it was concluded, perchaunce the weakenesse of their Ships, and the danger of the *Englishman*, that they would send the Ships empty with Soldiers to conuey them, either to *Sinil* or *Lisbone*, where they could first arriue, with aduise vnto his Maiesty of all that had past, and that he would giue order to fetch the Siluer, with good and safe conuoy. Whereupon the said *Aluaro Flores* staied there, vnder colour of keeping the Siluer, but specially because of his disease, and for that they were afraid of the *Englishmen*. This *Aluaro Flores* had alone for his owne part aboue fifty thousand Ducats in Pearles, which he shewed vnto vs, and sought to sell them, or barter them with vs for Spices, or bils of exchange. The said two Ships set saile with three or foure hundred men, as well Soldiers as others, that came with them and not one man saued. The Vice-admirall cut downe her Mast, and ranne the Ship on ground out of *India*, and being at Sea had a storme, wherewith the Admirall burst and sinke in the Sea, hard by *Sentuual*, where it burst in peeces, some of the men sauing themselues by swimming, that brought the newes, but the rest were drowned.

Fiue Millions.

In

In the same moneth, there came two great ships out of the *Spanish Indies*, and being within halfe a mile of the Road of *Tercera*, they met with an *English* shippe, that after they had fought long together, tooke them both. About seuen or eight moneths before, there had beene an *English* ship in *Tercera*, that vnder the name of a *Frenchman* came to traffique in the Iland, there to lade wood, and being discouered was both ship and goods confiscated to the Kings vse, and all the men kept prisoners: yet went they vp and downe the streets to get their liuings, by labouring like slaues, being in deed as safe in that Iland, as if they had beene in prison. But in the end vpon a Sunday all the Sailers went downe behind the Hils called *Bresil*: where they found a Fisher-boat, wherinto they got, and rowed into the Sea to the Earle of *Cumberlands* ship, which to their great fortune chanced at that time to come by the Iland, and anchored with his ships about halfe a mile from the Road of *Angra*, hard by two small Hands, which lye about a Bases shot from the Iland, and are full of Goats, Buckes, and Sheepe, belonging to the Inhabitants of the Iland of *Tercera*. Those Saylers knew it well, and thereupon they rowed vnto them with their Boats, and lying at Anchor that day, they fetched as many Goats and Sheepe as they had neede of: which those of the Towne and of the Iland well saw and beheld, yet durst not once go forth, so there remayned no more on Land but the Master, and the Merchant, of the said *English* ship. This Master had a Brother in Law dwelling in *England*, who hauing newes of his brothers imprisonment in *Tercera*, got licence of the Queene of *England*, to set forth a ship, therewith to see if he could recouer his losses of the *Spaniards*, by taking some of them, and so to redeeme his brother, that lay prisoner in *Tercera*, and he it was, that tooke the two *Spanish* shippes before the Towne. The Master of the ship aforesaid, standing on the shore by me, and looking vpon them, for he was my great acquaintance, the shipps being taken, that were worth three hundred thousand Duckets, he sent all the men on Land sauing only two of the principall Gentlemen, which he kept aboord, thereby to ransome his brother: and sent the Pilot of one of the *Indian* ships that were taken, with a Letter to the Gouernour of *Tercera*: wherein he wrote that hee should deliuer him his brother, and he would send the two Gentlemen on Land: if not, he would saile with them into *England*, as indeed he did, because the Gouernoor would not doe it, saying that the Gentleman might make that suite to the King of *Spaine* himselfe. This *Spanish* Pilot we bid to supper with vs, and the *Englishmen* likewise, where hee shewed vs all the manner of their fight, much commending the order and manner of the *Englishmens* fighting, as also for their courteous vsing of him: but in the end the *English* Pilot likewise stole away in a *French* ship, without paying any ransome as yet.

In the moneth of Ianuary 1590. there arriued one ship alone in *Tercera*, that came from the *Spanish Indies*, and brought newes, that there was a fleet of a hundred ships which put out from the Firme Land of the *Spanish Indies*, and by a storme were driuen vpon the Coast called *Florida*, where they were all cast away, she hauing only escaped, wherein there were great riches, and many men lost, as it may well be thought: so that they made their account that of two hundred and twentie ships, that for certaine were knowne to haue put out of *Nona Spaigna*, *Santo Domingo*, *Hauana*, *Cape verde*, *Brasilia*, *Guinea*, *&c.* In the yeere 1589. to saile for *Spaine* in *Portugall*, there were not aboue fourteene or fifteene of them arriued there in safetie, all the rest being either drowned, burst or taken.

In the same Moneth of Ianuary, there arriued in *Tercera* fifteen or sixteene ships that came from *Sicilia*, which were most Flie-boats of the low Countries, and some *Britons* that were arrested in *Spaine*: these came full of Souldiers, and well appointed with munition, to lade the siluer that lay in *Tercera*, and to fetch *Alnares de Flores*, by the Kings commandement into *Spaine*. And because that time of the yeere there is alwayes stormes about those Ilands, therefore they durst not enter into the Road of *Tercera*, for that as then it blew so great a storme, that some of their ships that had anchored, were forced to cut downe their Masts, and were in danger to bee lost: and among the rest a ship of *Biscay* ranne against the Land, and was stricken in pieces, but all the men saued themselues. The other ships were forced to keepe the Sea, and separate themselues one from the other, where winde and weather would driue them, vntill the fifteenth of March: for that in all that time they could not haue one day of faire weather to anchor in, whereby they indured much misserie, cursing both the siluer and the Iland. This storme being past, they chanced to meete with a small *English* ship of about fortie tunnes in bignesse, which by reason of the great wind could not beare all her sailes: so they set vpon her, and tooke her, and with the *English* flagge in their Admirals sterne they came as proudly into the Hauen, as if they had conquered all the Realme of *England*: but as the Admirall that bare the *English* flagge vpon her sterne, was entring into the Road, there came by chance two *English* ships by the Iland, that paid her so well for her paines, that they were forced to cry *Miserecordia*, and without all doubt had taken her, if she had beene but a mile further in the Sea: but because she got vnder the Fortresse, which also began to shoot at the *Englishmen*, they were forced to leaue her, and to put further into the Sea, hauing slaine fiue or sixe of the *Spaniards*. The *Englishmen* that were taken in the small ship were put vnder hatches, and coupled in bolts, and after they had beene Prisoners three or foure dayes, there was a *Spanish* Ensigne-bearer in the ship, that had a brother slaine in the fleet that came for *England*,

England, who as then, minding to reuenge his death, and withall to shew his man-hood to the *English* Captiues, that were in the *English* shippe, which they had taken, as is aforesaid, tooke a Ponyard in his hand, and went downe vnder the Hatches, where finding the poore *Englishmen* sitting in bolts, with the same Ponyard he stabbed sixe of them to the heart: which two others of them perceiuing, clasped each other about the middle, because they would not bee murthered by him, threw themselues into the Sea, and there were drowned. This act was of all the *Spaniards* much disliked and very ill taken, so that they carried the *Spaniard* prisoner vnto *Lisbone*, where being arriued, the King of *Spaine* willed he should be sent into *England*, that the Queene of *England* might vse him as she thought good: which sentence his friends by intreatie got to bee reuersed, notwithstanding he commanded he should without all fauour bee beheaded: but vpon a good Friday, the Cardinall going to Masse, all the Captaines and Commanders made so great intreatie for him that in the end they got his pardon. This I thought good to note, that men might vnderstand the bloudie and honest mindes of the *Spaniards*, when they haue men vnder their subiection.

The same two *English* ships, which followed the *Spanish* Admirall, till hee had got vnder the Fort of *Tercera*, as I said before, put into the Sea, where they met with an other *Spanish* ship, being of the same fleete, that had likewise beene scattered by the storme and was only missing, for the rest lay in the Road: this small ship the *Englishmen* tooke, and sent all the men on shore, not hurting any of them: but if they had knowne, what had beene done vnto the foresaid *English* Captiues, I beleeue they would soone haue reuenged themselues, as afterward many an innocent soule payed for it. This ship thus taken by the *Englishmen*, was the same that was kept and confiscated in the Iland of *Tercera*, by the *Englishmen* that got out of the Iland in a fisher-boat (as I said before) and was sold vnto the *Spaniards*, that as then came from the *Indies*, wherewith they sailed to Saint *Lucas*, where it was also arrested by the Duke, and appoined to goe in company to fetch the siluer in *Tercera*, because it was a shippe that sayled well: but among the *Spaniards* fleete it was the meanest of the Company. By this meanes it was taken from the *Spaniards*, and carried into *England*, and the Owners had it againe, when they least thought of it.

The nineteenth of March, the aforesaid ships, being nineteene in number, set saile, hauing laden the Kings siluer, and receiued in *Aluaro Flores de Quiniones*, with his company, and good prouision of necessaries, Munition and Souldiers, that were fully resolued (as they made shew) to fight valiantly to the last man, before they would yeeld or lose their riches: and although they set their course for Saint *Lucas*, the wind draue them vnto *Lisbone*, which (as it seemed) was willing by his force to helpe them, and to bring them thither in safetie: although *Aluaro de Flores*, both against the wind and weather would perforce haue sailed to Saint *Lucas*, but being constrained by the wind, and importunitie of the Sailers, that protested they would require their losses and damages of him, he was content to saile to *Lisbone*: from whence the siluer was by Land carried into *Sicilia*. At Cape Saint *Vincent*, there lay a Fleet of twentie *English* shippes, to watch for the Armada, so that if they had put into Saint *Lucas*, they had fallen right into their hands, which if the wind had serued they had done. And therefore they may say that the wind had lent them a happie Voyage: for if the *Englishmen* had met with them, they had surely beene in great danger, and possibly but few of them had escaped, by reason of the feare wherewith they were possessed, because Fortune or rather God was wholly against them. Which is a sufficient cause to make the *Spaniards* out of heart, to the contrarie to giue the *Englishmen* more courage, and to make them bolder for that they are victorious, stout and valiant: and seeing all their enterprizes doe take so good effect, that thereby they are become Lords and Masters of the Sea, and need care for no man, as it well appeareth by this briefe Discourse.

In the month of March 1590. There was a Blasing Starre with a taile seene in *Tercera*, that continued foure nights together, stretching the tayle towards the South. 1590.

In the moneth of May, a Carnell of *Fayael* arriued at *Tercera*, in the Hauen or Road of *Angra*, laden with Oxen, Sheepe, Hennes, and all other kinds of victuals, and full of people, which by a storme had broken her Ruther, whereby the Sea cast her about and therewith she sunke, and in her were drowned three children, and a Frier *Franciscan*, the rest of the men saued themselues by swimming, and by helpe from the shore, but all the Cattle and Hennes came drowned to land: the Frier was buried with a great Procession and Solemnitie, esteeming him for a Saint, because he was taken vp dead with his Booke betweene his armes: for the which cause euery man came to looke on him as a Miracle, giuing great Offerings to say Masses for his soule.

The first of August, the Gouernor of *Tercera*, receiued aduise out of *Portugall* and *Spaine*, that two yeeres before the date of his Letters, there were sayled out of *England* twelue great shippes well appointed, with full resolution to take their iournie, seuen of them into the *Portugall Indies*, and the other fiue to *Malacca*: of the which fiue, two were cast away in passing the Straits of *Magellanes*, and three sayled to *Malacca*: but what they had done there, was as then not knowne. The other seuen passed the Cape *de bona Speranza*, and arriued in *India*, where they put into the Coast of *Malabares*, but let them goe againe: and two *Turkish* Gallies, that came

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out of the Straits of *Mecca* or the Red Sea, to whom likewiſe they did no hurt. And there they laded their ſhips wis Spices, and returned backe againe on their way: but where or in what place they had laden, it was not certainely knowne, ſauing onely that thus much was written by the Gouernour of *India*, and ſent ouer Land to *Venice*, and from thence to *Madrill*.

Sir *M. Frobiſher.* The ſeuenth of Auguſt, a Nauie of *Engliſh* ſhips was ſeene before *Tercera*, beeing twentie in number, and fiue of them the Queenes ſhips: their Generall was one *Martin Frobiſher*, as wee after had intelligence. They came purpoſely to watch for the fleet of the *Spaniſh Indies*, and for the *Indian* ſhips, and the ſhippes of the Countries in the Weſt: which put the Ilanders in great feare, ſpecially thoſe of *Fayael*, for that the *Engliſhmen* ſent a Trumpet to the Gouernour to aske certaine wine, fleſh, and other victuals for their money, and good friendſhip. They of *Fayael* did not onely refuſe to giue eare vnto them, but with a ſhot killed their Meſſenger or Trumpetter: which the *Engliſhmen* tooke in euill part, ſending them word that they were beſt to looke to themſelues, and ſtand vpon their guard, for they meant to come and viſit them whether they would or no. The Gouernour made them anſwere, that he was there, in the behalfe of his Maieſtie of *Spaine* and that he would doe his beſt, to keepe them out, as he was bound: but no thing was done, although they of *Fayael* were in no little feare, ſending to *Tercera* for aide, from whence they had certaine Barkes with Powder and Munition for warre, with ſome Biſket and other neceſſary prouiſion.

The thirtieth of Auguſt, we receiued very certaine newes out of *Portugall*, that there were eightie ſhips put out of the *Caruuho*, laden with Victuals, Munition, Money, and Souldiers, to goe for *Britaine* to aide the Catholikes and Leaguers of *France*, againſt the King of *Nauarre*. At the ſame time, two *Netherland* Hulkes, comming out of *Portugall* to *Tercera*, beeing halfe the Seas ouer, met with foure of the Queenes ſhippes, their Generall beeing Sir *Iohn Hawkins*, that ſtayed them, but let them goe againe, without doing them any harme. The *Netherlanders* reported, that each of the Queenes ſhips had eightie Peeces of Ordnance, and that Captaine *Drake* lay with fortie ſhips in the *Engliſh* Channell, watching for the Armie of *Caruuho*: and likewiſe that there lay at the Cape Saint *Vincent* tenne other *Engliſh* ſhips, that if any ſhips eſcaped from the Ilands, they might take them. Thoſe tidings put the Ilanders in great feare, leſt if they failed of the *Spaniſh* fleete, and got nothing by them, that then they would fall vpon the Ilands, becauſe they would not returne emptie home, whereupon they held ſtraight watch, ſending aduiſe vnto the King what newes they heard.

The firſt of September, there came to the Iland of Saint *Michael* a *Portugall* ſhip, out of the Hauen of *Pernambuco*, in *Braſilia*, which brought newes that the Admirall of the *Portugall* fleet, that came from *India*, hauing miſſed the Iland of Saint *Helena*, was of neceſſitie conſtrained to put in at *Pernambuco*, although the King had expreſly vnder a great penaltie forbidden him ſo to doe, becauſe of the Wormes that there doe ſpoile the ſhips. The ſame ſhip wherein *Bernaldine Rybero*, was Admirall, the yeere before 1589. ſayled out of *Liſbone* into the *Indies*, with fiue ſhips in her company, whereof but foure got into *India*, the fift was neuer heard of, ſo that it was thought to be caſt away: The other foure returned ſafe againe into *Portugall*, though the Admirall was much ſpoiled, becauſe he met with two *Engliſh* ſhips, that fought long with him, and ſlue many of his men, but yet he eſcaped from them.

1589.

The fift of the ſame moneth, there arriued in *Tercera*, a Caruell of the Iland of *Coruo*, and brought with her fiftie men that had beene ſpoyled by the *Engliſhmen*, who had ſet them on ſhore in the Iland of *Coruo*, being taken out of a ſhippe that came from the *Spaniſh Indies*, they brought tydings that the *Engliſhmen* had taken foure more of the *Indian* ſhips, and a Caruell with the King of *Spaines* Letters of aduiſe for the ſhips comming out of the *Portugall Indies*, and that with thoſe which they had taken, they were at the leaſt forty *Engliſh* ſhips together, ſo that not one Barke eſcaped them, but fell into their hands, and that therefore the *Portugall* ſhips comming out of *India*, durſt not put into the Ilands, but tooke their courſe vnder fortie and fortie two degrees, and from thence ſailed to *Liſbon*, ſhunning likewiſe the Cape Saint *Vincent*, otherwiſe they could not haue had a proſperous iourney of it, for that as then the Sea was full of *Engliſh* ſhips. Wherupon the King aduiſed the fleet, lying in *Hauana*, in the *Spaniſh Indies* ready to come for *Spaine*, that they ſhould ſtay there all that yeere till the next yeere, becauſe of the great danger they might fall into by the *Engliſhmen*, which was no ſmall charge and hinderance to the fleet, for that the ſhips that lie there doe conſume themſelues, and in a manner eate vp one another, by reaſon of the great number of people, together with the ſcarcitie of all things, ſo that many ſhips choſe rather, one by one to aduenture themſelues alone, to get home, then to ſtay there: all which fell into the *Engliſhmens* hands, whereof diuers of the men were brought into *Tercera*, for that a whole day we could ſee nothing elſe, but ſpoyled men ſet on ſhore, ſome out of one ſhip ſome out of another, that pittie it was to ſee, all of them curſing the *Engliſhmen*, and their owne fortunes, with thoſe that had beene the cauſes to prouoke the *Engliſhmen* to fight, and complayning of the ſmall remedie and order taken therein by the King of *Spaines* Officers.

Note.

The nineteenth of the ſame moneth, there came to *Tercera* a Caruel of *Liſbon*, with one of the Kings

Kings Officers, to cause the goods that were saued out of the ship, which came from *Malacca*, (for the which we stayed there) to be laden, and sent to *Lisbon*. And at the same time there put out of the *Caruiba* one *Don Alonso de Bassan*, with fortie great ships of warre to come vnto the Ilands, there to watch for the fleet of the *Spanish* and *Portugall Indies*, and the goods of the *Malacca* ship being laden, they were to conuoy them all together into the Riuer of *Lisbon*: but being certaine dayes at Sea, alwayes hauing a contrary wind they could not get vnto the Ilands: only two of them that were scattered from the fleet, they presently returned backe to seeke them: in the meane time the King changed his minde, and caused the fleet to stay in *India*, as I said before: and therefore he sent word vnto *Don Alonso de Bassan*, that hee should returne againe to the *Caruiba*, which he presently did (without doing any thing, nor once approching neere the Ilands, sauing only the two foresaid ships, for he well knew that the *Englishmen* lay by the Iland of *Corue*, but he would not visit them: and so he returned to the Hauen of *Caruiba*, whereby our goods that came from *Malacca*, were yet to ship, and stuffed vp againe, forced to stay a more fortunate time, with patience perforce.

The three and twentieth of October, there arriued in *Tercera* a Carrell, with aduise out of *Portingall*, that of fiue ships, which in the yeare 1590. were laden in *Lisbon* for the *Indies*, foure of them were turned againe to *Portingall*, after they had beene foure moneths abroad, and that the Admirall, wherein the Vice-roy called *Mathias de Alburkerke* sailed, had only gotten to *India*, as afterward newes thereof was brought ouer Land, hauing beene at the least eleuen monethes at Sea, and neuer saw Land, and came in great misery to *Malacca*. In this ship there died by the way two hundred and eightie men, according to a note by himselfe made, and sent to the Cardinall at *Lisbon*, with the names and surnames of euery man, together with a description of his Voyage, and the misery they had indured: which was only done, because he would not lose the gouernment of *India*: and for that cause he had sworne either to lose his life, or to arriue in *India*, as indeed he did afterwards, but to the great danger, losse and hinderance of his company, that were forced to buy it with their liues, and onely for want of prouision, as it may well bee thought: for he knew full well that if he had returned backe againe into *Portingall*, as the other ships did, hee should haue beene cashiered from his *Indian* Regiment, because the people began alreadie to murmurre at him, for his proude and loftie minde. And among other things that shewed his pride the more, behind aboue the Gallery of his ship, he caused Fortune to be painted, and his owne Picture with a staffe standing by her, as it were threatning Fortune, with this Poesie, *Quero que vencas*, that is, *I will haue thee to ouercome*: which beeing read by the Cardinall and other Gentlemen (that to honour him aboord his ship) it was thought to be a point of exceeding folly. But it is no strange matter among the *Portingalls*, for they aboue all others must of force *Let the Foole peepe out of their sleeues*, specially when they are in authoritie: for that I knew the said *Mathias de Alberkerk* in *India*, being a Souldier and a Captaine, where he was esteemed and accounted for one of the best of them, and much honoured, and beloued of all men, as behauing himselfe courteously to euery man: whereby they all desired that he might be Vice-roy. But when he once had receiued his Patent with full power and authoritie from the King to be Vice-roy, hee changed so much from his former behauiour, that by reason of his pride, they all began to feare and curse him, and that before he departed out of *Lisbon*, as it is often seene in many men that are aduanced vnto state and dignitie.

1590.

280. men die in one ship, in one Voyage, by one mans vanitie.

The twentieth of Ianuary, *Anno* 1591. there was newes brought out of *Portingall* into *Tercera*, that the *Englishmen* had taken a ship, that the King had sent into the *Portingall Indies*, with aduise to the Vice-roy, for the returning againe of the foure ships that should haue gone to *India*, and because the ships were come backe againe, that ship was stuffed and laded as full of goods as possible it might be, hauing likewise in ready money fiue hundred thousand Duckets in Rials of eight, besides other wares. It departed from *Lisbone* in the moneth of Nouember 1590. and met with the *Englishmen*, with whom for a time it fought: but in the end it was taken and carried into *England* with men and all, yet when they came there the men were set at libertie, and returned into *Lisbone*, where the Captaine was commited Prisoner: but hee excused himselfe, and was released, with whom I spake my selfe, and he made this report vnto me. At the same time also they tooke a ship that came from the Myne laden with Gold, and two ships laden with Pepper, and Spices that were to saile into *Italie*, the Pepper onely that was in them, being worth 170000. Duckets: all these ships were carried into *England*, and made good prize.

1591.

In the moneth of Iuly, *An.* 1591. there happened an Earth-quake in the Iland of *S. Michael*, which continued from the six and twentieth of Iuly to the t welfth of August: in which time no man durst stay within his house, but fled into the fields, fasting and praying, with great sorrow for that many of their houses fell downe, and a Towne called *Villa Franca*, was almost cleane razed to the ground all the Cloysters and houses shaken to the earth, and therein some people slaine. The Land in some places rose vp, and the Cliffes remooued from on place to another, and some Hils were defaced and made euen with the ground. The Earthquake was so strong, that the ships which lay in the Road, and on the Sea, shaked as if the World would haue turned round: there sprang also a Fountaine out of the earth, from whence for the space of foure dayes,

Earthquake most terrible.

Prodigies.

there

there flowed a moſt cleare water, and after that it ceaſed. At the ſame time they heard ſuch thunder and noiſe vnder the earth, as if all the Diuels in hell had beene aſſembled together in that place; wherewith many died for feare. The Iland of *Tercera* ſhooke foure times together, ſo that it ſeemed to turne about, but there happened no misfortune vnto it. Earthquakes are common in thoſe Ilands, for about twenty yeares paſt there happened another earthquake, where in a high Hill that lyeth by the ſame towne of *Villa Franca*, fell halfe downe, and couered all the towne with earth, and killed many men.

The fiue and twentieth of Auguſt, the Kings Armada, comming out of *Farol* arriued in *Tercera*, being in all thirty Ships, *Biskaues*, *Portugals*, and *Spaniards*: and ten *Dutch* flye-boates, that were arreſted in *Lisbone* to ſerue the King, beſides other ſmall Ships Pataxos, that came to ſerue as meſſengers from place to place, and to diſcouer the Seas. This Nauie came to ſtay for, and conuoy the Ships that ſhould come from the *Spaniſh Indies*, and the flye-boates were appointed in their returne home, to take in the goods that were ſaued in the loſt Ship that came from *Malacca*, and to conuoy it to *Lisbone*.

The thirteenth of September the ſaid Armado arriued at the Iland of *Corue*, where the *Engliſhmen* with about ſixteene Ships, as then lay, ſtaying for the *Spaniſh* Fleete: whereof ſome or the moſt part were come, and there the *Engliſh* were in good hope to haue taken them. But when they perceiued the Kings Army to be ſtrong, the Admirall being the Lord *Thomas Howard*, commanded his Fleete not to fall vpon them, nor any of them once to ſeperate their Shippes from him, vnleſſe he gaue commiſſion ſo to doe: notwithſtanding the Vice-Admirall, Sir *Richard Greenfield*, being in the Ship called the *Reuenge*, went into the *Spaniſh* Fleete, and ſhot among them, doing them great hurt, and thinking the reſt of the company would haue followed: which they did not, but left him there, and ſailed away; the cauſe why they could not know: which the *Spaniards* perceiuing, with ſeuen or eight Ships they boorded her, but ſhe withſtood them all, fighting with them at the leaſt twelue houres together, and ſunke two of them, one being a new double Flie-boate of twelue thouſand tunnes, and Admirall of the Flie-boates, the other a *Biſcaine*: But in the end, by reaſon of the number that came vpon her, ſhe was taken, but to their great loſſe; for they had loſt in fighting, and by drowning aboue foure hundred men; and of the *Engliſh* were ſlaine about a hundred, Sir *Richard Greenfield* himſelfe being wounded in his braine, whereof afterwards he died. He was borne into the Ship called the Saint *Paul*, wherein was the Admirall of the Fleete *Don Alonſo de Barſan*: there his wounds were dreſt by the *Spaniſh* Surgeons, but *Don Alonſo* himſelfe would neither ſee him, nor ſpeake with him: all the reſt of the Captaines and Gentlemen went to viſite him, and to comfort him in his hard fortune, wondring at his courage and ſtout heart, for that he ſhewed not any ſigne of faintneſſe nor changing of colour. But feeling the houre of death to approach, he ſpake theſe words in *Spaniſh*, and ſaid; *Here dye I* Richard Greenfield, *with a joyfull and quiet minde, for that I haue ended my life as a true Souldier ought to doe, that hath fought for his Countrey, Queene, Religion, and honour, whereby my Soule moſt ioyfull departeth out of this body, and ſhall alwayes leaue behinde it an euerlaſting fame of a valiant and true Soldier, that hath done his duetie, as hee was bound to doe.* When he had finiſhed theſe or ſuch other like words, he gaue vp the Ghoſt with great and ſtout courage, and no man could perceiue any true ſigne of heauineſſe in him.

This Sir *Richard Greenfield* was a great and a rich Gentleman in *England*, and had great yearely reuenewes of his owne inheritance: but he was a man very vnquiet in his minde, and greatly affected to warre; in ſo much as of his owne priuate motion he offered his ſeruice to the Queene. He had performed many valiant acts, and was greatly feared in theſe Ilands, and knowne of euery man; but of nature very ſeuere, ſo that his owne people hated him for his fierceneſſe, and ſpake very hardly of him: for when they firſt entred into the Fleete or Armado, they had their great ſaile in a readineſſe, and might poſſibly enough haue ſailed away; for it was one of the beſt Ships for ſaile in *England*; and the Maſter perceiuing that the other Ships had left them, and followed not after, commanded the great ſaile to be cut, that they might make away: but Sir *Richard Greenfield* threatned both him, and all the reſt that were in the Ship, that if any man laid hand vpon it, he would cauſe him to be hanged, and ſo by that occaſion they were compelled to fight, and in the end were taken. He was of ſo hard a complexion, that as hee continued among the *Spaniſh* Captaines while they were at dinner or ſupper with him, hee would carouſe three or foure Glaſſes of Wine, and in a brauery take the Glaſſes betweene his teeth, and craſh them in peeces, and ſwallow them downe, ſo that often times the bloud ran out of his mouth without any harme at all vnto him: and this was told me by diuers credible perſons that many times ſtood and beheld him. The *Engliſhmen* that were left in the Ship, as the Captaine of the

Sir *Richard Greenuile*. See *Hak. Tom.* 2. This Storie penned by Sir *Walter Ralcigh*. There were but ſix of theſe Shippes the Queenes: and Sir *Richard Greenuile* ſtaid to recouer his men on ſhore; 93. of his men were ſicke. He ſcorned to flye as the Maſter counſelled (which had beene better) and thought to made way thorow their ſquadrons, and made ſome ſpring looſe till the greatneſſe of the S. *Philip* of 1500 tuns being in the winde of him, becalmed his ſailes; ſo that the *Reuenge* could not feele her ſailes nor helme, and was boorded by the S. *Philip* and foure others. Theſe were beaten off, and fifteen ſeuerall Armadas aſſailed her. All her Powder was ſpent to the laſt barrell; nor had firſt aboue 100. ſound men to ſuſtaine the brunt. Yet ſhe endured fifteene houres fight, fifteene Armadas by turne, 800. ſhot, many entries, 53. ſailes of men of warre, and 10000. men to doe this. After all this, Sir *R. Greenfield* now wounded, commanded to blow vp the Ship; but the Captaine intreating to the contrary, the Maſter was ſent, vnknowne to Sir *R. Greenfield*, to treat a compoſition with *Bazan* the Generall, who yeelded their liues to be ſaued, and to be ſent for *England*, the better ſort to pay ranſome, but free meane time from priſon and Gallie. Almoſt 1000. of the enemies were ſlaine in this fight. *Thus haue I giuen you the briefe of Sir* Walters *report alſo, to make this ſtorie compleate.*

Soldiers,

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Souldiers, the Maſter and others were diſperſed into diuers of the *Spaniſh* Ships that had taken them, where there had almoſt a new fight arriſen betweene the *Biſcaines* and the *Portugals*; while each of them would haue the honour to haue firſt boorded her, ſo that there grew a great noiſe and quarrell among them, one taking the chiefe Ancient, and the other the Flagge, and the Captaine and euery one held his owne. The ſhips that had boorded her were altogether out of order and broken, and many of their men hurt, whereby they were compelled to come into the Iland of *Tercera*, there to repaire themſelues: where being arriued, I and my chamber-fellow, to heare ſome newes went aboord one of the Ships being a great *Biſcaine*, and one of the twelue Apoſtles, whoſe Captaine was called *Bertandono*, that had bin Generall of the *Biſcaines* in the fleete that went for *England*. He ſeeing vs, called vs vp into the Gallery, where with great curteſie he receiued vs, being as then ſet at dinner with the *Engliſh* Captaine that ſat by him, and had on a ſute of blacke Veluet; but he could not tell vs any thing, for that he could ſpeake no other language but *Engliſh* and *Latine*, which *Bertandono* alſo could a little ſpeake. The *Engliſh* Captaine that he might come on land with his weapon by his ſide, and was in our lodging with the *Engliſhman* that was kept priſoner in the Iland, being of that ſhip whereof the ſailers got away, as I ſaid before. The Gouernour of *Tercera* bad him to dinner, and ſhewed him great curteſie. The Maſter likewiſe with licence of *Bertandono* came on land, and was in our lodging, and had at the leaſt ten or twelue wounds, as well in his head, as on his body, whereof after that being at Sea, betweene *Lisbone* and the Ilands he died. The Captaine wrote a Letter, wherein he declared all the manner of the fight, and left it with the *Engliſh* Merchant that lay in our lodging, to ſend it to the Lord Admirall of *England*. The *Engliſh* Captaine comming to *Lisbone*, was there well receiued, and not any hurt done vnto him, but with good conuoy ſent to *Sentuual*, and from thence ſayled into *England*, with all the reſt of the *Engliſhmen* that were taken pryſoners.

The *Spaniſh* Armie ſtaied at the Iland of *Corno* till the laſt of September, to aſſemble the reſt of the Fleets together: which in the end were to the number of one hundred and forty ſayle of Ships, partly comming from *India*, and partly of the Army, and being altogether ready vnto ſaile to *Tercera* in good company, there ſodainly roſe ſo hard and cruell a ſtorme, that thoſe of the Iland did affirme, that in mans memory there was neuer any ſuch ſeene or heard of before: for it ſeemed the Sea would haue ſwallowed vp the Ilands, the water mounting higher then the Cliffes, which are ſo high that it amazeth a man to behold them: but the Sea reached aboue them, and liuing fiſhes were throwne vpon the land. This ſtorme continued not onely a day or two with one winde, but ſeuen or eight dayes continually, the winde turning round about, in all places of the compaſſe, at the leaſt twice or thrice during that time, and all alike, with a continuall ſtorme and tempeſt moſt terrible to behold, euen to vs that were on ſhore, much more then to ſuch as were at Sea: ſo that onely on the Coaſts and Clifts of the Iland of *Tercera*, there were aboue twelue Ships caſt away, and not onely vpon the one ſide, but round about it in euery corner: whereby nothing elſe was heard but complaining, crying, lamenting, and telling here is a ſhip broken in peeces againſt the Cliffes, and there another, and all the men drowned: ſo that for the ſpace of twenty dayes after the ſtorme, they did nothing elſe but fiſh for dead men, that continually came driuing on the ſhore. Among the reſt was the *Engliſh* ſhip called the *Reuenge*, that was caſt away vpon a Cliffe neere to the Iland of *Tercera*, where it brake in a hundred peeces, and ſunke to the ground, hauing in her ſeuenty men *Gallegos*, *Biſcaines*, and others, with ſome of the captiue *Engliſhmen*, whereof but one was ſaued that got vp vpon the Cliffes aliue, and had his body and head all wounded, and he being on ſhore brought vs the newes, deſiring to be ſhriuen, and thereupon preſently died. The *Reuenge* had in her diuers faire Braſſe Peeces, that were all ſunke in the Sea, which they of the Iland were in good hope to weigh vp againe the next Summer following. Among theſe Ships that were caſt away about *Tercera*, was likewiſe a Flie-boate, one of thoſe that had bin areſted in *Portugall* to ſerue the King, called the *White Doue*. The Maſter of her, was one *Cornelius Martenſon* of *Schiedam* in *Holland*, and there were in her one hundred Souldies, as in euery one of the reſt there was. He being ouer ruled by the Captaine, that he could not be Maſter of his owne, ſayling here and there at the mercy of God, as the ſtorme droue him, in the end came within the ſight of *Tercera*: which the *Spaniards* perceiuing, thought all their ſafety onely to conſiſt in putting into the Road, compelling the Maſter and the Pilot to make towards the Iland, although the Maſter refuſed to doe it, ſaying, that they were moſt ſure there to be caſt away, and vtterly ſpoiled: but the Captain called him drunkard, & Heretick, and ſtriking him with a ſtaffe, commanded him to do as he would haue him. The Maſter ſeeing this, and being compelled to doe it, ſaid: well then my Maſters, ſeeing it is the deſire of you all to be caſt away, I can but looſe one life; and therewith deſperately he ſailed towards the ſhoare, and was on that ſide of the Iland, where there was nothing elſe but hard ſtones and Rockes, as high as Mountaines, moſt terrible to behold, where ſome of the Inhabitants ſtood with long ropes and corke bound at the end thereof, to throw them downe vnto the men, that they might lay hold vpon them and ſaue their liues; but few of them got ſo neere, moſt of them being caſt away, and ſmitten in peeces before they could get to the wall. The Ship ſailed in this

Great ſtorme.

Great hurts.

Reuenge reuenged with the loſſe of aboue 100. other ſhips of the *Spaniards* attending her fates: as great a blow as 88.

manner (as I said before) towards the Iland, and approaching to the shoare, the Master being an old man, and full of yeares, called his Sonne that was in the ship with him, and hauing imbraced one another, and taken their last farewell, the good old father willed his Sonne not to take care for him, but seeke to saue himselfe: for (said he) sonne, thou art yong, and may haue some hope to saue thy life, but as for me it is no great matter (I am old) what become of me, and therewith each of these shedding many teares, as euery louing father and kinde childe may well consider; the ship fell vpon the Cliffes and brake in peeces, the Father on the one side, the sonne on the other side falling into the sea, each laying hold vpon that which came next to hand, but to no purpose; for the sea was so high and furious, that they were all drowned, and onely foureteene or fifteene saued themselues by swimming, with their legges and armes halfe broken and out of ioynt; among the which was the Masters sonne, and foure other *Dutch* Boyes: the rest of the *Spaniards* and Sailers, with the Captaine and Master were drowned: whose heart would not melt with teares to behold so grieuous a sight, specially considering with himselfe that the greatest cause thereof was the beastlinesse and insolency of the *Spaniards*, as in this onely example may well be seene: whereby may be considered how the other ships sped, as we our selues did in part behold, and by the men that were saued did heare more at large, as also some others of our Countrimen that as then were in the like danger can well witnesse.

On the other Ilands the losse was no lesse then in *Tercera*; for on the Iland of Saint *George* there were two Ships cast away: on the Iland of *Pico* two Ships: on the Iland of *Gratiosa* three ships & besides those there came euery where round about diuers peeces of broken ships, & other things fleeting towards the Ilands, wherewith the Sea was all couered most pittifull to behold. On the Iland of Saint *Michael*, there were foure Ships cast away, and betweene *Tercera* and Saint *Michaels*; three more were sunke, which were seene and heard to crie out, whereof not one man was saued. The rest put into the Sea without Masts, all torne and rent: so that of the whole Fleete and Armado, being one hundred and forty ships in all, there were but thirty two or thirty three ariued in *Spaine* and *Portugall*, yea and those few with so great misery, paine and labour, that not two of them arriued there together, but this day one, and to morrow another, next day the third, & so one after the other to the number aforesaid. All the rest were cast away vpon the Ilands, and ouerwhelmed in the sea: whereby may be considered what great losse and hinderance they receiued at that time: for by many mens iudgements it was esteemed to be much more then was left by their Armie that came for *England*, and it may well be thought, and presumed, that it was no other but a iust plague purposely sent by God vpon the *Spaniards*, and that it might truely be said, the taking of the *Reuenge* was iustly reuenged vpon them, and not by the might or force of man, but by the power of God, as some of them openly said in the Isle of *Tercera*, that they beleeued verily God would consume them, and that he tooke part with *Lutherans* and Heretickes: saying further, that so soone as they had throwne the dead body of the Viceadmirall Sir *Richard Greenfield* ouer-boord, they verily thought that as he had a diuelliſh Faith and Religion, and therefore the Diuels loued him, so he presently sunke into the bottome of the Sea, and downe into Hell, where he raised vp all the Diuels to the reuenge of his death: and that they brought so great stormes and torments vpon the *Spaniards*, because they onely maintained the Catholike and *Romish* Religion: such and the like blasphemies against God, they ceased not openly to vtter, without that any man reproued them therein, nor for their false opinions, but the most part of them rather said and affirmed, that of truth it must needes be so.

Note.

Caiaphas propheticth.

God taketh part with *Lutherans*.

So then the gates of hell preuaileth against their faith.

As one of those *Indian* Fleetes put out of *Noua Spaigna*, there were fiue and thirty of them by storme and tempest cast away and drowned in the Sea, being fiftie in all, so that but fifteene escaped. Of the Fleete that came from *Santo Domingo*, there were foureteene cast away, comming out of the Channell of *Hauana*, whereof the Admirall and Viceadmirall were two of them: and from *Terra Firma* in *India*, there came two ships laden with Gold and Siluer, that were taken by the *Englishmen*, and before the *Spanish* Armie came to *Corne*, the *Englishmen* at times had taken at the least twenty ships, that came from Saint *Domingo*, *India*, *Brasilia*, &c. and all sent into *England*. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that in the end God will assuredly plague the *Spaniards*, hauing already blinded them, so that they haue not the sence to perceiue it, but still to remaine in their obstinate opinions: but it is lost labour to striue against God, and to trust in man, as being foundations erected vpon the sands, which with the winde are blowne downe and ouerthrowne, as we daily see before our eyes, and now not long since in many places haue euidently obserued: and therefore let euery man but looke into his owne actions, and take our *Low-Countries* for an example, wherein we can but blame our owne sinnes and wickednesses, which doth so blinde vs, that we wholly forget and reiect the benefits of God, continuing the seruants and yoke-slaues of Sathan. God of his mercy open our eyes and hearts, that wee may know our onely health and Sauiour Iesus Christ, who onely can helpe, gouerne, and preserue vs, and giue vs a happy end in all our affaires. By this destruction of the *Spaniards*, and their euill successe, the lading and shipping of the goods that were saued out of the ship that came from *Malacca* to *Tercera*, was againe put off: and therefore wee must haue patience till it please God to send a fitter time, and that we receiue further aduise and order from his Maiestie of *Spaine*.

Two Ships of treasure taken by the *English*, and 20. others of the *Indian* Fleete.

All

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All this being thus paſt, the Farmers of Pepper and other Merchants that had their goods in *Tercera*, which were taken out of the loſt ſhip that came from *Malacca*, ſeeing that the hope of any Armada, or any ſhips in the Kings behalfe to be ſent to fetch it, was all in vaine: they made requeſt vnto his Maieſty, that he would grant them licence euery man particularly to ſhip his goods in what ſhip he would at his owne aduenture; which in the end, after long ſuite, was granted, vpon condition that euery man ſhould put in ſureties, to deliuer the goods in the Cuſtome-houſe at *Lisbone*, to the end the King might be paied his cuſtome; as alſo that the goods that ſhould be deliuered vnto them in *Tercera*, ſhould all be regiſtred: whereupon the Farmers of Pepper, with other Merchants, agreed with a *Flaſhinger*, to fetch all the Cloues, Nutmegs, Mace, and other ſpices and goods that belonged vnto them, the Pepper onely excepted, which as then the King would not grant to lade. The ſame Ship arriued in *Tercera* about the laſt of Nouember, and becauſe it was ſomewhat dangerous, being the latter end of the yeare, we laded her with all the ſpeede we could, for as then the coaſt was cleare of *Engliſhmen*. To be ſhort, this *Flaſhinger* being laden with moſt part of the goods, ſauing the Pepper that was left behinde, we ſet ſaile for *Lisbone*, paſſing ſome ſmall ſtormes, not once meeting with any ſhip, but onely vpon the coaſt where we ſaw ten *Hollanders*, that ſailed with Corne towards *Ligorne*, and other places in *Italie*, and ſo by Gods helpe vpon the ſecond of Ianuary, *Anno* 1592. we arriued in the Riuer of *Lisbone*, being nine yeares after my departure from thence, and there I ſtaied till the month of Iuly, to diſpatch ſuch things as I had to doe, and vpon the ſeuenteenth of the ſame month, I went to *Sentinal*, where certaine *Hollanders* lay, with whom I went for *Holland*. 1592

The end of the eight Booke.

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ENGLISH PLANTATIONS, DISCOVERIES, ACTS, AND OCCVRRENTS, IN VIRGINIA AND SVMMER ILANDS SINCE THE YEERE 1606. TILL 1624.

THE NINTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Part of the first Patent granted by his Maiestie for the Plantation of Virginia, Aprill the tenth 1606.

IAMES *by the grace of God, &c. Whereas our loving and well disposed Subiects,* Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers *Knights,* Richard Hakluyt *Clerke, Prebendary of Westminster,* Edward Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hannam, Rawleigh Gilbert *Esquires,* William Parker, George Popham, *and diuers others of our loving Subiects haue beene humble Suitors vnto vs that we would vouchsafe vnto them our License to make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a Colonie of sundry of our people into that part of* America; *commonly called* Virginia; *and other parts and Territories in* America, *either appertayning vnto vs, or which now are not actually possessed by any Christian Prince or people, situate lying and being all along the Sea Coast betweene thirtie foure degrees of Northerly latitude from the Equinoctiall Line, and fortie fiue degrees of the same latitude, and in the mayne Land betweene the same thirtie foure and fortie fiue degrees, and the Ilands thereunto adiacent within one hundred miles of the Coast thereof. And to that end, and for the more speedie accomplishment of the said intended Plantation and Habitation there, are desirous to deuide themselues into two seuerall Colonies and Companies, the one consisting of certaine Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Aduenturers of our Citie of* London *and elsewhere, which are and from time to time shall be ioyned vnto them, which doe desire to beginne their Plantations and Habitations, in some fit and conuenient place betweene thirtie foure and fortie one degrees of the said latitude, all alongst the Sea Coast of* Virginia, *and Coast of* America *aforesaid. And the other consisting of sundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchans, and other Aduenturers of our Cities, of* Bristoll *and* Exeter, *and of our Towne of* Plymmouth *and other places which doe ioyne themselues vnto that Colonie, which desire to beginne their Plantations and Habitations in some fit and conuenient place betweene thirtie eight and fortie fiue degrees of the said latitude: all alongst the said Coast of* Virginia *and* America, *as that Coast lyeth. We greatly commending and graciously accepting of their desires to the furtherance of so Noble a worke, which may by the prouidence of Almightie God hereafter tend to the glorie of his Diuine Maiestie, in propagating of Christian Religion, to such people as yet lime in darknesse, miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the* Infidels *and* Sauages *(liuing in those parts) to humane ciuilitie and to a settled and quiet gouernment, doe by these our Letters Patents graciously accept of, and agree to their humble and well intended desires, And doe therefore for vs our Heires and Successours*

The first Colony to bee planted betwixt 34. & 41. degrees of North latitude. They to haue all the Lands, &c. for the space of fiftie miles West South-west from the place of their first plantings, and all Mynes, &c. The like East North-east with all Ilands for 100. miles in the Sea ouer against them. 100. within the Land, &c. None to inhabit on the backside without their speciall licence in writing, &c.

grant and agree that the said Sir Thomas Gates, *Sir* George Summers, Richard Hakluyt, *and* Edward Maria Wingfield, *Aduenturers of our Citie of* London, *and all such others as are or shall be ioyned vnto them of that Colonie shall be called the first Colonie, and they shall and may beginne their said first Plantation and Seate, of their first abode and Habitation at any place vpon the said Coast of* Virginia *or* America, *where they shall thinke fit and conuenient, betweene the said thirtie foure and fortie one degrees of the said latitude. And that they shall haue all the Lands, Woods, Soyle, Grounds, Hauens, Ports, Riuers, Mynes, Minerals, Marishes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments whatsoeuer, from the said first seate of their Plantation, and Habitation by the space of fiftie miles of* English *Statute measure all alongst the said Coast of* Virginia *and* America, *towards the West and South-west as the Coast lyeth, with all the Ilands within one hundred miles directly ouer against the same Sea Coast: And also all the Lands, Soyle, Grounds, Hauens, Ports, Riuers, Mynes, Mynerals, Woods, Marishes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoeuer from the said place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the space of fiftie like* English *miles all alongst the said Coast of* Virginia, *and* America, *towards the East and North-east as the Coast lyeth, together with all the Ilands within one hundred miles directly ouer against the same Sea-coast. And also all the Lands, Woods, Soyle, Grounds, Hauens, Ports, Riuers, Mynes, Mynerals, Marishes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoeuer from the same, fiftie miles euery way on the Sea Coast directly into the mayne Land by the space of one hundred like* English *miles. And shall and may inhabit and remayne there, and shall and may also build and fortifie within any the same for their better safeguard and defence, according to their best discretions, and the direction of the Councell of that Colonie. And that no other of our Subiects shall be permitted or suffered to plant, or inhabit behind or on the backeside of them towards the mayne Land, without the expresse license or consent of the Councell of that Colonie, thereunto in writing first had or obtained. And we doe likewise for vs our Heires and Successors, by these presents, grant and agree that the said* Thomas Hanham, Rawleigh Gilbert, William Parker, *and* George Popham, *and all others of the Towne of* Plimmouth *in the Countie of* Deuon, *or elsewhere, which are or shall be ioyned vnto them of that Colonie shall be called the second Colonie, and that they shall and may begin their said first Plantation and Seate, of their first abood and Habitation at any place vpon the said Coast of* Virginia *and* America; *where they shall thinke fit and conuenient betweene thirtie eight and fortie fiue degrees of the same latitude, and that they shall haue all the Lands, Soyle, Grounds, Hauens, Ports, Riuers, Mynes, Minerals, Woods, Marishes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoeuer from the first Seate of their Plantation and Habitation, by the space of fiftie like* English *miles, as is before said, all alongst the said Coast of* Virginia *and* America *towards the West and South-west, and towards the South as the Coast lieth: And all the Ilands within one hundred miles directly ouer against the same Sea Coast. And also all the Lands, Soyle, Grounds, Hauens, Ports, Riuers, Mynes, Mynerals, Woods, Marishes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments whatsoeuer from the said place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the space of fiftie like* English *miles all alongst the said Coast of* Virginia *and* America, *towards the East and North-east, and towards the North as the Coast lyeth, and all the Ilands within one hundred miles directly ouer against the same Coast, and also all the Lands, Soyle, Grounds, Hauens, Ports, Riuers, Woods, Mynes, Mynerals, Marishes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatsoeuer, from the same fiftie miles euery way on the Sea Coast directly into the mayne Land, by the space of one hundred like* English *miles; and shall and may inhabit there, and shall and may also build and fortifie within any the same, for their better safeguard according to their best discretions, and the direction of the Councell of that Colonie, and that none of our Subiects shall be permitted or suffered to plant or inhabit behind, or on the backe of them towards the mayne Land, without the expresse license or consent of the Councell of that Colonie in writing thereunto first had and obteined. Prouided alwayes, &c.*

It followeth that neither Colonie shall plant within one hundred miles of each other; also that each Colonie shal haue a Councell of thirteene persons to rule and be ruled according to Articles set downe and confirmed vnder the Priuie Seale (which I haue, but for breuitie omit, as also the rest of this Patent) the Seales of each Colonie appointed, the digging of Mynes granted in the same, and on the backside of their Colonies within the mayne Land, paying the fift of Gold and Siluer, and the fifteenth of Copper to the King; libertie to carrie all Subiects (not restrained) which will goe with them. Of coyning for the Colonies vse there, of repelling enemies, of staying ships which trade there without leaue, were too long to rehearse, seeing this Patent hath beene often altered and renewed.

CHAP.

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CHAP. II.

Obſervations gathered out of a Diſcourſe of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia *by the* Engliſh, 1606. *Written by that Honorable Gentleman Maſter* GEORGE PERCY.

ON Saturday the twentieth of December in the yeere 1606. the fleet fell from *London*, and the fife of Ianuary we anchored in the *Downes*: but the winds continued contrarie ſo long, that we were forced to ſtay there ſome time, where wee ſuffered great ſtormes, but by the skilfulneſſe of the Captaine wee ſuffered no great loſſe or danger.

The twelfth day of February at night we ſaw a blazing Starre, and preſently a ſtorme. The three and twentieth day we fell with the Iland of *Mattanenio* in the Weſt *Indies*. The foure and twentieth day we anchored at *Dominico*, within fourteene degrees of the Line, a very faire Iland, the Trees full of ſweet and good ſmels inhabited by many Sauage *Indians*, they were at firſt very ſcrupulous to come aboord vs. Wee learned of them afterwards that the *Spaniards* had giuen them a great ouerthrow on this Ile, but when they knew what we were, there came many to our ſhips with their Canoas, bringing vs many kindes of ſundry fruites, as Pines, Potatoes, Plantons, Tobacco, and other fruits, and *Roane* Cloth abundance, which they had gotten out of certaine *Spaniſh* ſhips that were caſt away vpon that Iland. We gaue them Kniues, Hatchets for exchange which they eſteeme much, wee alſo gaue them Beades, Copper Iewels which they hang through their noſthrils, eares, and lips, very ſtrange to behold, their bodies are all painted red to keepe away the biting of Muſcetos, they goe all naked without couering: the haire of their head is a yard long, all of a length pleated in three plats hanging downe to their waſtes, they ſuffer no haire to grow on their faces, they cut their skinnes in diuers workes, they are continually in warres, and will eate their enemies when they kill them, or any ſtranger if they take them. They will lap vp mans ſpittle, whilſt one ſpits in their mouthes in a barbarous faſhion like Dogges. Theſe people and the reſt of the Ilands in the Weſt *Indies*, and *Braſill*, are called by the names of *Canibals*, that will eate mans fleſh, theſe people doe poyſon their Arrow heads, which are made of a fiſhes bone: they worſhip the Deuill for their God, and haue no other beliefe. Whileſt we remayned at this Iland we ſaw a Whale chaſed by a Threſher and a Sword-fiſh: they fought for the ſpace of two houres, we might ſee the Threſher with his flayle layon the monſtrous blowes which was ſtrange to behold: in the end theſe two fiſhes brought the Whale to her end.

The next day Cap. *Smith* was ſuſpected for a ſuppoſed Mutinie, though neuer no ſuch matter.

Trade at *Dominica*.

Bruitiſhneſſe of the *Dominicans*.

Fight betwixt a Whale, the Threſher and Sword-fiſh.

The ſixe and twentieth day, we had ſight of *Marigalanta*, and the next day wee ſailed with a ſlacke ſaile alongſt the Ile of *Guadalupa*, where we went aſhore, and found a Bath which was ſo hot, that no man was able to ſtand long by it, our Admirall Captaine *Newport* cauſed a piece of Porke to be put in it: which boyled it ſo in the ſpace of halfe an houre, as no fire could mend it. Then we went aboord and ſailed by many Ilands, as *Mounſerot* and an Iland called Saint *Chriſtopher*, both vnhabited about; about two a clocke in the afternoone wee anchored at the Ile of *Mevis*. There the Captaine landed all his men being well fitted with Muskets and other conuenient Armes, marched a mile into the Woods; being commanded to ſtand vpon their guard, fearing the treacherie of the *Indians*, which is an ordinary vſe amongſt them and all other Sauages on this Ile, we came to a Bath ſtanding in a Valley betwixt two Hils; where wee bathed our ſelues and found it to be of the nature of the Bathes in *England*, ſome places hot and ſome colder: and men may refreſh themſelues as they pleaſe, finding this place to be ſo conuenient for our men to auoid diſeaſes, which will breed in ſo long a Voyage, wee incamped our ſelues on this Ile ſixe dayes, and ſpent none of our ſhips victuall, by reaſon our men ſome went a hunting, ſome a fouling, and ſome a fiſhing, where we got great ſtore of Conies, ſundry kinds of fowles, and great plentie of fiſh. We kept Centinels and Courts *de gard* at euery Captaines quarter, fearing wee ſhould be aſſaulted by the *Indians*, that were on the other ſide of the Iland: wee ſaw none nor were moleſted by any: but ſome few we ſaw as we were a hunting on the Iland. They would not come to vs by any meanes, but ranne ſwiftly through the Woods to the Mountaine tops; ſo we loſt the ſight of them: whereupon we made all the haſte wee could to our quarter, thinking there had beene a great ambuſh of *Indians* there abouts. We paſt into the thickeſt of the Woods where we had almoſt loſt our ſelues, we had not gone aboue halfe a mile amongſt the thicke, but we came into a moſt pleaſant Garden, being a hundred paces ſquare on euery ſide, hauing many Cotton-trees growing in it with abundance of Cotton-wooll, and many *Guiacum* trees: wee ſaw the goodlieſt tall trees growing ſo thicke about the Garden, as though they had beene ſet by Art, which made vs maruell very much to ſee it.

Mariga. *Guadalupa.*

Bath very hot.

Mevis.

Bath at *Mevis.*

Commodities there.

The third day, wee ſet ſaile from *Mevis*: the fourth day we ſailed along by *Caſtutia* and by *Saba*: This day we anchored at the Ile of *Virgines*, in an excellent Bay able to harbour a hundred Ships:

Aprill.

Ships: if this Bay stood in *England*, it would be a great profit and commoditie to the Land. On this Iland wee caught great store of Fresh-fish, and abundance of Sea Tortoises, which serued all our Fleet three daies, which were in number eight score persons. We also killed great store of wilde Fowle, wee cut the Barkes of certaine Trees which tasted much like Cinnamon, and very hot in the mouth. This Iland in some places hath very good ground, straight and tall Timber. But the greatest discommoditie that wee haue seene on this Iland is that it hath no Fresh-water, which makes the place void of any Inhabitants.

Tortoises.

Vpon the sixt day, we set saile and passed by *Becam*, and by Saint *Iohn deportorico*. The seuenth day, we arriued at *Mona*: where wee watered, which we stood in great need of, seeing that our water did smell so vildly that none of our men was able to indure it. Whilst some of the Saylers were a filling the Caskes with water, the Captaine, and the rest of the Gentlemen, and other Soldiers marched vp in the Ile sixe myles, thinking to find some other prouision to maintaine our victualling; as wee marched we killed two wild Bores, and saw a huge wild Bull, his hornes was an ell betweene the two tops. Wee also killed Guanas, in fashion of a Serpent, and speckled like a Toade vnder the belly. These wayes that wee went, being so troublesome and vilde going vpon the sharpe Rockes, that many of our men fainted in the march, but by good fortune wee lost none but one *Edward Brookes* Gentleman, whose fat melted within him by the great heate and drought of the Countrey: we were not able to relieue him nor our selues, so he died in that great extreamitie.

Meuis water vnwholsome.

Ed. Brookes faint with thirst.

The ninth day in the afternoone, we went off with our Boat to the Ile of *Moneta*, some three leagues from *Mona*, where we had a terrible landing, and a troublesome getting vp to the top of the Mountaine or Ile, being a high firme Rocke step, with many terrible sharpe stones: After wee got to the top of the Ile, we found it to bee a fertill and a plaine ground, full of goodly grasse, and abundance of Fowles of all kindes, they flew ouer our heads as thicke as drops of Hale; besides they made such a noise, that wee were not able to heare one another speake. Furthermore, wee were not able to set our feet on the ground, but either on Fowles or Egges which lay so thicke in the grasse: Wee laded two Boats full in the space of three houres, to our great refreshing.

Moneta.

Store of fowles

The tenth day we set saile, and disimboged out of the West *Indies*, and bare our course Northerly. The fourteenth day we passed the Tropicke of *Cancer*. The one and twentieth day, about fiue a clocke at night there began a vehement tempest, which lasted all the night, with winds, raine, and thunders in a terrible manner. Wee were forced to lie at Hull that night, because we thought wee had beene neerer land then wee were. The next morning, being the two and twentieth day wee sounded; and the three and twentieth and foure and twenteth day, but we could find no ground. The fiue and twentieth day we sounded, and had no ground at an hundred fathom. The six and twentieth day of Aprill, about foure a clocke in the morning, wee descried the Land of *Virginia*: the same day wee entred into the Bay of *Chesupioc* directly, without any let or hinderance; there wee landed and discouered a little way, but wee could find nothing worth the speaking of, but faire meddowes and goodly tall Trees, with such Fresh-waters running through the woods, as I was almost rauished at the first sight thereof.

We were driuen to try that night, and by the storme were forced neere the shoare, not knowing where we were.

At night, when wee were going aboard, there came the Sauages creeping vpon all foure, from the Hills like Beares, with their Bowes in their mouthes, charged vs very desperately in the faces, hurt Captaine *Gabrill Archer* in both his hands, and a Sayler in two places of the body very dangerous. After they had spent their Arrowes, and felt the sharpnesse of our shot, they retired into the Woods with a great noise, and so left vs.

They land in *Virginia*.

The seuen and twentieth day we began to build vp our Shallop: the Gentlemen and Souldiers marched eight miles vp into the Land, we could not see a Sauage in all that march, we came to a place where they had made a great fire, and had beene newly a rosting Oysters: when they perceiued our comming, they fled away to the Mountaines, and left many of the Oysters in the fire: we eat some of the Oysters, which were very large and delicate in taste.

The eightenth day we lanched our Shallop, the Captaine and some Gentlemen went in her, and discouered vp the Bay, we found a River on the Southside running into the Maine; we entered it and found it very shoald water, not for any Boats to swim: Wee went further into the Bay, and saw a plaine plot of ground where we went on Land, and found the place fiue mile in compasse, without either Bush or Tree, we saw nothing there but a Cannow, which was made out of the whole tree, which was fiue and fortie foot long by the Rule. Vpon this plot of ground we got good store of Muscels and Oysters, which lay on the ground as thicke as stones: wee opened some, and found in many of them Pearles. Wee marched some three or foure miles further into the Woods, where we saw great smoakes of fire. Wee marched to those smoakes and found that the Sauages had beene there burning downe the grasse, as wee thought either to make their plantation there, or else to giue signes to bring their forces together, and so to giue vs battell. We past through excellent ground full of Flowers of diuers kinds and colours, and as goodly trees as I haue seene, as Cedar, Cipresse, and other kindes: going a little further we came into a little plat of ground full of fine and beautifull Strawberries, foure times bigger and better then ours in *England*.

Strawberries.

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land. All this march we could neither see Sauage nor Towne. When it grew to be towards night we stood backe to our Ships, We sounded and found it shallow water for a great way, which put vs out of all hopes for getting any higher with our Ships, which road at the mouth of the Riuer. Wee rowed ouer to a point of Land, where wee found a channell, and sounded six, eight, ten, or twelue fathom: which put vs in good comfort. Therefore wee named that poine of Land, Cape *Comfort*. Point *Comfort*.

The nine and twentieth day we set vp a Crosse at *Chesupioc* Bay, and named that place Cape *Henry*. Thirtieth day, we came with our ships to Cape *Comfort*; where wee saw fiue Sauages running on the shoare; presently the Captaine caused the shallop to be manned, so rowing to the shoare, the Captaine called to them in signe of friendship, but they were at first very timersome, vntil they saw the Captain lay his hand on his heart: vpon that they laid down their Bowes and Arrowes, and came very boldly to vs, making signes to come a shoare to their Towne, which is called by the Sauages *Kecoughtan*. Wee coasted to their Towne, rowing ouer a Riuer running into the Maine, where these Sauages swam ouer with their Bowes and Arrowes in their mouthes. *Kecoughtan.*

When we came ouer to the other side, there was a many of other Sauages which directed vs to their Towne, where we were entertained by them very kindly. When we came first a Land they made a dolefull noise, laying their faces to the ground, scratching the earth with their nailes. We did thinke that they had beene at their Idolatry. When they had ended their Ceremonies, they went into their houses and brought out mats and laid vpon the ground, the chiefest of the sate all in a rank: the meanest sort brought vs such dainties as they had, & of their bread which they make of their Maiz or Gennea wheat, they would not suffer vs to eat vnlesse we sate down, which we did on a Mat right against them. After we were well satisfied they gaue vs of their Tabacco, which they tooke in a pipe made artificially of earth as ours are, but far bigger, with the bowle fashioned together with a piece of fine copper. After they had feasted vs, they shewed vs, in welcome, their manner of dancing, which was in this fashion: one of the Sauages standing in the midst singing, beating one hand against another, all the rest dancing about him, shouting, howling, and stamping against the ground, with many Anticke tricks and faces, making noise like so many Wolues or Deuils. One thing of them I obserued; when they were in their dance they kept stroke with their feet iust one with another, but with their hands, heads, faces, and bodies, euery one of them had a seuerall gesture: so they continued for the space of halfe an houre. When they had ended their dance, the Captaine gaue them Beades and other trifling Iewells. They hang through their eares Fowles legs: they shaue the right side of their heads with a shell, the left side they weare of an ell long tied vp with an artificiall knot, with a many of Foules feathers sticking in it. They goe altogether naked, but their priuities are couered with Beasts skinnes beset commonly with little bones, or beasts teeth: some paint their bodies blacke, some red, with artificiall knots of sundry liuely colours, very beautifull and pleasing to the eye, in a brauer fashion then they in the West *Indies*. Tobacco. Singing and Dancing.

The fourth day of May, we came to the King or Werowance of *Paspihe*: where they entertained vs with much welcome; an old Sauage made a long Oration, making a foule noise, vttering his speech with a vehement action, but we knew little what they meant. Whilst we were in company with the *Paspihes*, the Werowance of *Rapahanna* came from the other side of the Riuer in his Cannoa: he seemed to take displeasure of our being with the *Paspihes*: he would faine haue had vs come to his Towne, the Captaine was vnwilling; seeing that the day was so far spent he returned backe to his ships for that night. A long oration.

The next day, being the fift of May, the Werowance of *Rapahanna* sent a Messenger to haue vs come to him. We entertained the said Messenger, and gaue him trifles which pleased him: Wee manned our shallop with Muskets and Targatiers sufficiently: this said Messenger guided vs where our determination was to goe. When wee landed, the Werowance of *Rapahanna* came downe to the water side with all his traine, as goodly men as any I haue seene of Sauages or Christians: the Werowance comming before them playing on a Flute made of a Reed, with a Crown of Deares haire colloured red, in fashion of a Rose fastened about his knot of haire, and a great Plate of Copper on the other side of his head, with two long Feathers in fashion of a paire of Hornes placed in the midst of his Crowne. His body was painted all with Crimson, with a Chaine of Beads about his necke, his face painted blew, besprinkled with siluer Ore as wee thought, his eares all behung with Braslets of Pearle, and in either eare a Birds Claw through it beset with fine Copper or Gold, he entertained vs in so modest a proud fashion, as though he had beene a Prince of ciuill gouernment, holding his countenance without laughter or any such ill behauiour; he caused his Mat to be spred on the ground, where hee sate downe with a great Maiestie, taking a pipe of Tabacco: the rest of his company standing about him. After he had rested a while he rose, and made signes to vs to come to his Towne: Hee went formost, and all the rest of his people and our selues followed him vp a steepe Hill where his Palace was seated. Wee passed through the Woods in fine paths, hauing most pleasant Springs which issued from the Mountaines: Wee also went through the goodliest Corne fields that euer was seene in A Flute made of a Reed.

any

any Countrey. When wee came to *Rapahamos* Towne, hee entertained vs in good humanitie.

The eight day of May we discouered vp the Riuer. We landed in the Countrey of *Apamatica*, at our landing, there came many stout and able Sauages to resist vs with their Bowes and Arrowes, in a most warlike manner, with the swords at their backes beset with sharpe stones, and pieces of yron able to cleane a man in sunder. Amongst the rest one of the chiefest standing before them crosse-legged, with his Arrow readie in his Bow in one hand, and taking a Pipe of Tobacco in the other, with a bold vttering of his speech, demanded of vs our being there, willing vs to bee gone. Wee made signes of peace, which they perceiued in the end, and let vs land in quietnesse.

Archers Hope. The twelfth day we went backe to our ships, and discouered a point of Land, called *Archers Hope*, which was sufficient with a little labour to defend our selues against any Enemy. The soile was good and fruitfull, with excellent good Timber. There are also great store of Vines in bignesse of a mans thigh, running vp to the tops of the Trees in great abundance. We also did see many Squirels, Conies, Black Birds with crimson wings, and diuers other Fowles and Birds of diuers and sundrie collours of crimson, Watchet, Yellow, Greene, Murry, and of diuers other hewes naturally without any art vsing.

We found store of Turkie nests and many Egges, if it had not beene disliked, because the ship could not ride neere the shoare, we had setled there to all the Collonies contentment.

The thirteenth day, we came to our seating place in *Paspihas* Countrey, some eight miles from the point of Land, which I made mention before: where our shippes doe lie so neere the shoare that they are moored to the Trees in six fathom water.

Their Plantation at Iames Towne. The fourteenth day we landed all our men which were set to worke about the fortification, and others some to watch and ward as it was conuenient. The first night of our landing, about midnight, there came some Sauages saylng close to our quarter: presently there was an alarum giuen; vpon that the Sauages ran away, and we not troubled any more by them that night. Not long after there came two Sauages that seemed to be Commanders, brauely drest, with Crownes of coloured haire vpon their heads, which came as Messengers from the *Werowance* of *Paspiha*; telling vs that their *Werowance* was comming and would be merry with vs with a fat Deare.

The eighteenth day, the *Werowance* of *Paspiha* came himselfe to our quarter, with one hundred Sauages armed, which garded him in a very warlike manner with Bowes and Arrowes, thinking at that time to execute their villany. *Paspiha* made great signes to vs to lay our Armes away. But we would not trust him so far: he seeing he could not haue conuenient time to worke his will, at length made signes that he would giue vs as much land as we would desire to take. As the Sauages were in a throng in the Fort, one of them stole a Hatchet from one of our company, which spied him doing the deed: whereupon he tooke it from him by force, and also strooke him ouer the arme: presently another Sauage seeing that, came fiercely at our man with a wooden sword, thinking to beat out his braines. The *Werowance* of *Paspiha* saw vs take to our Armes, went suddenly away with all his company in great anger.

Land giuen.

These Sauages are naturally great theeues.

The nineteenth day, my selfe and three or foure more walking into the Woods by chance wee espied a path-way like to an *Irish* pace: wee were desirous to knowe whither it would bring vs; wee traced along some foure miles, all the way as wee went, hauing the pleasantest Suckles, the ground all flowing ouer with faire flowers of sundry colours and kindes, as though it had beene in any Garden or Orchard in *England*. There be many Strawberries, and other fruits vnknowne: wee saw the Woods full of Cedar and Cypresse trees, with other trees, which issues out sweet Gummes like to Balsam: wee kept on our way in this Paradise, at length wee came to a Sauage Towne, where wee found but few people, they told vs the rest were gone a hunting with the *Werowance* of *Paspiha*: we stayed there a while, and had of them Strawberries, and other things; in the meane time one of the Sauages came running out of his house with a Bowe and Arrowes and ranne mainly through the Woods: then I beganne to mistrust some villanie, that he went to call some companie, and so betray vs, wee made all the haste away wee could: one of the Sauages brought vs on the way to the Wood side, where there was a Garden of Tobacco, and other fruits and herbes, he gathered Tobacco, and distributed to euery one of vs, so wee departed.

The twentieth day the *Werowance* of *Paspiha* sent fortie of his men with a Deere, to our quarter: but they came more in villanie than any loue they bare vs: they faine would haue layne in our Fort all night, but wee would not suffer them for feare of their treachery. One of our Gentlemen hauing a Target which hee trusted in, thinking it would beare out a slight shot, hee set it vp against a tree, willing one of the Sauages to shoot; who tooke from his backe an Arrow of an elle long, drew it strongly in his Bowe, shoots the Target a foote thorow, or better: which was strange, being that a Pistoll could not pierce it. Wee seeing the force of his Bowe, afterwards set him vp a steele Target; he shot again, and burst his arrow all to pieces, he presently pulled out another Arrow, and bit it in his teeth, and seemed to bee in a great rage, so hee went away in great anger. Their Bowes are made of tough Hasell, their strings of Leather, their Arrowes of Canes or Hasell, headed with very sharpe stones, and are made artificially like a broad

Their arrowes

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a broad Arrow: other ſome of their Arrowes are headed with the ends of Deeres hornes, and are feathered very artificially. *Paſpihe* was as good as his word; for hee ſent Veniſon, but the Sawſe came within few dayes after.

At Port *Cotage* in our Voyage vp the Riuer, we ſaw a Sauage Boy about the age of ten yeeres, which had a head of haire of a perfect yellow and a reaſonable white skinne, which is a Miracle amongſt all Sauages. Yellow haired *Virginian.*

This Riuer which wee haue diſcouered is one of the famouſeſt Riuers that euer was found by any Chriſtian, it ebbes and flowes a hundred and threeſcore miles where ſhips of great burthen may harbour in ſafetie. Whereſoeuer we landed vpon this Riuer, wee ſaw the goodlieſt Woods as Beech, Oke, Cedar, Cypreſſe, Wal-nuts, Saſſafras and Vines in great abundance, which hang in great cluſters on many Trees, and other Trees vnknowne, and all the grounds beſpred with many ſweet and delicate flowres of diuers colours and kindes. There are alſo many fruites as Strawberries, Mulberries, Rasberries and Fruits vnknowne, there are many branches of this Riuer, which runne flowing through the Woods with great plentie of fiſh of all kindes, as for Sturgeon all the World cannot be compared to it. In this Countrey I haue ſeene many great and large Medowes * hauing excellent good paſture for any Cattle. There is alſo great ſtore of Deere both Red and Fallow. There are Beares, Foxes, Otters, Beuers, Muskats, and wild beaſts vnknowne. Riuer of *Pohatan.* * Low Marſhes.

The foure and twentieth day wee ſet vp a Croſſe at the head of this Riuer, naming it *Kings Riuer*, where we proclaimed *Iames* King of *England* to haue the moſt right vnto it. When wee had finiſhed and ſet vp our Croſſe, we ſhipt our men and made for *Iames* Fort. By the way wee came to *Pohatans* Towre where the Captaine went on ſhore ſuffering none to goe with him, hee preſented the Commander of this place with a Hatchet which hee tooke ioyfully, and was well pleaſed. Wee came downe the Riuer.

But yet the Sauages murmured at our planting in the Countrie, whereupon this *Werowance* made anſwere againe very wiſely of a Sauage, Why ſhould you bee offended with them as long as they hurt you not, nor take any thing away by force, they take but a litle waſte ground, which doth you nor any of vs any good.

I ſaw Bread made by their women which doe all their drugerie. The men takes their pleaſure in hunting and their warres, which they are in continually one Kingdome againſt another. The manner of baking of bread is thus, after they pound their wheat into flowre with hote water, they make it into paſte, and worke it into round balls and Cakes, then they put it into a pot of ſeething water, when it is ſod throughly, they lay it on a ſmooth ſtone, there they harden it as well as in an Ouen. Bread how made.

There is notice to be taken to know married women from Maids, the Maids you ſhall alwayes ſee the fore part of their head and ſides ſhauen cloſe, the hinder part very long, which they tie in a pleate hanging downe to their hips. The married women weares their haire all of a length, and is tied of that faſhion that the Maids are. The women kinde in this Countrey doth pounce and race their bodies, legges, thighes, armes and faces with a ſharpe Iron, which makes a ſtampe in curious knots, and drawes the proportion of Fowles, Fiſh, or Beaſts, then with paintings of ſundry liuely colours, they rub it into the ſtampe which will neuer be taken away, becauſe it is dried into the fleſh where it is ſered. Diſtinct habit of Maids and Wiues.

The Sauages beare their yeeres well, for when wee were at *Pamunkies*, wee ſaw a Sauage by their report was aboue eight ſcore yeeres of age. His eyes were ſunke into his head, hauing neuer a tooth in his mouth, his haire all gray with a reaſonable bigge beard, which was as white as any ſnow. It is a Miracle to ſee a Sauage haue any haire on their faces, I neuer ſaw, read, nor heard, any haue the like before. This Sauage was as luſtie and went as faſt as any of vs, which was ſtrange to behold. Sauage 160. yeeres old. Bearded.

The fifteenth day of Iune, we had built and finiſhed our Fort which was triangle wiſe, hauing three Bulwarkes at euery corner like a halfe Moone, and foure or fiue pieces of Artillerie mounted in them, we had made our ſelues ſufficiently ſtrong for theſe Sauages, we had alſo ſowne moſt of our Corne on two Mountaines, it ſprang a mans height from the ground, this Countrey is a fruitfull ſoile, bearing many goodly and fruitfull Trees, as Mulberries, Cherries, Walnuts, Cedders, Cypreſſe, Saſſafras, and Vines in great abundance.

Munday the two and twentieth of Iune, in the morning Captaine *Newport* in the Admirall departed from *Iames* Port for *England*. Cap. *Newports* departure.

Captaine *Newport* being gone for *England*, leauing vs (one hundred and foure perſons) verie bare and ſcantie of victualls, furthermore in warres and in danger of the Sauages. We hoped after a ſupply which Captaine *Newport* promiſed within twentie weekes. But if the beginners of this action doe carefully further vs, the Country being ſo fruitfull, it would be as great a profit to the Realme of *England*, as the *Indies* to the King of *Spaine*, if this Riuer which wee haue found had beene diſcouered in the time of warre with *Spaine*, it would haue beene a commoditie to our Realme, and a great annoyance to our enemies. The ſeuen and twentieth of Iuly the King of *Rapahanna*, demanded a Canoa which was reſtored, lifted vp his hand to the Sunne, which they worſhip

worship as their God, besides he laid his hand on his heart, that he would be our speciall friend. It is a generall rule of these people when they swere by their God which is the Sunne, no Christian will keepe their Oath better vpon this promise. These people haue a great reuerence to the Sunne aboue all other things at the rising and setting of the same, they sit downe lifting vp their hands and eyes to the Sunne making a round Circle on the ground with dried Tobacco, then they began to pray making many Deuilish gestures with a Hellish noise, foming at the mouth, staring with their eyes, wagging their heads and hands in such a fashion and deformitie as it was monstrous to behold.

The Sauages vse to sacrifice to the Sunne.

The sixt of August there died *Iohn Asbie* of the bloudie Flixe. The ninth day died *George Flowre* of the swelling. The tenth day died *William Bruster* Gentleman, of a wound giuen by the Sauages, and was buried the eleuenth day.

The fourteenth day, *Ierome Alsheck* Ancient, died of a wound, the same day *Francis Midwinter*, *Edward Moris* Corporall died suddenly.

The fifteenth day, their died *Edward Browne* and *Stephen Galthrope*. The sixteenth day, their died *Thomas Gower* Gentleman. The seuenteenth day, their died *Thomas Mounslie*. The eighteenth day, there died *Robert Pennington*, and *Iohn Martine* Gentleman. The nineteenth day, died *Drue Piggase* Gentleman. The two and twentieth day of August, there died Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold* one of our Councell, he was honourably buried, hauing all the Ordnance in the Fort shot off with many vollies of small shot.

Death of Cap. *Bart. Gosnold.*

After Captaine *Gosnols* death, the Councell could hardly agree by the dissention of Captaine *Kendall*, which afterward was committed about hainous matters which was proued against him.

The foure and twentieth day, died *Edward Harington* and *George Walker*, and were buried the same day. The sixe and twentieth day, died *Kenelme Throgmorton*. The seuen and twentieth day died *William Roods*. The eight and twentieth day died *Thomas Stoodie*, Cape Merchant.

The fourth day of September died *Thomas Iacob* Sergeant. The fift day, there died *Beniamin Beast*. Our men were destroyed with cruell diseases as Swellings, Flixes, Burning Feuers, and by warres, and some departed suddenly, but for the most part they died of meere famine. There were neuer *Englishmen* left in a forreigne Countrey in such miserie as wee were in this new discouered *Virginia*. Wee watched euery three nights lying on the bare cold ground what weather soeuer came warded all the next day, which brought our men to bee most feeble wretches, our food was but a small Can of Barlie sod in water to fiue men a day, our drinke cold water taken out of the Riuer, which was at a floud verie salt, at a low tide full of slime and filth, which was the destruction of many of our men. Thus we liued for the space of fiue moneths in this miserable distresse, not hauing fiue able men to man our Bulwarkes vpon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to haue put a terrour in the Sauages hearts, we had all perished by those vild and cruell Pagans, being in that weake estate as we were; our men night and day groaning in euery corner of the Fort most pittifull to heare, if there were any conscience in men, it would make their harts to bleed to heare the pittiful murmurings & out-cries of our sick men without relieue euery night and day for the space of sixe weekes, some departing out of the World, many times three or foure in a night, in the morning their bodies trailed out of their Cabines like Dogges to be buried: in this sort did I see the mortalitie of diuers of our people.

Miserable famine.

Gods goodnesse.

It pleased God, after a while, to send those people which were our mortall enemies to releeue vs with victuals, as Bread, Corne, Fish, and Flesh in great plentie, which was the setting vp of our feeble men, otherwise wee had all perished. Also we were frequented by diuers Kings in the Countrie, bringing vs store of prouision to our great comfort.

The eleuenth day, there was certaine Articles laid against Master *Wingfield* which was then President, thereupon he was not only displaced out of his President ship, but also from being of the Councell. Afterwards Captaine *Iohn Ratcliffe* was chosen President.

The eighteenth day, died oue *Ellis Kinistone* which was starued to death with cold. The same day at night, died one *Richard Simmons*. The nineteenth day, there died one *Thomas Monton*.

He was a made man.

* The rest is omitted, being more fully set downe in Cap. *Smiths* Reldtions.

William White (hauing liued with the Natiues) reported to vs of their customes in the morning by breake of day, before they eate or drinke both men, women and children, that be aboue tenne yeeres of age runnes into the water, there washes themselues a good while till the Sunne riseth, then offer Sacrifice to it, strewing Tobacco on the water or Land, honouring the Sunne as their God, likewise they doe at the setting of the * Sunne.

CHAP.

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CHAP. III.

The description of Virginia *by Captaine* IOHN SMITH, *inlarged out of his written Notes.*

Virginia is a Countrie in *America*, that lieth betweene the degrees of 34.* and 44. of the North Latitude. The bounds thereof on the East side are the great *Ocean*. On the South lieth *Florida*: on the North *Nona Francia*. As for the West thereof, the limits are vnknowne. Of all this Countrie we purpose not to speake, but only of that part which was planted by the *Englishmen* in the yeere of our Lord, 1606. And this is vnder the degrees 37. 38. and 39. The temperature of this Countrie doth agree wel with *English* constitutions being once seasoned to the Countrie. Which appeared by this, that though by many occasions our people fell sicke; yet did they recouer by verie small meanes and continued in health, though there were other great causes, not only to haue made them sicke, but euen to end their dayes, &c.

The Latitude * By later Patents this is extended further to the 30. degrees, &c.

The Summer is hot as in *Spaine*; the Winter cold as in *France* or *England*. The heate of Summer is in Iune, Iuly, and August, but commonly the coole Breeses asswage the vehemencie of the heate. The chiefe of Winter is halfe December, Ianuary, February, and halfe March. The cold is extreme sharpe, but heere the Prouerbe is true, That *no extreme continueth long*. In the yeere 1607. was an extraordinary Frost in most of *Europe*, and this Frost was found as extreme in *Virginia*. But the next yeere for eight or ten daies of ill weather, other fourteene daies would be as Summer.

The temperature.

The winds here are variable, but the like Thunder and Lightning to purifie the Aire, I haue seldome either seene or heard in *Europe*. From the South-west came the greatest guists with Thunder and heate. The North-west winde is commonly coole, and bringeth faire weather with it. From the North is the greatest cold, and from the East and South-east as from the *Bermudas*, fogges and raines.

The winds.

Sometimes there are great droughts other times much raine, yet great necessitie of neither, by reason we see not, but that all the varietie of needfull Fruits in *Europe* may bee there in great plentie by the industry of men, as appeareth by those we there planted.

There is but one entrance by Sea into this Countrey, and that is at the mouth of a verie goodly Bay, the wideneſse whereof is neere eighteene or twentie miles. The Cape on the South side is called Cape *Henrie*, in honour of our most Noble Prince. The shew of the Land there is a white Hilly Sand like vnto the *Downes*, and along the shoares great plentie of Pines and Firres.

The entrance.

Cape *Henry*.

The North Cape, is called Cape *Charles*, in honour of the worthy Duke of *Yorke*. *The Iles before it are named* Smiths *Iles, because he first of ours set foot on them.* Within is a Countrey that may haue the prerogatiue ouer the most pleasant places of *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America*, for large and pleasant nauigable Riuers, Heauen and Earth neuer agreed better to frame a place for mans habitation being of our constitutions, were it fully mannured and inhabited by industrious people. Here are Mountaynes, Hils, Plaines, Vallies, Riuers and Brookes, all running most pleasantly into a faire Bay compassed but for the mouth with fruitful & delightsome Land. In the Bay and Riuers are many Iles both great and small, some woodie, some plaine, most of them low and not inhabited. This Bay lieth North an South, in which the water floweth neere two hundred miles, and hath a Channell for one hundred and fortie miles, of depth betwixt seuen and fifteene fadome, holding in breadth for the most part ten or fourteene miles. From the head of the Bay at the North, the Land is mountainous, and so in a manner from thence by a South-west Line; So that the more Southward, the farther off from the Bay are those Mountaines. From which fall certaine Brookes which after come to fiue principall Nauigable Riuers. These runne from the North-west into the South-east, and so into the West side of the Bay, where the fall of euery Riuer is within twentie or fifteene miles one of another.

Cape *Charles*. Gap. *Smith*.

The Country.

The Bay.

The Mountaines are of diuers natures, for at the head of the Bay the Rockes are of a composition like Mil-stones. Some of Marble, &c. And many pieces of Christall we found as throwne downe by water from the Mountaines. For in Winter these Mountaines are couered with much Snow, and when it dissolueth the waters fall with such violence, that it causeth great inundations in the narrow Vallies, which yet is scarce perceiued being once in the Riuers. These waters wash from the Rockes such glistering tinctures that the ground in some places seemeth as gilded, where both the Rockes and the Earth are so splendent to behold, *that better iudgements then ours might haue beene perswaded, they contained more then probabilities.* The vesture of the Earth in most places doth manifestly proue the nature of the soile to be lustie and very rich. The colour of the Earth we found in diuers places, resembleth *Bole Armoniae, terra sigillata ad lemnia*, Fullers Earth, Marle, and diuers other such appearances. But generally for the most part the Earth is a blacke sandie mould, in some places a fat slimie clay, in other places a very barren grauell. But the best

The Mountaines.

The soile.

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beſt ground is knowne by the veſture it beareth, as by the greatneſſe of Trees or abundance of Weeds, &c.

The Vallies. The Countrie is not mountainous nor yet low, but ſuch pleaſant plaine Hils and fertile Vallies, one pretily croſſing another, and watered ſo conueniently with their ſweete Brookes and Chriſtall Springs, as if Art it ſelfe had deuiſed them. By the Riuers are many plaine Mariſhes containing ſome twentie, ſome one hundred, ſome two hundred Acres, ſome more, ſome leſſe.

Plaines. Other Plaines there are few, but only where the Sauages inhabit: but all ouer-growne with Trees and Weeds, being a plaine Wilderneſſe as God firſt made it.

On the Weſt ſide of the Bay, we ſaid were fiue faire and delightfull nauigable Riuers, of which we will now proceed to report. The firſt of thoſe Riuers and the next to the mouth of the Bay hath his courſe from the Weſt and by North. The name of this Riuer they call *Powhatan* according to the name of a principall Countrie that lieth vpon it. The mouth of this Riuer is neere three miles in breadth, *yet doe the ſhoales force the Channell ſo neere the Land that a Sacre will ouer-ſhoot it at Point blanke. This Riuer is nauigable one hundred and fiftie miles as the Channell goeth; the ſhoales and ſoundings are heere needleſſe to be expreſſed.* It falleth from Rockes farre Weſt in a Countrie inhabited by a Nation that they call *Monacan*. But where it commeth into our Diſcouerie it is *Powhatan*. In the fartheſt place that was diligently obſerued, are Falles, Rockes, Shoales, &c. which makes it paſt nauigation any higher. Thence in the running downeward, the Riuer is enriched with many goodly Brookes, which are maintained by an infinite number of ſmall Rundles and pleaſant Springs that diſperſe themſelues for beſt ſeruice, as doe the veines of a mans bodie. From the South there fals into this Riuer; Firſt; the pleaſant Riuer of *Apamatuck*: next more to the Eaſt are the two Riuers of *Quiyoughcohanocks*. A little farther is a Bay wherein falleth three or foure pretie Brookes and Creekes that halfe intrench the Inhabitants of *Warraskoyac*: then the Riuer of *Nandſamund*, and laſtly, the Brooke of *Chiſaptack*. From the North ſide is the Riuer of *Chickahamania*, the backe Riuer of *Iames* Townes; another by the *Cedar Ile*, where we liued ten weekes vpon Oiſters, then a conuenient Harbour for fiſher-boats or ſmall Boats at *Kecoughtan*, that ſo conueniently turneth it ſelfe into Bayes and Creekes that make that place very pleaſant to inhabit, their Corne fields being girded therein in a manner as *Peninſulaes*. The moſt of theſe Riuers are inhabited by ſeuerall Nations, or rather Families, of the name of the Riuers. They haue alſo in euery of thoſe places ſome Gouernour, as their King, which they call *Werowances*. In a *Peninſula* on the North ſide of this Riuer are the *Engliſh* planted in a place by them called *Iames* Towne, in honour of the Kings moſt excellent Maieſtie, vpon which ſide are alſo many places vnder the *Werowances*.

The branches.

Iames Towne.

The ſeuerall Inhabitants. The firſt and next the Riuers mouth are the *Cecoughtans*, who beſides their women and children, haue not paſt twentie fighting men. The *Paſpaheges* on whoſe Land is ſeated the *Engliſh* Colonie, ſome fortie miles from the Bay haue not paſt fortie. The Riuer called *Chickahamania* neere two hundred. The *Weanocks* one hundred. The *Arrowhatocks* thirtie. The place called *Powhatan*, ſome fortie. On the South ſide this Riuer the *Appamatucks* haue ſixtie fighting men. The *Quiyoughcohanocks*, fiue and twentie. The *Warraskoyacks* fortie. The *Nandſamunds* two hundred. The *Cheſapeacks* are able to make one hundred. Of this laſt place the Bay beareth the name. In all theſe places is a ſeuerall Commander, which they call *Werowance* except the *Chickahamanians*, who are gouerned by the Prieſts and their Aſſiſtants of their Elders called *Caw-cawwaſſoughes*. In Summer no place affoordeth more plentie of Sturgeon, nor in Winter more abundance of Fowle, eſpecially in the time of Froſt. There was once taken fiftie two Sturgeons at a draught, at another draught ſixtie eight. From the latter end of May till the end of Iune are taken, but young Sturgeons of two foot or a yard long: From thence till the midſt of September, of two or three yards long and few others. And in foure or fiue houres with one Net were ordinarily taken ſeuen or eight: often more, ſeldome leſſe. In the ſmall Riuers all the yeere there is good plentie of ſmall fiſh, ſo that with Hookes thoſe that would take paines had ſufficient.

Free State.

R. *Pamaunke.* Fourteene miles Northward from the Riuer *Powhatan*; is the Riuer *Pamaunke*, *which is nauigable ſixtie miles, but with Catches and ſmall Barkes, twentie or thirtie miles farther.* At the ordinary flowing of ſalt water, it diuideth it ſelfe into two gallant branches. On the South inhabit the people of *Youghtanund*, who haue about ſixtie men for warres. On the North branch *Mattapament*, who haue thirtie men. Where this Riuer is diuided, the Countrie is called *Panamaunke*, and nouriſheth neere three hundred able men. About fiue and twentie miles lower on the North ſide of this Riuer is *Werawocomoco*, where their great King inhabited when Captaine *Smith* was deliuered him priſoner; yet there are not paſt fortie able men. But now he hath abandoned that, and liueth at *Orapakes* by *Youghtanund* in the Wilderneſſe; tenne or twelue miles lower; on the South ſide of this Riuer is *Chiskiack*, which hath ſome fortie or fiftie men. Theſe, as alſo *Apamatuck Irrohatocke*, and *Powhatan*, are their great Kings chiefe Alliance and Inhabitance. The reſt (as they report) his Conqueſts.

The Inhabitants.

K. *Pohatan.*

Payankatank R. Before we come to the third Riuer that falleth from the Mountaines, there is another Riuer (*ſome thirtie miles nauigable*) that commeth from the In-land, the Riuer is called *Payankatanke*, the Inhabitants are about ſome fortie ſeruiceable men.

The

The third nauigable Riuer is called *Toppahannock*. (*This is nauigable some one hundred and thirtie miles.*) At the top of it inhabit the people called *Manahoackes* amongst the Mountaines, but they are aboue the place we describe. Vpon this Riuer on the North side are seated a people called *Cuttatawomen*, with thirtie fighting men. Higher on the Riuer are the *Moraughtacunds*, with eighteene able men. Beyond them *Toppahannocke* with one hundred men. Farre aboue is another *Cuttatawomen* with twentie men. On the South, farre within the Riuer is *Nantaughtacund*, hauing one hundred and fiftie men. This Riuer also as the two former, is replenished with fish and fowle. *Toppahannock R.* *The Inhabitants.*

The fourth Riuer is called *Rappahannock*, and is sixe or seuen miles in breadth. *It is nauigable one hundred and fortie miles*, and fed as the rest with many sweet Riuers and Springs, which fall from the bordering Hils. These Hils many of them are planted, and yeeld no lesse plentie and varietie of fruit then the Riuer exceedeth with abundance of fish. This Riuer is inhabited on both sides. First on the South side at the very entrance is *Naphicomico*, and hath some one hundred and thirtie men, beyond them *Sekacawone* with thirtie. The *Onawmanient* with one hundred. Then *Patawomeke* with one hundred and sixtie able men. Here doth the Riuer diuide it selfe in to three or foure conuenient Riuers. The greatest of the least is called *Quiyough*, trendeth North-west, but the Riuer it selfe turneth North-east, and is still a nauigable streame. On the Westerne side of this bought is *Tauxenent*, with fortie men. On the North of this Riuer is *Secowocomoco* with forsie men. Some what further *Potapaco* with twentie. In the East part of the bought of the Riuer, is *Pamacacack* with sixtie men. After *Moyaoncer* with one hundred. And lastly, *Nacotchtanke*, with eightie able men. The Riuer tenne miles aboue this place maketh his passage downe a low pleasant Vally ouer-shadowed in many places with high Rockie Mountaines, from whence distill innumerable sweet and pleasant Springs. *Rappahannock R.*

The fift Riuer is called *Pawtuxunt*, and is of a lesse proportion then the rest; but the channell is sixteene or eighteene fadome deepe in some places. Here are infinite skuls of diuers kinds of fish more then elsewhere. Vpon this Riuer dwell the people called *Acquintanacksuak*, *Pawtuxunt* and *Mattapanient*. Two hundred men was the greatest strength that could be there perceiued. But they inhabit together, and not so dispersed as the rest. These of all other were found the most ciuill to giue entertainment. *Pawtuxunt R.*

Thirtie leagues Northward is a Riuer not inhabited, yet nauigable; for the red Earth or Clay resembling *Bole Armoniack*, the *English* called it *Bolus*. At the end of the Bay where it is sixe or seuen miles in breadth, there fall into it foure small Riuers, three of them issuing from diuers bogges inuironed with high Mountaines. There is one that commeth due North three or foure dayes iourney from the head of the Bay, and fals from Rockes and Mountaines, vpon this [illegible] inhabit a people called *Sasquesahanocke*. They are seated two dayes higher then [illegible] for the Discouerers Barge, which was hardly two tunnes, and had in it but twelue men to performe this Discouery, wherein they lay aboue the space of twelue weekes vpon those great waters in those vnknowne Countries, hauing nothing but a little Meale or Oat-meale and water to feed them; and scarce [illegible] sufficient of that for halfe that time, but that by the Sauages, and by the plenty of fish they found in all places, they made themselues prouision as opportunity serued, yet had they not a Mariner or any that had skill to trimme their Sayles, vse their Oares, or any businesse belonging to the Barge, but two or three. The rest being Gentlemen, or as ignorant in such toyle and labour, yet necessitie in a short time by their Captaines diligence and example, taught them to become so perfect, that what they did by such small meanes, I leaue to the censure of the Reader to iudge by this Discourse and the annexed Map. But to proceed, sixtie of those *Sasquesahanocks*, came to the Discouerers with Skinnes, Bowes, Arrowes, Targets, Beades, Swords and Tobacco-pipes for Presents. Such great and well proportioned men, are seldome seene, for they seemed like Giants to the *English*, yea, and to the Neighbours, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, with much adoe restrained from adoring the Discouerers as Gods. Those are the most strange people of all those Countries, both in Language and Attire; for their Language it may well beseeme their proportions, sounding from them, as it were a great voyce in a Vault, or Caue, as an Eccho. Their Attire is the Skinnes of Beares, and Woolues; some haue Cassacks made of Beares heads and Skinnes that a mans necke goes through the Skinnes necke, and the Eares of the Beare fastned to his shoulders behind, the Nose and Teeth hanging downe his breast, and at the end of the Nose hung a Beares Pawe, the halfe sleeues comming to the elbowes were the neckes of the Beares and the armes through the mouth with pawes hanging at their Noses. One had the head of a Woolfe hanging in a Chaine for a Iewell his Tobacco-pipe three quarters of a yard long, prettily carued with a Bird, a Beare, a Deere, or some such deuice at the great end, sufficient to beate out the braines of a man, with Bowes, and Arrowes, and Clubs sutable to their greatnesse and conditions. These are scarce knowne to *Powhatan*. They can make neere sixe hundred able and mightie men, and are pallisadoed in their Townes to defend them from the *Massawomekes* their mortall enemies. Fiue of their chiefe *Weromances* came aboord the Discouerers, and crossed the Bay in their Barge. *Bolus R.* *The head of the Bay.* *Sasquesahanocks.* *Giantly people.* *The description of a Sasquesahanough. See the Map.* *Long Spoone to eate with the Deuill.*

The Picture of the greatest of them is signified in the Mappe. The calfe of whose legge was three quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion, that hee seemed the goodliest man that euer wee beheld. His haire, the one side was long, the other shorne close with a ridge ouer his crowne like a Cockes Combe. His Arrowes were fiue quarters long, headed with flints or spinters of stones, in forme like a Heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe or more long. These hee wore in a Woolues Skinne at his backe for his Quiuer, his Bow in the one hand and his Clubbe in the other, as is described.

Tockwhogh R. On the East side the Bay, is the Riuer of *Tockwhogh*, and vpon it a people that can make one hundred men, seated some seuen miles within the Riuer: where they haue a Fort very well palliſadoed and mantelled with the Barke of Trees. Next to them is *Oxinies* with fiftie men. *Rapahanock R.* More to the South of that East side of the Bay, the Riuer of *Rapahanock*, neere vnto which is *Kuskarawaok R.* the Riuer of *Kuskarawaok*. Vpon which is seated a people with two hundred men. After that *Wighcocomoco R.* is the Riuer of *Tants Wighcocomoco*; and on it a people with one hundred men. The people of *Accomack R.* those Riuers are of little stature, of another Language from the rest, and very rude. But they on the Riuer of *Acohanock* with fortie men, and they of *Accomack* eighty men do equalize any of the Territories of *Powhatan* and speake his Language, who ouer all those doth rule as King.

Chawonock. Southward they went to some parts of *Chawonock* and the *Mangoags* to search for the men there left by Sir *Walter Raleigh*; for those parts to the Towne of *Chisapeack* haue formerly beene discouered by Master *Hariots* and Sir *Ralph Lane*. Amongst those people are thus many seuerall Nations of sundry Languages, that enuiron *Powhatans* Territories. The *Chawonockes*, the *Mangoags*, the *Monacans*, the *Mannahokes*, the *Massawomekes*, the *Powhatans*, the *Sasquesahanocks*, the *Atquanachukes*, the *Tockwogbes*, and the *Kuscarawaokes*. Of all those not any one vnderstandeth another but by Interpreters. Their seuerall Habitations are more plainly described by this annexed Mappe, which will present to the eye, the way of the Mountaines and current of the Riuers, with their seuerall Turnings, Bayes, Shoales, Iles, Inlets, and Creekes, the breadth of the waters, the distances of places and such like. In which Map obserue this, that as farre as you see the little Crosses on Riuers, Mountaines, or other places haue beene discouered; the rest was had by information of the Sauages, and are set downe, according to their instructions.

The seuerall Languages.

Of such things which are naturall in Virginia, *and how they vse them.*

Why there is little grasse. *Virginia* doth affoord many excellent vegitables and liuing creatures, yet grasse there is little or none, but what groweth in low Marishes: for all the Country is ouergrowne with Trees, whose droppings continually turne their grasse to weedes, by reason of the rankenesse of the ground which would soone be amended by good husbandry. The wood that is most common is

Woods with their fruits. Oke and Walnut, many of their Okes are so tall and straight, that they will beare two foote and a halfe square of good Timber for twenty yards long; Of this wood there is two or three seuerall kinds. The Acornes of one kind, whose barke is more white then the other, are somewhat sweetish, which being boyled halfe a day in seuerall waters, at last affoord a fine Oyle, which they keep in Goards to annoint their heads & ioynts. The fruit they eate made in bread or otherwise. There is also some Elme, some blacke Wal-nut tree, and some Ash: of Ash and Elme they make Sope-ashes. If the trees be very great, the ashes will be good, and melt to hard lumps, but if they be small, it will be but powder, and not so good as the other. Of Walnuts there is two or three kinds; there is a kind of wood we called Cypresse, because both the wood, the fruit, and leafe did most resemble it, and of those trees there are some neere three fadome about the Roote very straight, and fifty, sixty, or eighty foot without a branch. By the dwelling of the Sauages are some great Mulberie trees, and in some parts of the Countrey, they are found growing naturally in pretie Groues. There was an assay made to make silke, and surely the Wormes prospered excellent well, till the Master workman fel sick. During which time they were eaten with Rats.

Elme.

Walnuts.

Supposed Cypresse.

Mulberies.

Chesnuts. In some parts were found some Chesnuts whose wild fruit equalize the best in *France*, *Spaine*, *Germany*, or *Italy*, to their tasts that had tasted them all. Plummes there are of three sorts. The red and white are like our hedge Plummes, but the other which they call *Putchamins*, grow as high as Palmeta: the fruit is like a Medler; it is first greene then yellow, and red when it is ripe; if it be not ripe it will draw a mans mouth awrie, with much torment, but when it is ripe, it is as delicious as an Apricock.

Plummes.

Cheries. Crabs. Vines. They haue Cherries, and those are much like a Damson, but for their tastes and colour we called them Cherries. Wee saw some few Crabbes, but very small and bitter. Of Vines great abundance in many parts climbe the tops of the highest trees in some places; but these beare but few Grapes. But by the Riuers and Sauage habitations where they are not ouershadowed from the Sunne, they are couered with fruit, though neuer pruned nor manured. Of those hedge Grapes wee made neere twenty gallons of Wine, which was neere as good as your *French Britisb* Wine: but certainly they would proue good, were they well manured. There is another sort of Grape, neere as great as a Cherrie, this they call *Messamines*, they be fat, and the iuyce thicke,

thicke. Neither doth the taſte ſo well pleaſe when they are made in Wine. They haue a ſmall fruit growing on little trees, husked like a Cheſnut, but the fruit moſt like a very ſmall Acorne: this they call *Chechinquamins*, which they eſteeme a great daintie. They haue a berrie much like our Gooſeberrie, in greatneſſe, colour, and taſte; thoſe they call *Rawcomenes*, and doe eate them raw or boyled. Of theſe naturall fruits they liue a great part of the yeere, which they vſe in this manner. The Walnuts, Cheſnuts, Acornes, and Chechinquamins, are dried to keepe. When they need them they breake them betweene two ſtones, yet ſome part of the Walnut ſhels will cleaue to the fruit. Then doe they drie them againe vpon a Mat ouer a Hurdle. After they put it in a Morter of wood, and beate it very ſmall: that done they mixe it with water, that the ſhels may ſinke to the bottome. This water will be coloured as milke, which they call *Pawcohiſcora*, and keepe it for their vſe. The fruit like Medlers they call *Putchamins*, they caſt vpon Hurdles on a Mat, and preſerue them as Pruines. Of their Cheſnuts and Chechinquamins boyled foure houres, they make both Broth and Bread for their chiefe men, or at their greateſt feaſts. Beſides thoſe fruit trees, there is a white Populer, and another tree like vnto it, that yeeldeth a very cleare and an odoriferous Gumme like Turpentine, which ſome called Balſam. There are alſo Cedars and Saxafras tree. They alſo yeeld Gummes in a ſmall proportion of themſelues. Wee tried concluſions to extract it out of the wood, but nature affoorded more than our arts.

Chechinquamins

Rawcomenes.

How they vſe their fruits.

Walnut milke.

Gums. Cedars. Saxafras trees.

In the watery Valleyes groweth a Berrie, which they call *Acoughtanamis*, very much like vnto Capers. Theſe they dry in Summer. When they will eate them, they boyle them neere halfe a day; for otherwiſe they differ not much from poiſon. *Mattoume* groweth as our Bents doe in medowes: the ſeed is not much vnlike to Rie, though much ſmaller: this they vſe for a dainty Bread buttered with Deeres Suet.

Berries.

Mattoume.

During Summer there are either Strawberries which doe ripen in Aprill; or Mulberries which ripen in May and June: Raſpiſes, Hurtes, or a fruit that the Inhabitants call *Maracocks*, which is a pleaſant wholſome fruit, much like a Limond. Many Herbes in the Spring time there are commonly diſperſed throughout the Woods, good for Broths and Sallets, as Violets, Purſlane, Sorrell, &c. Beſides many wee vſed whoſe names we know not.

Strawberries, and other berries. Herbes.

The chiefe root they haue for food is called *Tockawhoughe*, It groweth like a Flag in low muddy Freſhes. In one day a Sauage will gather ſufficient for a weeke. Theſe rootes are much of the greatneſſe and taſte of Potatoes. They vſe to couer a great many of them with Oke Leaues and Ferne, and then couer all with earth in the manner of a Cole-pit; ouer it, on each ſide, they continue a great fire twentie foure houres before they dare eat it. Raw it is no better then poiſon, and being roaſted, except it be tender and the heat abated, or ſliced and dried in the Sunne, mixed with Sorrell and Meale, or ſuch like, it will prickle and torment the throat extreamely, and yet in Summer they vſe this ordinarily for bread.

They haue another root which they call *Wighſacan*: as the other feedeth the bodie, ſo this cureth their hurts and diſeaſes. It is a ſmall roote which they bruiſe and apply to the wound. Pocones, is a ſmall root that groweth in the Mountaines, which being dried and beat in powder turneth red. And this they vſe for ſwellings, aches, anointing their ioynts, painting their heads and garments. They account it verie precious, and of much worth. Muſquaſpenne is a root of the bigneſſe of a finger, and as red as bloud. In drying it will wither almoſt to nothing. This they vſe to paint their Mats, Targets, and ſuch like. There is alſo Pellitorie of *Spaine*, Saſafrage, and diuers others Simples, which the Apothecaries gathered, and commended to be good and medicinable. In the low mariſhes grow plots of Onions containing an acre of ground or more in many places; but they are ſmall, not paſt the bigneſſe of the top of ones thumbe.

Wighſacan a medicinable root. Pocones a ſmall root. Muſquaſpenne a root. Parietarie. Saſſafras. Onions. See *inſt. c.* 14. of certaine Oxen found by Cap. *Aryoll.*

Of beaſts the chiefe are Deare, nothing differing from ours. In the Deſarts towards the heads of the Riuers, there are many, but amongſt the Riuers few. There is a beaſt they call *Aroughcun*, much like a Badger, but vſeth to liue on trees as Squirrels doe. Their Squirrels, ſometime neere as great as our ſmalleſt ſort of wilde Rabbets, ſome blackiſh or blacke and white, but the moſt are gray. A ſmall beaſt they haue, they call *Aſſapanick*, but wee call them flying Squirrels, becauſe ſpreading their legs, and ſo ſtretching the largeneſſe of their skinnes, that they haue beene ſeene to flie thirtie or fortie yards. An Opaſſam hath a head like a Swine, and a taile like a Rat, and is of the bigneſſe of a Cat. Vnder her belly ſhe hath a bag, wherein ſhe lodgeth, carrieth, and ſuckleth her young. Muſſaſcus, is a beaſt of the forme and nature of our water Rats, but many of them ſmell exceeding ſtrongly of Muske. Their Hares are no bigger then our Conies, and few of them to be found.

Their Beares are verie little in compariſon of thoſe of *Muſcouia* and *Tartaria*. The Beauer is as big as an ordinarie great Dog, but his legs exceeding ſhort. His fore feet like a Dogs, his hinder feet like a Swans. His taile ſomewhat like the forme of a Racket bare without haire, which to eate the Sauages eſteeme a great delicate. They haue many Otters, which as the Beauers they take with ſnares, and eſteeme the skins great ornaments, and of all thoſe beaſts they vſe to feede when they catch them.

Aroughcun: Squirrels. *Aſſapanick* a Squirrel flying *Opaſſum.*

Muſſaſcus. Beares. The Beauer. Otters.

There is alſo a beaſt they call *Vetchinquoyes*, in the forme of a wilde Cat, their Foxes are like our ſiluer haired Conies of a ſmall proportion, and not ſmelling like thoſe in *England*. Their

Vetchinquoyes. Foxes.

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Dogs. Dogs of that Countrey are like their Wolues, and cannot barke but howle; and their Wolues not much bigger then our *Engliſh* Foxes.

Martins. Martins, Powlecats, Weeſſels and Minkes we know they haue, becauſe we haue ſeene many of their skins, though very ſeldome any of them aliue.

Polcats. Weeſels, and Minkes. But one thing is ſtrange, that wee could neuer perceiue their vermine deſtroy our Hens, Egges, nor Chickens, nor doe any hurt, nor their Flyes nor Serpents any way pernitious, where in the South parts of *America* they are alwaies dangerous and often deadly.

Note.

Birds. Of Birds the Eagle is the greateſt deuourer. Hawkes there bee of diuers ſorts as our Falconers called them. Sparrowhawkes, Lanarets, Goſhawkes, Falcons, and Oſperaies, but they all prey moſt vpon Fiſh.

Fiſh-hawkes. Partridges there are little bigger then our Quailes, wilde Turkies are as bigge as our tame. There are Wooſels or Black-birds with red ſhoulders, Thruſhes and diuers ſorts of ſmall Birds, ſome red, ſome Blew, ſcarce ſo big as a Wren, but few in Summer. In Winter there are great plentie of Swans, Cranes, gray and white with blacke wings, Herons, Geeſe, Brants, Duck, Wigeon, Dotterell, Oxeies, Parrats and Pigeons. Of all thoſe ſorts great abundance, and ſome other ſtrange kinds to vs vnknowne by name. But in Summer not any or a very few to be ſeene.

Fiſh. Of Fiſh, we are beſt acquainted with Sturgeon, Grampus, Porpus, Seales, Stingraies, whoſe tail is very dangerous. Bretts, Mullets, white Salmonds, Trowts, Soles, Plaice, Herrings, Conyfiſh, Rockfiſh, Eeles, Lampreyes, Catfiſh, Shades, Perch of three ſorts, Crabs, Shrimps, Creuiſes,

Strange forme Oyſters, Cocles and Muſcles. But the moſt ſtrange Fiſh is a ſmall one, ſo like the picture of *Saint George* his Dragon, as poſſible can bee, except his legges and wings, and the Todefiſh, which will ſwell till it be like to burſt, when it commeth into the aire.

The Rocks. Concerning the entrailes or the earth, little can be ſaid for certaintie. There wanted good Refiners, for thoſe that tooke vpon them to haue skill this way, tooke vp the waſhings from the mountaines, and ſome moskered ſhining ſtones and ſpangles which the waters brought downe, flattering themſelues in their owne vaine conceit to haue ſuppoſed what they were not, by the meanes of that Ore, if it proued as their Arts and judgements expected. Onely this is certaine, that many Regions lying in the ſame Latitude, afford Mines very rich of diuers natures. The cruſt alſo of theſe Rocks would eaſily perſwade a man to beleeue there are other Mines then Iron and Steele, if there were but meanes and men of experience that knew the Mine from *ſpare*.

Of their Planted fruits in Virginia, *and how they vſe them.*

How they diuide the yeere. They diuide the yeere into fiue ſeaſons. Their Winter ſome call *Pepaxw*, the Spring *Cattapeuk*, the Summer *Cohattayough*, the earing of their Corne *Nepinough*, the Harueſt and fall of leafe *Taquitock*. From September, vntill the miuſt of Nouember are the chiefe Feaſts and Sacrifice. Then haue they plentie of fruits, as well planted as naturall, as Corne, green and ripe, Fiſh, Fowle, and wild beaſts exceeding fat.

How they prepare the ground. The greateſt labour they take, is in planting their Corne, for the Countrey is naturally ouergrowne with Wood. To prepare the ground they bruiſe the barke of the trees neere the roote, then doe they ſcorch the roots with fire that they grow no more. The next yeere with a crooked piece of Wood, they beat vp the Woods by the roots, and in thoſe moulds they plant their Corne. Their manner is this. They make a hole in the earth with a ſticke, and into it they put foure graines of Wheat, and two of Beanes. Theſe holes they make foure foot one from another; Their women and children do continually keepe it with weeding, and when it is growne middle high, they hill it about like a Hop-yard.

How they plant. In April they begin to plant, but their chiefe plantation is in May, and ſo they continue till the midſt of Iune. What they plant in April, they reape in Auguſt; for May, in September; for Iune, in October. Euery ſtalke of their Corne commonly beareth two eares, ſome three, ſeldome any foure, many but one, and ſome none. Euery eare ordinarily hath betwixt two hundred and fiue hundred graines. The ſtalke being greene hath a ſweet iuyce in it, ſomewhat like a Sugar Cane, which is the cauſe that when they gather their Corne greene, they ſucke the ſtalkes for as we gather greene Peaſe, ſo doe they their Corne being greene, which excelleth their old. They plant alſo Peaſe, which they call *Aſſentamens*, which are the ſame they call in *Italy*, *Fagioli*. Their Beanes are the ſame the Turkes call *Garuanſos*, but theſe they much eſteeme for dainties.

How they vſe their Corne. Their Corne they roſt in the eare greene, and bruiſed it in a Morter of Wood with a Polt, lap it in roules in the leaues of their Corne, and ſo boile it for a daintie. They alſo reſerue the Corne late planted that will not ripe, by roaſting it in hot aſhes, the heat thereof drying it. In Winter they eſteeme it, being boiled with Beanes, for a rare diſh, they call *Pausarowmena*. Their old Wheat they firſt ſteepe a night in hot water, in the morning pounding it in a Morter. They vſe a ſmall basket for their Temmes, then pound againe the great, and ſo ſeparating by daſhing their hand in the basket, receiue the flower in a platter made of Wood, ſcraped to that forme with burning and ſhels. Tempering this flower in water, they make it either in cakes couering with aſhes till they be baked, and then waſhing them in faire water they drie preſently with their owne heat; or elſe boile them in water, eating the broth with the bread, which they call *Ponap*. The grouts and pieces of the cornes remaining, by fanning in a platter, or in the wind, away, the branne

they

they boile three or foure houres with water, which is an ordinary food they call *Vstatahamen*. But some more thriftie then cleanly, doe burne the coare of the eare to powder, which they call *Pungnough*, mingling that in their meale, but it neuer tasted well in bread, nor broth. There fish and flesh they boile either very tenderly, or broile it so long on hurdles ouer the fire, or else after the *Spanish* fashion, putting it on a spit, they turne first the one side, then the other, till it bee as drie as their Ierkin beefe in the West *Indies*, that they may keepe it a month or more without putrifying. The broth of fish or flesh they eate as commonly as the meat. How they vse their fish and flesh.

In May also amongst their Corne they plant Pumpeons, and a fruit like vnto a Muske Millen, but lesse and worse, which they call *Macocks*. These increase exceedingly, and ripen in the beginning of Iuly, and continue vntill September. They plant also *Marasocks*, a wilde fruit like a Lemmon, which also increase infinitely. They begin to ripe in September, and continue till the end of October. When all their fruits be gathered, little else they plant, and this is done by their women and children; neither doth this long suffice them, for neere three parts of the yeere they onely obserue times and seasons, and liue of what the Countrey naturally affordeth from hand to mouth, &c. Planted fruits.

The mildnesse of the aire, the fertilitie of the soile, and the situation of the Riuers, are so propitious to the nature and vse of man, as no place is more conuenient for pleasure, profit, and mans sustenance. Vnder that Latitude or Climate, here will liue any beasts, as Horses, Goats, Sheepe, Asses, Hens, &c. as appeared by them that were carried thither. The waters, Iles, and shoales, are full of safe harbours for ships of Warre or Merchandize, for boats of all sorts, for transportation or fishing, &c. The Bay and Riuers haue much merchandable fish, and places fit for Salt coats, building of Ships, making of Iron, &c. The commodities in *Virginia*, or that may bee had by industry. A proote, cattell will liue well.

Muscouia and *Polonia* doe yeerely receiue many thousands, for Pitch, Tarre, Sope, ashes, Rosen, Flax, Cordage, Sturgeon, Masts, Yards, Wainscot, Firres, Glasse, and such like: also *Swetheland* for Iron and Copper. *France* in like manner for Wine, Canvas, and Salt; *Spaine* as much for Iron, Steele, Figs, Reasons, and Sackes. *Italy* with Silkes and Veluets consume our chiefe commodities. *Holland* maintaines it selfe by Fishing and Trading at our owne doores. All these temporize with other for necessities, but all as vncertaine as Peace or Warres. Besides the charge, trauell, and danger in transporting them, by seas, lands, stormes, and Pyrats. Then how much hath *Virginia* the prerogatiue of all those flourishing Kingdomes, for the benefit of our Land, when as within one hundred miles all those that are to bee had, either readie prouided by nature, or else to be prepared, were there but industrious men to labour. Onely Copper (we may doubt) is wanting; but there is good probabilitie that both Copper, and better munerals are there to bee had for their labour. Other Countries haue it. So then here is a place, a nurse for Souldiers, a practise for Mariners, a trade for the Merchants, a reward for the good, and that which is most of all, a businesse (most acceptable to God) to bring such poore Infidels to the true knowledge of God, and his holy Gospel. The Commodities.

Of the naturall Inhabitants of Virginia, *and their customes.*

The land is not populous, for the men be few; their farre greater number is of women and children. Within sixtie miles of *Iames* Towne there are about some 7000. people, but of able men fit for their warres scarse 2000. To nourish so many together they haue yet no meanes, because they make so small a benefit of their Land, be it neuer so fertill: seuen or eight hundred (though by their owne report they were aboue a thousand) haue beene the most which hath beene seene together, when they gathered themselues to haue surprised Captaine *Smith* at *Pamaunke*, hauing but fifteene to withstand the worst of their furie. As small as the proportion of ground that hath yet beene discouered, is in comparison of that yet vnknowne, the people differ very much in stature, especially in language, as before is expressed. Some being very great, as the *Sesquesahamocks*; others very little, as the *Wighcocomocos*; but generally tall and straight, of a comely proportion, and of a colour browne when they are of any age, but they are borne white. Their haire is generally blacke, but few haue any beards. The men weare halfe their heads shauen, the other halfe long; for Barbers they vse their women, who with two shels will grate away the haire, of any fashion they please. The women are cut in many fashions agreeable to their yeares, but euer some part remaineth long. They are very strong, of an able body and full of agilitie, able to endure to lye in the woods vnder a tree by the fire, in the worst of winter, or in the weedes and grasse, in *Ambuscado* in the Summer. They are inconstant in euery thing, but what feare constraineth them to keepe. Craftie, timerous, quicke of apprehension, and very ingenious. Some are of disposition fearefull, some bold, most cautelous, all Sauage: Generally couetous of Copper, Beads, and such like trash. They are soone moued to anger, and so malicious, that they seldome forget an iniury: they seldome steale one from another, least their Coniurers should reueale it, and so they be pursued and punished. That they are thus feared is certaine, but that any can reueale their offences by coniuration I am doubtfull. Their women are carefull not to be suspected of dishonesty without the leaue of their husbands. Each household

The numbers. 700. men were the most seene together, when they thought to haue surprised Captaine *Smith*. A description of the people. The Barbars. The constitution. The disposition.

knoweth

The poſſeſſions. knoweth their owne lands and gardens, and moſt liue of their owne labours. For their apparell, they are ſometime couered with the skins of wilde Beaſts, which in winter are dreſſed with the haire, but in ſummer without. Their attire. The better ſort vſe large mantels of Deare skins, not much differing in faſhion from the *Iriſh* Mantels: ſome imbrodered with white Beades, ſome with Copper, other painted after their manner. But the common ſort haue ſcarce to couer their nakedneſſe but with graſſe, the leaues of trees, or ſuch like. Wee haue ſeene ſome vſe mantels made Fether Mantels. of Turkie-feathers, ſo prettily wrought and wouen with threds, that nothing could be diſcerned but the feathers. That was exceeding warme and very handſome. But the women are alwayes couered about their middles with a skin, and very ſhamefac't to be ſeene bare. Their ornaments. They adorne themſelues moſt with Copper Beads and paintings. Their women, ſome haue their legs, hands, breſts and face cunningly imbrodered with diuers works, as Beaſts, Serpents, artificially wrought into their fleſh with blacke ſpots. In each eare commonly they haue three great holes, whereat the hang Chaines, Bracelets or Copper. Some of their men weare in thoſe holes, a ſmall greene and yellow coloured Snake, neere halfe a yard in length, which crawling and lapping her ſelfe about his necke oftentimes familiarly would kiſſe his lips. Others weare a dead Rat tied by the taile. Some on their heads weare the wing of a bird, or ſome large feather with a Rattell. Thoſe Rattels are ſomewhat like the chape of a Rapier but leſſe, which they take from the taile of a Snake. Many haue the whole skin of a Hawke or ſome ſtrange fowle, ſtuffed with the wings abroad. Others a broad peece of Copper, and ſome the hand of their enemy dried. Their head and ſhoulders are painted red with the roote *Pocone* braied to powder mixed with Oyle, this they hold in ſummer to preſerue them from the heate, and in winter from the cold. Many other formes of paintings they vſe, but he is the moſt gallant that is the moſt monſtrous to behold.

Their buildings. Their Buildings and habitations are for the moſt part by the Riuers, or not farre diſtant from ſome freſh Spring. Their Houſes are built like our Arbors, of ſmall yong ſprigs bowed and tied, and ſo cloſe couered with mats, or the barks of trees very handſomely, that notwithſtanding either winde, raine or weather, they are ſo warme as ſtoues, but very ſmoakie, yet at the top of the houſe there is a hole made for the ſmoake to goe into right ouer the fire.

Their lodgings. Againſt the fire they lye on little hurdles of Reedes couered with a mat borne from the ground a foote and more by a Hurdle of wood. On theſe round about the houſe they lye heads and points one by thother againſt the fire, ſome couered with Mats, ſome with Skins, and ſome ſtarke naked, lye on the ground, from ſix to twenty in a houſe. Their Houſes are in the midſt of their Their gardens. Fields or Gardens, which are ſmall plots of grounds; ſome twenty, ſome forty, ſome a hundred, ſome two hundred, ſome more, ſome leſſe, ſometimes from two to a hundred of thoſe houſes together, or but a little ſeperated by groues of trees. Neare their habitations is little ſmall wood or old trees on the ground by reaſon of their burning of them for fire. So that a man may gallop a horſe amongſt theſe woods any way, but where the creekes or Riuers ſhall hinder.

How they vſe their children. Men, Women, and Children haue their ſeuerall names, according to the ſeuerall humour of their Parents. Their women (they ſay) are eaſily deliuered of child, yet doe they loue children very dearely. To make them hardy, in the coldeſt mornings they waſh them in the Riuers, and by painting and ointments ſo tan their skins, that after a yeare or two, no weather will hurt them.

The induſtry of their women. The men beſtow their times in fiſhing, hunting, warres, and ſuch manlike exerciſes, ſcorning to be ſeene in any womanlike exerciſe, which is the cauſe that the women be very painfull, and the men often idle. The women and children doe the reſt of the worke. They make Mats, Baſkets, Pots, Mosters, pound their corne, make their bread, prepare their victuals, plant their corne, gather their corne, beare all kinde of burdens, and ſuch like.

How they ſtrike fire. Their fire they kindle preſently by chaſing a dry pointed ſticke in a hole of a little ſquare peece of wood, that firing it ſelfe, will ſo fire moſſe, leaues, or any ſuch like dry thing, that will quickly burne. Their order of diet. In March and Aprill they liue much vpon their fiſhing wares, and feede on fiſh, Turkies, and Squirrels. In May and Iune they plant their fields, and liue moſt of Acornes, Walnuts, and fiſh. But to mend their diet, ſome diſperſe themſelues in ſmall companies, and liue vpon fiſh, Beaſts, Crabs, Oyſters, land Tortoyſes, Strawberries, Mulberries, and ſuch like. In Iune, Iuly, and Auguſt, they feede vpon the rootes of *Tocknough* Berries, Fiſh, and greene Wheate. It is ſtrange to ſee how their bodies alter with their diet, euen as the Deere and wilde Beaſts, they ſeeme fat and leane, ſtrong and weake. *Powhatan* their great King, and ſome others that are prouident, roſt their fiſh and fleſh vpon hurdles, as before is expreſſed, and keepe it till ſcarce times.

How they make their Bowes and Arrowes. For fiſhing, and hunting, and warres, they vſe much their Bowe and Arrowes. They bring their Bowes to the forme of ours: by the ſcraping of a ſhell. Their Arrowes are made ſome of ſtraight yong ſprigs, which they head with bone, ſome two or three inches long. Theſe they vſe to ſhoote at Squirrels on trees. Another ſort of Arrowes they vſe, made of reedes: theſe are peeced with wood, headed with ſplinters of Chriſtall, or ſome ſharpe ſtone; the ſpurs of a Turkey, or the bill of ſome Bird. For his Knife, he hath the ſplinter of a reede to cut his feathers in forme. Their Knife. With this Knife alſo, he will ioynt a Deere or any Beaſt, ſhape his ſhooes, buskins, Mantels,

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tels, &c. To make the noch of his Arrow, he hath the tooth of a Beuer, set in a sticke, wherewith he grateth it by degrees. His Arrow head he quickly maketh with a little bone, which he euer weareth at his braeer, of any splint of a stone or glasse, in the forme of a hart; and these they glew to the end of their Arrowes. With the sinewes of Deere, and the tops of Deeres hornes boiled to a ielly, they make a glew that will not dissolue in cold water.

For their warres also they vse Targets that are round and made of the barkes of trees, and a sword of wood at their backes, but oftentimes they vse for swords the horne of a Deere put through a peece of wood, in forme of a Pickaxe: some a long stone sharpened at both ends, vsed in the same manner. This they were wont to vse also for Hatchets, but now by trucking, they haue plenty of the same forme of Iron. And those are their chiefe instruments and armes. Their Targets and Swords.

Their fishing is much in Boates. These they make of one tree by burning and scratching away the coles with stones and shels, till they haue made it in forme of a Trough. Some of them are an elle deepe, and forty or fifty foote in length, and some will beare forty men, but the most ordinary are smaller, and will beare ten, twenty, or thirty, according to their bignesse. Instead of Oares, they vse paddles and sticks, with which they will rowe faster then our Barges. Betwixt their hands and thighes, their women vse to spin; the Barkes of trees, Deere sinewes, or a kinde of grasse they call *Pemmenaw*; of these they make a thred very euen and readily. This thred serueth for many vses, about their housing, apparell, as also they make nets for fishing, for the quantity as formally braded as ours. They make also with it lines for angles. Their hookes are either a bone grated, as they nocke their Arrowes, in the forme of a crooked pin or fishhooke, or of the splinter of a bone tied to the clift of a little sticke, and with the end of the line, they tye on the baite. They vse also long Arrowes tyed in a line, wherewith they shoote at fish in the Riuer. But they of *Accawmack* vse staues, like vnto Iauelins, headed with bone. With these they dart fish swimming in the water. They haue also many artificiall wares, in which they get abundance of fish. Their Boates. How they spin. Their Fishcoles

In their hunting & fishing they take extreame paines; yet it being their ordinary exercise from their infancy, they esteemed it a pleasure and are very proud to be expert therein. And by their continuall ranging, and trauell, they know all the aduantages and places most frequented with Deere, Beasts, Fish, Fowle, Rootes, and Berries. At their huntings they leaue their habitations, and reduce themselues into companies, as the *Tartars* doe, and goe to the most desert places with their families, where they spend their time in hunting and fowling vp towards the Mountains, by the heads of their Riuers, where there is plenty of game. For betwixt the Riuers, the grounds are so narrow, that little commeth there which they deuoure not. It is a maruell they can so directly passe these desarts, some three or foure daies iournie without habitation. Their hunting houses are like vnto Arbours couered with mats. These their women beare after them, with Corne, Acornes, Morters, and all bag and baggage they vse. When they come to the place of exercise, euery man doth his best to shew his dexteritie, for by their excelling in those qualities, they get their wiues. Forty yards will they shoote leuell, or very neere the marke, and one hundred and twenty is their best at random. At their hunting in the desarts they are commonly two or three hundred together: Hauing found the Deere, they enuiron them with many fires, and betwixt the fires they place themselues. And some take their stands in the midst. The Deere being thus feared by the fires and their voices, they chace them so long within that circle, that many times they kill six, eight, ten, or fifteene at a hunting. They vse also to driue them into some narrow point of land, when they finde that aduantage, and so force them into the Riuer, where with their Boates they haue *Ambuscadoes* to kill them. When they haue shot a Deere by land they follow him like Bloud-hounds, by the bloud and straine, and oftentimes so take them. Hares, Partridges, Turkies, Egges, fat or leane, yong or old, they deuoure all they can catch in their power. In one of these iourneys they found Captaine *Smith*, in the discouery of the head of the Riuer of *Chickahamania*, where they ambushed his men, and tooke him prisoner in a Bogmire, where he saw those exercises, and gathered these obseruations. Hunting labours. How they hunt. Hunting houses.

One Sauage hunting alone, vsed the skinne of a Deere slit from the one side, and so put on his arme, through the necke, so that his hand comes to the head which is carued, and the hornes, head, eies, eares, and euery part as artificially counterfeited as they can deuise. Thus shrowding his body in the skin, by stalking he approacheth the Deere, creeping on the ground from tree to another. If the Deere chance to finde fault, or stand at gaze, hee turneth the head with his hand to his best aduantage to seeme like a Deere, also gazing and licking himselfe. So watching his best aduantage to approach, hauing shot him, he chaseth him by his bloud and straine till he get him. One Sauage hunting alone.

When they intend any Warre, the *Werowances* vsually haue the aduise of their Priests and Coniurers, and their allies and ancient friends, but chiefely the Priests determine their resolution. Euery *Werowance*, or some lusty fellow, they appoint Captaine ouer euery Nation. They seldome make Warre for lands or goods, but for women and children, and principally for reuenge. They haue many enemies, namely all their Westernely Countries beyond the Mountaines, and Their consultations. Their enemies.

the heads of the Riuers. Vpon the head of the *Powhatans* are the *Monacans*, whose chiefe habitation is at *Rassawmeake*, vnto whom the *Moubemenchughes*, the *Massinnacacks*, the *Monahassanuggs*, and other Nations pay tributes. Vpon the head of the Riuer of *Toppahanocke* is a people called *Mannahoacks*. To these are contributers the *Tauxsnitanias*, the *Shackaconias*, the *Ourponcas*, the *Tegoneats*, the *Whonkentyaes*, the *Stegarakes*, the *Hassinungaes*, and diuers others, all confederates with the *Monacans* though many differ in language, and be very barbarous, liuing for most part of wilde Beasts and fruits. Beyond the Mountaines, from whence is the head of the Riuer *Patawomeke*, the Sauages report inhabit their most mortall enemies, the *Massawomekes* vpon a great salt water, which by all likelihood is either some part of *Canada*, some great Lake, or some inlet of some Sea that falleth into the South Sea. These *Massawomekes* are a great Nation and very populous. For the heads of all those Riuers, especially the *Patawomekes*, the *Pauuxunnes*, the *Sasquesahanoks*, the *Tockwoughes* are continually tormented by them: of whose cruelty, they generally complained, and very importunate they were with Captaine *Smith* and his company to free them from these tormentors. To this purpose they offered food, conduct, assistance, and continuall subiection; which hee concluded to effect. But the councell then present, emulating his successe, would not thinke it fit so spare him forty men to be hazarded in those vnknowne Regions, hauing passed (as before was spoken of) but with twelue, and so was lost that opportunity. Seuen Boates full of these *Massawomekes* the discouerers encountred at the head of the Bay; whose Targets, Baskets, Swords, Tobaccopipes, Platters, Bowes and Arrowes, and euery thing shewed, they much exceeded them of our parts, and their dexteritie in their small Boates made of the barkes of trees sowed with barke, and well luted with gum, argueth that they are seated vpon some great water.

Their offer of subiection.

Massawomekes.

Against all these enemies the *Powhatans* are constrained sometimes to fight. Their chiefe attempts are by Stratagems, trecheries, or surprisals. Yet the *Werowances*, women and children they put not to death, but keepe them Captiues. They haue a method in warre, and for our pleasure they shewed it vs, and it was in this manner performed at *Mattapanient*.

Their manner of battell.

Hauing painted and disguised themselues in the fiercest manner they could deuise. They diuided themselues into two Companies, neere a hundred in a Company. The one company called *Monacans*, the other *Powhatans*. Either army had their Captaine. These as enemies tooke their stands a Musket shot one from another, ranked themselues fifteene a breast, and each ranke from another foure or fiue yards, not in fyle, but in the opening betwixt their fyles. So as the Reare could shoote as conueniently as the Front. Hauing thus pitched the fields; from either part went a Messenger with these conditions, that whosoeuer were vanquished, such as escape vpon their submission in two daies after shall liue, but their wiues and children should be prize for the Conquerours. The Messengers were no sooner returned, but they approached in their orders: On each flanke a Sarieant, and in the Reare an officer for Lieutenant, all duely keeping their orders, yet leaping and singing after their accustomed tune which they vse onely in warre. Vpon the first flight of Arrowes they gaue such horrible shouts and screeches, as so many infernall hellhounds could not haue made them more terrible. When they had spent their Arrowes, they ioyned together prettily, charging and retiring, euery ranke seconding other. As they got aduantage, they catched their enemies by the haire of the head, & down he came that was taken: his enemy with his wodden Sword seemed to beate out his braines, and still they crept to the Reare to maintaine the skirmish. The *Monacans* decreasing, the *Powhatans* charged them in the forme of a halfe Moon; they vnwilling to be incloſed, fled all in a troope to their *Anchsoedoes*, on whom they led them very cunningly. The *Monacans* disperse themselues among the fresh men, whereupon the *Powhatans* retired with all speede to their seconds; which the *Monacans* seeing, tooke that aduantage to retire againe to their owne battell, and so each returned to their owne quarter. All their actions, voices and gestures, both in charging and retiring, were so strained to the height of their quallitie and nature, that the strange thereof made it seeme very delightfull.

Their Musicke.

For their musicke they vse a thicke Cane [illegible] which they pipe as on a Recorder. For their warres they haue a great deepe platter of wood. They couer the mouth thereof with a skin, at each corner they tie a Wal[illegible], which meeting on the backeside neere to the bottome, with a small rope they twi[illegible] them together till it be so tough and stiffe, that they may beate vpon it as vpon a D[illegible]. But their chiefe instruments are Rattels made of small gourds or Pumpions shels. Of these they haue Base, Tenor, Countertenor, Meane and Trible. These mingled with their voyces, sometimes twenty or thirty together, make such a terrible noise, as would rather affright then delight any man. If any great Commander arriue at the habitation of a *Werowance*, they spread a Mat, as the *Turkes* doe a Carpet, for him to sit vpon. Vpon another right opposite they sit themselues. Then doe all with a tunable voice of howling bid him welcome. After this doe two or more of their chiefest men make an Oration, testifying their loues which they doe with such vehemency, and so great passions, that they sweate till they drop, and are so out of breath they can scarce speake: so that a man would take them to be exceeding angry, or starke mad. Such victuall as they haue, they spend freely, and at night where his

Their entertainment.

lodging

lodging is appointed, they set a woman fresli painted red with *Pocones* and Oile, to be his bedfellow.

Their manner of trading is for Copper, Beades, and such like, for which they giue such commodities as they haue, as Skins, Fowle, Fish, Flesh, and their Countrie Corne. But their victuall is their chiefest riches. Their trade.

Euery spring they make themselues sicke with drinking the iuice of a roote they call *Wighsacan*, and water, whereof they powre so great a quantity, that it purgeth them in a very violent manner; so that in three or foure daies after they scarce recouer their former health. Sometimes they are troubled with dropsies, swellings, aches, and such like diseases; for cure whereof they build a stoue, in the forme of a Douehouse, with mats, so close that a few coales therein couered with a pot, will make the patient sweate extreamely. For swellings also they vse small peeces of touchwood, in the forme of cloues, which pricking on the griefe they burne close to the flesh, and from thence draw the corruption with their mouth. With this root *Wighsacan* they ordinarily heale greene wounds. But to scarrifie a swelling or make incision, their best instruments are some splinted stone. Old vlcers or putrified hurts are seldome seene cured amongst them. They haue many professed Physitians, who with their charmes and Rattels with an infernall rowt of words and actions will seeme to sucke their inward griefe from their nauels or their grieued places; bnt of our Chirurgians they were so conceited, that they beleeued any Plaister would heale any hurt. Their phisicke. Their chirurgery. Their charmes to cure.

Of their Religion.

There is yet in *Virginia* no place discouered to be so Sauage in which the Sauages haue not a Religion, Deere, and Bow, and Arrowes. All things that were able to doe them hurt beyond their preuention, they adore with their kinde of diuine worship; as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our ordnance, peeces, horses, &c. But their chiefe God they worship is the Diuell; him they call *Oke*, and serue him more of feare then loue. They say they haue conference with him and fashion themselues as neere to his shape as they can imagine. In their Temples they haue his image euilfauouredly carued, and then painted and adorned with Chaines, Copper, and Beads, and couered with a skin, in such manner as the deformitie may well suite with such a God. By him is commonly the sepulcher of their Kings. Their bodies are first bowelled, then dried vpon hurdles till they be very dry, and so about the most of their ioints and necke they hang Bracelets or Chaines of Copper, Pearle, and such like, as they vse to weare, their inwards they stuffe with Copper Beads and couered with a Skin, Hatchets, and such trash. Then lap they them very carefully in white Skins, and so rowle them in mats for their winding-sheetes. And in the Tombe, which is an arch made of Mats, they lay them orderly. What remaineth of this kinde of wealth, their Kings haue, they set at their feete in baskets. These Temples and bodies are kept by their Priests. Their God. How they bury their Kings.

For their ordinary burials, they dig a deepe hole in the earth with sharpe stakes, and the corpes being lapped in Skins and Mats with their Iewels, they lay them vpon sticks in the ground, and so couer them with earth. The buriall ended, the women being painted all their faces with black cole and oyle, doe sit foure and twenty houres in the houses mourning and lamenting by turnes, with such yelling and howling as may expresse their great passions. Their ordinary burials.

In euery Territory of a *Werowance* is a Temple and a Priest, two, or three, or more. Their principall Temple or place of superstition is at *Vttamussack* at *Pamaunke*, neere vnto which is a house temple or place of *Powhatans*. Vpon the top of certain red sandy hils in the woods, there are three great houses filled with images of their Kings, and Diuels, & Tombes of their Predecessors. Those houses are neere sixty foot in length, built arbor-wise after their building. This place they count so holy as that none but the Priests and Kings dare come into them; nor the *Sauages* dare not goe vp the Riuer in Boates by it, but that they solemnly cast some peece of Popper, white Beads or *Pocones* into the Riuer; for feare their *Oke* should be offended and reuenged of them. In this place commonly are resident seuen Priests. The chiefe differed from the rest in his ornaments, but inferior Priests could hardly be knowne fiom the common people, but that they had not so many holes in their eares to hang their Iewels at. The ornament of the chiefe Priest were certaine attires for his head made thus: They tooke a dosen, or sixteene, or more Snake skins, and stuffed them with mosse, & of Weesels, and other vermine skins a good many. All these they tye by their tailes, so as all their tailes meete in the top of their head, like a great Tassell. Round about this Tassell is as it were a cown of feathers, the skins hang round about his head, necke, and shoulders, and in a manner couer his face. The faces of all their Priests are painted as vgly as they can deuise, in their hands they had euery one his Rattell, some base, some smaller. Their deuotion was most in Songs, which the chiefe Priest beginneth, and the rest followed him, sometimes he maketh inuocations with broken sentences by starts and strange passions, and at euery pause, the rest giue a short groane. Their Temples. Their ornaments for their Priests.

It could not be perceiued that they keepe any day as more holy then other; but onely in some great distresse of want, feare of enemies, times of triumph and gathering together their fruits, the Their times of solemnities.

whole

whole Country of men, women, and children come together to solemnities. The manner of their deuotion is, sometimes to make a great fire in the house or fields, and all to sing and dance about it with Rattles and shours together foure or fiue houres. Sometime they set a man in the midst, and about him they dance and sing, he all the while clapping his hands if he would keepe time, and after their songs and dancings ended they goe to their Feasts.

Their Coniurations.

They haue also diuers coniurations; one they made when Captaine *Smith* was their prisoner (as they reported) to know if any more of his Country-men would arriue there, and what hee there intended. The manner of it followeth in his story.

Their Altars. C. *Smith.*

They haue also certaine Altar stones, they call *Pawcorances*, but these stand from their Temples, some by there houses; others in the Woods and Wildernesses: *Where they haue had any extraordinary accident or incounter. As you trauell by them they will tell you the cause of their erection, wherein they instruct their children; so that they are in stead of Records and memorialls of their Antiquities.* Vpon this they offer bloud, Deare suet, and Tobacco. These they doe when they returne from the warres, from hunting, and vpon many other occasions. They haue also another superstition that they vse in stormes, when the waters are rough in the Riuers and Sea Coasts. Their Coniurers runne to the water sides, or passing in their Boats, after many hellish outcries and inuocations, they cast Tobacco, Copper, *Pocones*, or such trash into the water, to pacifie that God whom they thinke to be very angry in those stormes. Before their dinners and suppers, the better sort will take the first bit, and cast it in the fire, which is all the grace they are knowne to vse.

Sacrifices to the water.

Their solemne making of black-berries.

Euery Nation in seuen or ten yeeres vseth a kind of solemnity. Such a one was at *Quiyoughcohanock*, some ten miles from *Iames* Towne, and thus performed. Fifteene of the properest young Boyes, betweene ten and fifteene yeeres of age they painted white. Hauing brought them forth, the people spent the forenoone in dancing and singing about them with Rattles. In the afternoone they put those children to the root of the tree. By them all the men stood in a gard, euery one hauing a Bastinado in his hand, made of Reeds bound together. This made a lane betweene them all along, through which there were appointed fiue young men to fetch these children; so euerie one of the fiue went through the guard to fetch a child each after other by turnes, the guard fearlesly beating them with the Bastinadoes, and they patiently enduring and receiuing all, defending the children with their naked bodies from the vnmercifull blowes, that pay them soundly, though the children escape. All this while the women weepe and cry out verie passionately, prouiding Mats, Skins, Mosse, and drie Wood, as things fitting their childrens Funeralls. After the children were thus passed, the guard tore downe the trees, branches, and boughs, with such violence that they rent the bodie, and made wreathes for their heads, or bedecked their haire with leaues. What else was done with the children, was not seene, but they were all cast on a heape, in a Valley as dead, where they made a great feast for all the company.

C. *Smith.*

The *Werowance* being demanded the meaning of this sacrifice, answered, *That the children were not all dead, but the next day they were to drinke* Wighsakon, *which would make them mad; and they were to bee kept by the last made Blacke boyes in the wildernesse, where their* Oke *did sucke the bloud of those which fell to his lot. The truth is, as I thinke, that many die with the misery which they endure. For they lye in all weathers in a little bouell naked, and they seldome speake or keepe company with any but their Keepers; whom they obey so, that if they be bidden sit on the frozen snow, they will not rise till they be called. And if they bid them goe take Fish, Flesh, or Corne from their mothers, or else they are* Old me, *this word is so terrible that they will teare their mothers throat, but they will haue it; yea it makes them do whatsoeuer they are commanded: and much mischiefe they often doe to such as they find straggling. Yet hurt they not each other. They continue thus nine months. Then are diuers platters of broth set, of which some are poysoned; and he whose diuination finds out the poysoned, is much esteemed and made a* Quiyoughcosuck. *These are the degrees to become Priests or Coniurers.* This sacrifice they held to be so necessary, that if they should omit it, their *Oke* or Deuil, and all their other *Quiyoughcosughes* which are there other Gods, would let them haue no Deare, Turkies, Corne, nor Fish, and yet besides, be would make a great slaughter amongst them.

They thinke that their *Werowances* and Priests, which they also esteeme *Quiyoughcosughes*, when they are dead, goe beyond the Mountaines towards the setting of the Sunne, and euer remaine there in forme of their *Oke*, with their heads painted with Oile and *Pocones*, finely trimmed with Feathers, and shall haue Beades, Hatchets, Copper, and Tobacco, doing nothing but dance and sing, with all their Predecessors. But the common people they suppose shall not liue after death.

Their resurrection.

To diuert them from this blind Idolatry, many vsed there best endeauours, chiefly with the *Werowances* of *Quiyoughcohanock*, whose deuotion, apprehension, and good disposition, much exceeded any in those Countries, whom though wee could not as yet preuaile withall to forsake his false Gods, yet this he did beleeue, that our God as much exceeded theirs, as our Gunnes did their Bowes and Arrowes, and many times did send to the President, at *Iames* Towne, men with Presents, intreating them to pray to his God for Raine, for his Gods would not send him any. And in this lamentable ignorance, doe these poore soules sacrifice themselues to the Deuill, not knowing their Creator.

Of

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Of the manner of the Virginians *Gouernment.*

Although the Countrey people be very barbarous, yet haue they amongst them such gouernment, as that their Magistrates for good commanding, and their people for due subiection, and obeying, excell many places that would be counted verie ciuill. The forme of their Commonwealth is a Monarchiall gouernment, one as Emperour ruleth ouer many Kings or Gouernours. Their chiefe Ruler is called *Powhatan*, and taketh his name of the principall place of dwelling, called *Powhatan*. But his proper name is *Wahunsonacock*. Some Countries hee hath which haue beene his Ancestors, and came vnto him by Inheritance, as the Countrie called *Powhatan*, *Arrohateck*, *Appamatuke*, *Pamaunke*, *Youghtanund*, and *Mattapanient*. All the rest of his Territories expressed in the Map, they report haue beene his seuerall conquests. In all his ancient Inheritances, hee hath houses built after their manner like arbours, some thirtie, some fortie yards long, and at euerie house prouision for his entertainment according to the time. At *Werowocomoco*, hee was seated vpon the Northside of the Riuer *Pamaunke*, some fourteene miles from *Iames* Towne, where for the most part, hee was resident, but hee tooke so little pleasure in our neere neighbourhood, that were able to visit him against his will in sixe or seuen houres, that he retired himselfe to a place in the Desarts at the top of the Riuer *Chickahamania*, betweene *Youghtanund* and *Powhatan*. His habitation is called *Orapaks*, where he ordinarily now resideth. He is of parsonage a tall well proportioned man, with a sower looke, his head somewhat gray, his beard so thin that it seemeth none at all, his age neere sixtie; of a verie able and hardie bodie to endure any labour. About his person ordinarily attendeth a guard of fortie or fiftie of the tallest men his Countrie doth afford. Euerie night vpon the foure quarters of his house are foure Sentinels each standing from other a flight shoot, and at euery halfe houre one from the Corps due guard doth hollow, vnto whom euerie Sentinell doth answere round from his stand; if any faile, they presently send forth an officer that beateth him extreamely.

A description of *Powhatan*.

His attendance & watch

A mile from *Orapakes*, in a thicket of Wood, hee hath a house in which hee keepeth his kind of Treasure, as Skins, Copper, Pearle, and Beads, which he storeth vp against the time of his death and buriall. Here also is store of Red paint for ointment, and Bowes and Arrowes. This house is fiftie or sixtie yards in length, frequented onely by Priests. At the foure corners of this house stand foure Images as Sentinels, one of a Dragon, another a Beare, the third like a Leopard, and the fourth like a Giant-like man, all made euill-fauor'dly, according to their best workmanship.

His treasurie.

He hath as many women as he will, whereof when he lieth on his bed, one sitteth at his head, and another at his feet, but when he sitteth, one sitteth on his right hand & another on his left. As he is weary of his women, he bestoweth them on those that best deserue them at his hands. When he dineth or suppeth, one of his women before and after meat, bringeth him water in a woodden Platter to wash his hands. Another waiteth with a bunch of Feathers to wipe them insteed of a Towell, and the Feathers when he hath wiped are dried againe. His Kingdome descendeth not to his sonnes nor children, but first to his brethren, whereof hee hath three, namely, *Opitchapan*, *Opechancanough*, and *Catataugh*, and after their decease to his sisters. First to the eldest sister, then to the rest, and after them to the heire male and female of the eldest sister, but neuer to the heires of the males.

His Wiues.

His Successors

The title of succession.

Hee, nor any of his people vnderstand any letters whereby to write or read, onely the Lawes whereby he ruleth is Custome. Yet when hee listeth his will is a law, and must be obeyed: not only as a King, but as halfe a God they esteeme him. His inferiour Kings, whom they call *Werowances* are tied to rule by customes, and haue power of life and death, as their command in that nature. But this word *Werowance*, which we call and conster for a King, is a common word whereby they call all Commanders: for they haue but few words in their language, and but few occasions to vse any officers more then one Commander, which commonly they call *Werowances*. They all know their seuerall lands, and habitations, and limits, to fish, fowle, or hunt in, but they hold all of their great *Werowance Powhatan*, vnto whom they pay tribute of Skins, Beads, Copper, Pearle, Deare, Turkies, wild Beasts, and Corne. What hee commandeth they dare not disobey in the least thing. It is strange to see with what great feare & adoration all these people do obey this *Powhatan*. For at his feet they present whatsoeuer hee commandeth, at the least frowne of his brow, their greatest spirits will tremble with feare: and no maruell, for hee is very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such as offend him. For example, hee caused certaine malefactors to bee bound hand and foot, then hauing many fires, gathering great store of burning coles, they rake these coles round in the forme of a cock-pit, and in the midst they cast the offenders to broyle to death. Somtimes hee causeth the heads of them that offend him, to bee laid vpon the altar or sacrificing stone, and one with clubs beat out their braines. When he would punish any notorious enemy or malefactor, hee causeth him to bee tied to a tree, and with Muscle shels, or Reeds, the executioner cutteth off his ioynts one after another, euer casting what they cut off into the fire; then doth hee proceed with Shels and Reeds to case the skin from his head and face; then doe they rip his belly, and so burne him with the tree and all. Thus themselues reported they executed *George Cassen*. Their ordinary correction is to beat them with cudgels. Wee haue seene a man kneeling on his

The tenor of their lands.

Their authoritie.

His manner of punishments.

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knees, and at *Powhatans* command, two men haue beat him on the bare skin, till hee hath fallen senseleſſe in a ſound, and yet neuer cry nor complained.

In the yeere 1608, he ſurpriſed the people of *Payankatank*, his neere neighbours and ſubiects. The occaſion was to vs vnknowne, but the manner was thus. Firſt, he ſent diuers of his men to lodge amongſt them that night, then the *Ambuſcades* inuironed all their houſes, and at the hour appointed, they all fel to the ſpoile, twenty foure men they ſlew, the long haire of their one ſide of their heads, with the skinne caſed off with ſhels or reeds, they brought away. They ſurpriſed alſo the women, the children, and the *Werowance*. All theſe they preſent to *Powhatan*. The *Werowance*, women and children became his priſoners, and doe him ſeruice. The lockes of haire with their skins he hanged on a line vnto two trees. And thus hee made oſtentation of as great a triumph at *Werowocomoco*, ſhewing them to the *Engliſh* men that then came vnto him at his appointment, they expecting proviſion, he to betray them, ſuppoſed to halfe conquer them by this ſpectacle of his terrible crueltie.

And this is as much as my memory can call to mind worthy of note; which I haue purpoſely collected, to ſatisfie my friends of the true worth and qualitie of *Virginia*. Yet ſome bad natures will not ſtick to ſlander the Countrey, that will ſlouenly ſpit at all things, eſpecially in company where they can find none to contradict them. Who though they were ſcarce euer ten miles from *Iames* Towne, or at the moſt but at the Falls; yet holding it a great diſgrace that amongſt ſo much action, their actions were nothing, exclaime of all things, though they neuer aduentured to know any thing; nor euer did any thing but deuoure the fruits of other mens labours. Being for moſt part of ſuch tender educations and ſmall experience in martiall accidents, becauſe they found not *Engliſh* Cities, nor ſuch faire houſes, nor at their owne wiſhes any of their accuſtomed dainties, with Feather-beds, and Down-pillowes, Tauernes and Ale-houſes in euery breathing place, neither ſuch plentie of Gold and Siluer and diſſolute libertie as they expected, had little or no care of any thing, but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our Pinnaces, or procure their meanes to returne for *England*. For the Countrey was to them a miſery, a ruine, a death, a hell, their reports here, and their owne actions were there according.

Vanitie of Effeminate Planters.

Some other there were that had yeerely ſtipends to paſſe to and againe for tranſportation: who to keepe the myſtery of the buſineſſe in themſelues, though they had neither time nor meanes to know much of themſelues; yet all mens actions or relations they ſo formally tuned to the temporizing times ſimplicitie, as they could make their ignorances ſeeme much more, then all the true actors could by their experience. And thoſe with their great wordes deluded the world with ſuch ſtrange promiſes, as abuſed the buſineſſe much worſe then the reſt. For the buſineſſe being builded vpon the foundation of their fained experience, the planters, the Money, Tin, and meanes haue ſtill miſcarried: yet they euer returning, and the Planters ſo farre abſent, who could contradict their excuſes? which ſtill to maintaine their vain-glory and eſtimation, from time to time they haue vſed ſuch diligence as made them paſſe for truths, though nothing more falſe. And that the aduenturers might be thus abuſed, let no man wonder; for the wiſeſt liuing is ſooneſt abuſed by him that hath a faire tongue and a diſſembling heart.

Vanitie of ſelf-ſeeking *glorioſos*.

There were many in *Virginia* meerely proiecting, verball and idle contemplators, and thoſe ſo deuoted to pure idleneſſe, that though they had liued two or three yeeres in *Virginia*, lordly, neceſſitie it ſelfe could not compel them to paſſe the *Peninſula*, or *Palliſadoes* of *Iames* Town, & thoſe wittie ſpirits, what would they not affirme in the behalfe of our tranſporters to get victuall from their ſhips, or obtaine their good words in *England* to their paſſes. Thus the clamors and the ignorance of falſe informers, are ſprung thoſe diſaſters that ſprung in *Virginia*, and our ingenious Verbaliſts were no leſſe plague to vs in *Virginia*, then the Locuſts to the *Egyptians*. For the labour of thirtie of the beſt only, preſerued in Chriſtianitie by their induſtry the idle liuers of neere two hundred of the reſt: who liuing neere ten months of ſuch naturall meanes, as the Countrey naturally of it ſelfe afforded, not withſtanding all this, and the worſt fury of the Sauages, the extremitie of ſickneſſe, mutinies, faction, ignorances, and want of victuall: in all that time I loſt but ſeuen or eight men, yet ſubiected the Sauages to our deſired obedience, and receiued contribution from fiue and thirtie of their Kings, to protect and aſſiſt them againſt any that ſhould aſſault them; in which order they continued true and faithfull, and as ſubiects to his Maieſtie, ſo long after as I did gouerne there, vntill I left the Countrey: ſince, how they haue reuolted, the Countrey loſt, and againe replanted, and the buſineſſes haue ſucceeded from time to time, I refer you to the relations of them returned from *Virginia*, that haue beene more diligent in ſuch obſeruations, gathered out of the Writings of diuers of that Plantation, by Doctor *William Simons*.

Miſerie of baſe idleneſſe

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

The proceedings of the Engliſh *Colony in* Virginia, *taken faithfully out of the writings of* THOMAS STVDLY *Cape-Merchant*, ANAS TODKILL, *Doctor* RVSSELL, NATHANIEL POWELL, WILLIAM PHETIPLACE, *and* RICHARD POT, * RICHARD WIFFIN, THO. ABBAY, THO. HOPE; *and ſince enlarged out of the Writings of Capt.* IOHN SMITH, *principall Agent and Patient in theſe* Virginian *Occurrents, from the beginning of the Plantation* 1606. *till* Ann. 1610. *ſomewhat abridged.*

* I haue many written Treatiſes lying by me, written by Capt. *Smith* and others, ſome there, ſome here after there returne: but becauſe theſe haue alreadie ſeene the light, and containe a full relation of *Virginian* affaires, I was loth to wearie the Reader with others of this time.

CAptaine *Bartholomew Goſnold*, the firſt mouer of this Plantation, hauing many yeeres ſolicited many of his friends, but found ſmall aſſiſtants; at laſt preuailed with ſome Gentlemen, as M. *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, Captaine *Iohn Smith*, and diuers others, who depended a yeere vpon his proiects, but nothing could be effected, till by their great charge and induſtrie it came to bee apprehended by certaine of the Nobilitie, Gentrie, and Merchants, ſo that his Maieſtie by his Letters Patents, gaue Commiſſion for eſtabliſhing Councels, to direct here, and to gouerne, and to execute there; to effect this, was ſpent another yeere, and by that time three Ships were prouided, one of one hundred Tuns, another of fortie, and a Pinnace of twentie. The tranſportation of the Company was committed to Captaine *Chriſtopher Newport*, a Mariner well practiſed for the Weſterne parts of *America*. But their orders for gouernment were put in a Box, not to bee opened, nor the Gouernours knowne vntill they arriued in *Virginia*.

The firſt mouer of the action.

Orders for gouernment.

On the ninteenth of December, 1606. wee ſet ſaile, but by vnproſperous winds, were kept ſix weekes in the ſight of *England*; all which time, M. *Hunt* our Preacher, was ſo weake and ſicke, that few expected his recouerie. Yet although hee were but ten or twelue miles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes) and notwithſtanding the ſtormy weather, nor the ſcandalous imputation (of ſome few, little better then Atheiſts, of the greateſt ranke amongſt vs) ſuggeſted againſt him, all this could neuer force from him ſo much as a ſeeming deſire to leaue the buſineſſe, but preferred the Seruice of God, in ſo good a Voyage, before any affection to conteſt with his godleſſe foes, whoſe diſaſterous deſignes (could they haue preuailed) had euen then ouerthrowne the buſineſſe, ſo many diſcontents did then ariſe, had he not with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but briefly by his true deuouted examples) quenched thoſe flames of enuy and diſſention.

Suſan Conſtant Admirall with 71.

God ſpeed Vice-admirall with 52.

Commanded by Cap. *Goſnol.*

Diſcouery Rear-admirall, with 21.

Godly zeale of M. *Hunt.*

Wee watred at the *Canaries*, we traded with the Sauages at *Dominica*; three weekes we ſpent in refreſhing our ſelues amongſt theſe Weſt *India* Iles; in *Gwardalupa* wee found a Bath ſo hot, as in it we boiled Porck as well as ouer the fire. And at a little Ile, called *Monica*, wee tooke from the Buſhes with our hands, neere two Hogſheads of Birds in three or foure houres. In *Mevis*, *Monica* an vnfrequented Ile full of birds *Mona* *, and the Virgin Iles, we ſpent ſome time, wherewith a loathſome beaſt like a Crocadil, called a *Gwayn*, Tortoſes, Pellicans, Parrots, and Fiſhes, wee daily feaſted. Gone from thence in ſearch of *Virginia*, the Company was not a little diſcomforted, ſeeing the Mariners had three daies paſſed their reckoning and found no Land, ſo that Captaine *Ratcliffe* (Captaine of the Pinnace) rather deſired to beare vp the Helme to returne for *England*, then make further ſearch. But God the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extreame ſtorme to Hull all night, did driue them by his prouidence to their deſired Port, beyond all their expectations, for neuer any of them had ſeene that Coaſt. The firſt Land they made, they called Cape *Henry*; where anchoring, M. *Wingfield*, *Goſnoll*, and *Newport*, with thirtie others, recreating themſelues on ſhoare, Were aſſaulted by fiue Sauages, who hurt two of the *Engliſh* very dangerouſly. That night was the Box opened, and the orders read, in which *Bartholomew Goſnoll*, *Edward Wingfield*, *Chriſtopher Newport*, *Iohn Smith*, *Iohn Ratliffe*, *Iohn Martin*, and *George Kendall*, were named to be the Councell, and to chuſe a Preſident amongſt them for a yeere, who with the Councell ſhould gouerne. Matters of moment were to be examined by a Iury, but determined by the Maior part of the Councell, in which the Preſident had two voices. Vntill the thirteenth of May they ſought a place to plant in, then the Councell was ſworne, M. *Wingfield* was choſen Preſident, and an Oration made, why Captaine *Smith* was not admitted to the Councell as the reſt.

Their firſt landing.

Matters of gouernment.

Now falleth euery man to worke, the Councell contriue the Fort, the reſt cut downe Trees to make place to pitch their Tents; ſome prouide Clap-board to relade the Ships, ſome make Gardens, ſome Nets, &c. The Sauages often viſited vs kindly. The Preſidents ouerweening iealouſie would admit no exerciſe at Armes, or Fortification, but the Boughs of Trees caſt together in the forme of a halfe Moone, by the extraordinary paine and diligence of Captaine *Kendall*, *Newport*, with *Smith*, and twentie others, were ſent to diſcouer the head of the Riuer: by diuers ſmall habi-

The diſcouerie of the Fals and *Powhatan.*

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tations they paſſed, in ſixe dayes they arriued at a Towne called *Powhatan*, conſiſting of ſome twelue houſes pleaſantly ſeated on a Hill; before it three fertill Iles, about it many of their Cornfields, the place is very pleaſant, and ſtrong by nature, of this place the Prince is called *Powhatan*, and his people *Powhatans*, to this place the Riuer is Nauigable, but higher within a mile, by reaſon of the Rockes and Iles, there is not paſſage for a ſmall Boat, this they call the Falls, the people in all parts kindly intreated them, till being returned within twentie miles of *Iames* Towne, they gaue iuſt cauſe of iealouſie, but had God not bleſſed the diſcouerers otherwiſe then thoſe at the Fort, there had then beene an end of that Plantation; for at the Fort, where they arriued the next day, they found ſeuenteene men hurt, and a boy ſlaine by the Sauages, and had it not chanced a croſſe Bar ſhot from the Ships ſtrooke downe a Bough from a Tree amongſt them, that cauſed them to retire, our men had all beene ſlaine, being ſecurely all at worke, and their Armes in Dry-fats. Heereupon the Preſident was contented the Fort ſhould be palliſadoed, the Ordnance mounted, his men armed and exerciſed, for many were the aſſaults, and Ambuſcadoes of the Sauages, and our men by their diſorderly ſtragling were often hurt, when the Sauages by the nimbleneſſe of their heeles well eſcaped. What toile we had, with ſo ſmall a power to guard our workemen adayes, watch all night, reſiſt our enemies, and effect our buſineſſe, to relade the Ships, cut downe Trees, and prepare the ground to plant our Corne, &c. I refer to the Readers conſideration. Six weekes being ſpent in this manner; Captaine *Newport* (who was hired onely for our tranſportation) was to returne with the Ships.

The Fort aſſaulted by the Sauages. I haue alſo M. *Wingfields* notes of theſe affaires: but would not trouble the Reader here with things more then troubleſome there.

Now Captaine *Smith* (who all this time from their departure from the *Canaries*) was reſtrained as a priſoner vpon the ſcandalous ſuggeſtions of ſome of the chiefe (enuying his repute) who fained he intended to vſurpe the gouernment, murder the Councell, and make himſelfe King, that his confederates were diſperſed in all the three Ships, and that diuers of his confederates that reuealed it, would affirme it; for this he was committed, thirteene weekes hee remained thus ſuſpected, and by that time the Ships ſhould returne, they pretended, out of their commiſſerations, to referre him to the Councell in *England* to receiue a check, rather then by particulating his deſignes make him ſo odious to the world, as to touch his life, or vtterly ouerthrow his reputation; but he much ſcorned their charitie, and publikely defied the vttermoſt of their cruelties, hee wiſely preuented their policies, though hee could not ſuppreſſe their enuies, yet ſo well hee demeaned himſelfe in this buſineſſe, as all the Company did ſee his innocencie, and his aduerſaries malice, and thoſe which had beene ſubborned to accuſe him, accuſed his accuſers of ſubornation; many vntruths were alledged againſt him; but being ſo apparantly diſproued, begat a generall hatred in the hearts of the Company againſt ſuch vniuſt Commanders; many were the miſchiefes that daily ſprung from their ignorant (yet ambitious) ſpirits; but the good doctrine and exhortation of our Preacher Maſter *Hunt* reconciled them, and cauſed Captaine *Smith* to be admitted of the Councell: the next day all receiued the Communion, the day following the Sauages voluntarily deſired peace; and Captaine *Newport* returned for *England* with newes; leauing in *Virginia* one hundred, the fifteenth of Iune 1607.

The names of them that were the firſt planters, were theſe following. Maſter *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, Captaine *Bartholomew Goſnoll*, Capt. *Iohn Smith*, Capt. *Iohn Ratcliffe*, Cap. *Iohn Martin*, Capt. *George Kendall*, Councellors.

M. *George Piercy*, M. *Robert Hunt* Preacher, *Anthony Goſnoll*, Capt. *Gabrill Archer*, *Rob. Ford*, *William Bruſter*, *Dru Pickhouſe*, *Iohn Brookes*, *Thomas Sands*, *Iohn Robinſon*, *Vſtis Clouell*, *Kellam Throgmorton*, *Nathaniell Powell*, *Robert Behethland*, *Ieremy Alicock*, *Thomas Studley*, *Richard Crofts*, *Nicholas Houlgraue*, *Thomas Webbe*, *Iohn Waler*, *William Tankard*, *Francis Snarsbrough*, *Edward Brookes*, *Richard Dixon*, *Iohn Martin*, *George Martin*, *Anthony Goſnold*, *Thomas Wotton*, Seirg. *Thomas Gore*, *Francis Midwinter*, Gentlemen.

William Laxon, *Edward Piſing*, *Tho. Emry*, *Rob. Small*, Carpenters. *Anas Todkill*, *Iohn Capper*.

Iames Read, Blackſmith. *Ionas Profit*, Sailer. *Tho. Cowper*, Barber. *Iohn Herd*, Brick-layer. *William Garret*, Brick layer. *Edward Brinto*, Maſon. *William Loue*, Taylor. *Nic. Skot*, Drum.

Iohn Laydon, *William Caſſen*, *George Caſſen*, *Tho. Caſſen*, *William Rods*, *William White*, *Ould Edward*, *Henry Tauin*, *George Golding*, *Iohn Dods*, *Will. Iohnſon*, *Will. Finger*, Labourers. *Will. Wilkinſon*. Surgeon.

Samuell Collier, *Nat. Pecock*, *Iames Brumfield*, *Rich. Mutton*, with diuers others to the number of one hundred and fiue.

Capt. *Newports* returne for *England*.

What happened till the firſt ſupply. *Chap.* 2. The occaſion of ſickneſſe. The Sailers abuſes.

BEing thus left to our fortunes, it fortuned that within ten dayes, ſcarce ten amongſt vs could either goe, or well ſtand, ſuch extreame weakneſſe and ſickneſſe oppreſſed vs. And thereat none need maruell, if they conſider the cauſe and reaſon, which was this; whileſt the ſhips ſtayed, our allowance was ſomewhat bettered, by a daily proportion of bisket which the Saylers would pilfer to ſell, giue or exchange with vs, for money, ſaxefras, furres, or loue. But when they departed, there remained neither Tauerne, Beere-houſe, nor place of reliefe but the common kettell. Had we beene as free from all ſinnes as gluttony, and drunkenneſſe, we might haue beene canonized for Saints: But our Preſident would neuer haue beene admitted, for ingroſſing to his priuate, Otemeale, Sack, Oile, Aquavitæ, Beefe, Egges, or what not, but the kettel; that indeed he allowed

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allowed equally to be distributed, and that was halfe a pinte of Wheat, and as much Barly boiled with water for a man a day, and this hauing fryed some six and twentie weekes in the ships hold, contained as many wormes as graines; so that wee might truely call it rather so much Bran then Corne, our drinke was water, our lodgings castles in aire, with this lodging and diet, our extreame toile in bearing and planting Pallisadoes, so strained and bruised vs, and our continuall labour in the extreamitie of heat had so weakned vs, as were cause sufficient to haue made vs as miserable in our natiue Countrey, or any other place in the world. From May, to September, those that escaped liued vpon Sturgion, and Sea-Crabs; fiftie in this time we buried: The rest seeing the Presidents proiects to escape these miseries in our Pinnace by flight (who all this time had neither felt want nor sickneſſe) so moued our dead spirits, as wee deposed him; and established *Ratcliffe* in his place, (*Gosnoll* being dead) *Kendall* deposed, *Smith* newly recouered, *Martin* and *Ratliffe* was by his care preserued and relieued, but now was all our prouision spent, the Sturgeon gone, all helpes abandoned, each houre expecting the fury of the Sauages; when God, the Patron of all good indeauours in that desperat extreamitie, so changed the hearts of the Sauages, that they brought such plentie of their fruits and prouision, as no man wanted.

A bad President.

Plentie vnexpected.

The new President, and *Martin*, being little beloued; of weake iudgement in dangers; and lesse industry in peace, committed the managing of all things abroad to Captaine *Smith*: who by his owne example, good words, and faire promises, set some to mow, others to binde thatch, some to build houses, others to thatch them, himselfe alwaies bearing the greatest taske for his owne share, so that in short time he prouided most of them lodgings, neglecting any for himselfe. This done, seeing the Sauages superfluitie begin to decrease (with some of his workmen) hee shipped himselfe in the shallop to search the Countrey for trade, the want of the language, knowledge to mannage his Boat without Sailers, the wants of sufficient power (knowing the multitude of the Sauages) apparell for his men, and other necessaries, were infinite impediments, yet no discouragement. Being but sixe or seuen in company, hee went downe the Riuer to *Kecoughtan*, where at first they scorned him, as a starued man; *and would in derision offer him a handfull of Corne, or a piece of Bread for their Swords and Muskets, and such like proportions also for their apparell. But seeing by trade there was nothing to be had, necessitie forced him to exceed his Commission, and to vse his Muskets to another kind of trading, which made these deriders flye to the Woods. Hee hasted to their houses, and found store of Corne, from which the hungry Souldiers were hardly detained, in hastier spoile to haue betrayed themselues to the returning Sauages assault. This sixtie or seuenty did presently, with hideous noise to the eare, and manifold colours painted to the eye, singing and dancing with their* Okee *(which was an Idol made with skins, stuffed with mosse, all painted and hanged with Chaines and Copper, borne before them) and being well armed with Clubs, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes, they charged the* English, *who so kindly receiued them with their Muskets loaden with Pistoll shot, that downe fell their God, and diuers of his worshippers lay sprauling on the ground, the rest flying to the Woods. Soone after they sent one of their* Quiyoughcasucks *to offer peace, and redeeme their* Okee. Smith *agreed that if onely sixe would come vnarmed and load his Boat with Corne, hee would be their friend, restore their* Okee, *and giue them also Beads, Copper, Hatchets; which on both sides was performed to mutuall content, and they brought him (singing and dansing) Venison, Turkeys, wild Fowle, Bread, &c.* In his returne hee discouered and kindly traded with the *Weraskoyks*, in the meane time those at the Fort so glutted the Sauages with their commodities as they became not regarded.

C. *Smith.*

The building of *Iames* towne.

The beginning of trade abroad.

Smith perceiuing (notwithstanding their late misery) not any regarded but from hand to mouth (the company being well recouered) caused the Pinnace to bee prouided with things fitting to get prouision for the yeere following; but in the interim he made three or foure iournyes and discouered the people of *Chickahamine*, yet what hee carefully prouided the rest careleſly spent. *Wingfield* and *Kendall* liuing in disgrace, seeing all things at randome in the absence of *Smith*. The Companies dislike of their Presidents weakneſſe, and their small loue to *Martins* neuer-mending sickneſſe, strengthened themselues with the Sailers, and other confederates to regaine their former credit and authoritie, or at least such meanes aboard the Pinnace (being fitted to saile as *Smith* had appointed for trade) to alter her course and to goe for *England*. *Smith* vnexpectedly returning had the plot discouered vnto him, much trouble hee had to preuent it, till with store of Fauken and Musket shot hee forced them to stay or sinke in the Riuer, which action cost the life of Captaine *Kendall*. The President and Captaine *Archer* not long after intended also to haue abandoned the Countrey, which proiect also was curbed and suppressed by *Smith*. And now the Winter approaching, the Riuers became so couered with Swans, Geese, Ducks, and Cranes, that wee daily feasted with good Bread, *Virginia* Peale, Pumpions, and Putchamins, Fish, Fowle, and diuers sorts of wild Beasts as fat as wee could eate them: so that none of our Tuftaffatie humorists desired to goe for *England*. But our Comædies neuer endured long without a Tragedie; some idle exceptions being muttered against Captaine *Smith*, for not discouering the head of *Chickahamine* riuer, & taxed by the Councel, to be too slow in so worthy an attempt. The next voyage hee proceeded so far, that with much labour by cutting off Trees in sunder hee made his passage, but when his Barge could passe no farther, hee left her in a broad Bay out of danger of shot, commanding none should goe ashoare till his returne t himselfe

The discouery of *Chickahamine*.

Another proiect to abandon the Countrey.

Winter Fowles

himselfe with two *English* and two Sauages went vp higher in a Canowe, but hee was not long absent, but his men went ashoare, whose want of gouernment, gaue both occasion and opportunity to the Sauages to surprize one *George Casson*, and much failed not to haue cut off the Boate and all the rest.

Cap. *Smith* assalted and taken.

The Sauages *hauing drawne from* George Casson, *whither Captaine* Smith *was gone, followed him with three hundred Bowmen, conducted by* Opechankanough *the King of* Pamaunke; *who searching the diuisions of the Riuer, found* Robinson *and* Emery *by the fire side, whom they shot full of Arrowes and slew.* Smith *being assaulted, slew three of them, and so galled the rest that they would not come neere: he vsed the* Sauage *his guide as a shield, hauing bound him to his arme with his garters; and thinking to haue recouered his Boate, hauing more eye to them in his march then to his way, he slipped vp to the middle in an ozie creeke, and his* Sauage *with him; yet durst they not come to him till he threw away his armes, being neere dead with cold. Then according to composition they drew him forth, and led him to the fire, where his men were slaine. Diligently they chafed his benummed limbes; and he gaue* Opechankanough *a round Iuory double compassed Diall. They much marueiled at the playing of the fine which they could see and not touch, by reason of the Glasse couer; but when he had read a Cosmographicall lecture to them of the Skies, Earth, Day, and night, with the varietie of Nations, and such like, they were all amazed: notwithstanding which sudden wonder, they tide him to a tree within an houre after, as many as could stand about him prepard their fatall Arrowes to his death, which were all laid downe when* Opechankanough *held vp the said Diall: and they led him in a kinde of triumph to* Oropaxe. 19

Diall admired of Sauages.

Sauage triumph, disciplin and gallantry.

Their order was this: drawing themselues all in file, the King in the midst had all their Peeces and Swords borne before him: Captaine Smith *was led after him by three great lubbers, holding him fast; on each side went six in file, with their Arrowes nocked. When they arriued at the Towne (which was of thirty or forty hunting houses made of Mats, remoued at pleasure, as Tents with vs) the women and children came to stare on him; the Souldiers in file had their Sargiants to keepe them in order. A good while they thus continued, and then cast themselues into a ring, dancing in seuerall postures, and singing hellish notes, strangely painted, each hauing his Quiuer of Arrowes, and at his backe a Clubbe; on his arme a Foxes or Otters Skinne for his vambrace, their heads and shoulders painted red with Oyle and Pecones mingled together, his Bowe in his hand, and the Skinne of a Bird, with her wings abroad, dried, tied on his head, with a peece of Copper, a white Shell, a long Fether, and a small Rattle growing at the taile of their Snakes, or some such toy fastened thereto. All this while* Smith *stood with the King guarded in the midst, till three dances being done, they departed. Then did they conduct* Smith *to a long house, where thirty or forty men guarded him, and soone after was brought more Bread and Venison then would haue serued twenty: what he left they put in Baskets, and tied ouer his head, which about midnight they againe set before him, none of them eating ought with him, till hauing brought as much more the next morning, they did eate the old, and reserued the new in like manner. Hee thought they intended to fat and eate him.* 29 39

Their feasting cheere.

One Maocassater, *in requitall of Beads which he had giuen him, brought him his Gowne to defend him from the cold. Another was possessed with a contrary humour, and would haue slaine him for the death of his sonne, had not the guard preuented; to him, yet breathing his last, they brought him to recouer him.* Smith *told them that at* Iames *Towne he had a water that would doe it, if they would let him fetch it. But they prepared to assault* Iames *Towne, promising him liberty, and women, if he would assist them. In part of a Table Booke he writ his minde to those which were at the Fort; that they should send such things mentioned. They went in bitter weather for Frost and Snow, and seeing men sally out, as he had before told them, they fled; but comming againe in the night to the place which he had appointed, for an answer, they found things ready, and speedily returned, as if either he had diuined, or the paper had spoken.* 49

Sauage simplicity.

After this, they led him to the Youghtanunds, *the* Matapanients, *the* Payankatiks, *the* Nantaughtacunds, *the* Onanmanients, *vpon the Riuers of* Rapahanocke, *and* Patanomecke, *and backe againe by diuers other Nations, to the Kings habitation at* Pamaunk, *where they entertained him with strange coniurations. Earely in a morning a great fire was made in a long house, a Mat spred on each side; on one of which he was set, the guard went out, and in came a great grim fellow skipping, all painted with cole mingled with Oyle, many Snakes and Weesels skins stuffed with Masse, their tailes tied together, and meeting on the crowne of his head; round about the tassell was a coronet of Fethers; the skins hung round about his head, shoulders, backe and face: With a hellish voyce, strange gestures and passions, with a Rattle in his hand, hee began his inuocation, and enuironed the fire with a circle of Meale. After this, three such other diuels rushed in with like trickes, painted halfe blacke, halfe red, all their eyes painted white, with some red strokes along their cheekes. These hauing danced a prettie while, three more came in as vgly as the rest, with red eyes and white strokes ouer their blacke faces. At last they all sat downe right against him, the chiefe Priest in the midst, and three on each hand. All then with their Rattles began a song; which ended, the chiefe Priest laid downe fiue Wheate cornes: and straining his armes and hand with such violence, that he swet, and his veines swelled: hee began a short Oration; at the conclusion whereof they gaue a short groane, and then laid downe three graines more. Now* 50 60

Rites of Coniuration.

they

they began their Song againe, and then another Oration, euer laying downe so many cornes as before, till they had twice encircled the fire. That done, they take a bunch of little sticks, prepared for that purpose, and at the end of euery Song and Oration laid downe a sticke betwixt the diuisions of the Corne. Till night, neither he nor they did eate or drinke, and then they feasted merrily with their best prouisions. Three dayes they vsed this Ceremonie, thereby to know (as they said) whether hee intended them well or no. The circle of meale signified their Countrey, the two circles of Corne the Sea-bounds; and the sticks his Countrey. They imagined the World to be flat and round like a trencher, and themselues in the midst. After this, they brought him a bagge of Powder, which they carefully preserued till the next spring, to plant as they did their Corne, because they would be acquainted with the nature of that seede. Sauage Geography. Gunpowder sowne.

Opitchapam *the Kings brother, inuited him to his house, where hee welcommed him with as many Platters of Bread, Fowle and wilde Beasts, as did encompasse him: but not any would eate with him, reseruing the remainders in Baskets. At his returne to* Opechankanoughs, *all the Kings women and their children flocked about him, as for their customary due, to be merry with such fragments. At last they brought him to* Werowocomoco *to* Pohatan, *where aboue two hundred of his Courtiers stood wondring on him, till* Pohatan *and his traine had put themselues in their greatest branery. Before a fire hee sat on a seate like a bedsted, couered with a great robe made of* Rarowcun *Skinnes, all the tailes hanging by: on each hand did sit a yong wench of sixteene or eighteene yeeres of age; along on each side the house two rowes of men, and behinde them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red; many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds, euery one adorned with some thing; a great chaine also of white Beades about their neckes. At his entrance before the King all the people gaue a great shout. The Queene of* Appanatucke *was appointed to bring water to wash his hands, another brought him a bunch of Feathers instead of a Towell to drie them. Hauing feasted him in their best manner, they held a consultation, in conclusion whereof, two great stones were brought before* Pohatan, *and as many as could lay hold on him dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, being ready with their clubbes to beate out his braines.* Pocahuntas *the Kings deerest Daughter, when no intreatie would preuaile, got his head into her armes, and laid her owne vpon his to saue him from death: whereupon the Emperour was contented hee should liue to make him Hatchets, and Beads, Bels, and Copper for her. For they thought him like themselues, of all occupations; the King himselfe making his owne Robes, Shooes, Bowes, Arrowes, Pots, Planting also, Hunting, and doing Offices, no lesse then the rest.* He is brought to *Pohatan.* Wilde royalty. *Pocahuntas* saueth his life. All men of all occupations.

Two dayes after, Pohatan *hauing disguised himselfe in the dreadfullest manner, caused Captaine* Smith *to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there vpon a Mat by the fire to bee left alone. Not long after from behinde a Mat which diuided the house, was made the dolefullest noise that euer hee had heard. After this* Pohatan *with twenty more as blacke as himselfe came vnto him, and told him that they were now friends, and presently hee should goe to* Iames *Towne to send him two great Gunnes and a Grindstone, for which hee would giue him the Countrey of* Capahowosick, *and for euer esteeme him as his Sonne* Nantaquaus. *Hee sent him thither with twelue guides. When they came to the Fort,* Smith *vsed the Sauages kindely, and shewed* Rawhunt, Pohatans *trusty seruant two Demiculuerins and a Millstone to carry to* Pohatan; *somewhat too heauie for their carriage. But when they saw him discharge them loden with stones, on the boughes of a great tree hanging full of icicles, the Ice and boughes comming downe with such furie, the Sauages were halfe dead with feare; and at last returning contented with toies and presents for* Pohatan, *his women and children.* This his returning safe to the Port, once more staied the Pinnace her flight for *England*, which till his returne, could not set saile, so extreame was the weather, and so great the Frost. The third ptie ict to abandon the Fort.

His relation of the plenty he had seene, especially at *Werowocomoco*, where inhabited *Powhatan* (that till that time was vnknowne) so reuiued againe their dead spirits, as all mens feare was abandoned, *Powhatan* hauing sent with this Captaine diuers of his men loaded with prouision, hee had conditioned, and so appointed his trustie Messengers to bring but two or three of our great Ordnances; but the Messengers being satisfied with the sight of one of them discharged, ran away amazed with feare, till meanes were vsed with gifts to assure them our loues.

ALL this time our cares were not so much to abandon the Countrie, but the Treasurer and Counsell in *England*, were as diligent and careful to supply vs. Two tall Shippes they sent vs, with neere one hundred men, well furnished with all things could be imagined necessary, both for them and vs. The one commanded by Captaine *Newport*: the other by Captaine *Nelson*, an honest man and an expert Mariner, but such was the leewardnesse of his Ship (that though he were within sight of Cape *Henry*) by stormy contrary windes, was forced so farre to Sea, as the West *Indies* was the next land for the repaire of his Masts, and reliefe of wood and water. But Captaine *Newport* got in, and arriued at *Iames* Towne, not long after the redemption of Captaine *Smith*, to whom the Sauages euery other day brought such plenty of Bread, Fish, Turkies, Squirrels, Deere, and other wilde Beasts, part they gaue him as presents from the King; the rest, he as their market Clarke set the price how they should sell. The arriuall of the first supply with their proceedings and returne. *Chap. 3.* The *Phenix* from Cape *Henry* forced to the West *Indies*.

So

How C. *Smith* got his liberty.

So he had inchanted thoſe poore ſoules (being their Priſoner) in demonſtrating vnto them the roundneſſe of the World, the courſe of the Moone and Starres, the cauſe of the day and night, the largeneſſe of the Seas, the qualities of our ſhips, ſhot and powder: The diuiſion of the World, with the diuerſitie of people, their complexions, cuſtomes and conditions. All which he fained to be vnder the command of Captaine *Newport*, whom he termed to them his Father; of whoſe arriuall, it chanced he ſo directly prophecied, as they eſteemed him an Oracle; by theſe fictions he not only ſaued his owne life, and obtained his liberty; but had them at that command, he might command them what he liſted. That God that created all theſe things; they knew he adored for his God, whom they would alſo tearme in their Diſcourſes, the God of Captaine *Smith*.

Their opinion of our God.

10

Folly in vnderualuing our Commodities to the Sauages by gifts or ſmall prizes. Another folly in Mariners trade both which ſupplanted the good of the plantation.

The Preſident and Councell ſo much enuied his eſtimation amongſt the Sauages (though wee all in generall equally participated with him of the good thereof) that they wrought it into their vnderſtandings, by their great bountie in giuing foure times more for their Commodities then he appointed, that their greatneſſe and authoritie, as much exceeded his, as their bountie and liberalitie; Now the arriuall of his firſt ſupply, ſo ouer-ioyed vs, that wee could not deuiſe too much to pleaſe the Mariners. Wee gaue them libertie to trucke or trade at their pleaſures. But in a ſhort time, it followed, that that could not be had for a pound of Copper, which before was ſold for an ounce, Thus Ambition and Sufferance, cut the throat of our Trade, but confirmed their opinion of *Newports* greatneſſe wherewith *Smith* had poſſeſſed *Powhatan*) eſpecially by the great Preſents *Newport* often ſent him, before he could prepare the Pinnace to goe and viſit him; ſo that this Sauage alſo deſired to ſee him. A great brute there was to ſet him forward: when hee went he was accompanied, with Captaine *Smith*, and Maſter *Scrimener* a very wiſe vnderſtanding Gentleman newly arriued, and admitted of the Councell, and thirtie or fortie choſen men for that guard. Arriuing at *Werowocomo*, *Newports* conceit of this great Sauage bred many doubts and ſuſpicions of Treacheries; which *Smith*, to make appeare was needleſſe, with twentie men well appointed, vndertooke to encounter (with that number) the worſt that could happen.

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Smith reuiſiting *Powhatan*.

Powhatans firſt entertainment of our men. I haue by me a large Iournall of this iournie: but content my ſelfe with this briefer to auoid prolixity

These being kindly receiued aſhore, with two or three hundred Sauages were conducted to their Towne; *Powhatan* ſtrained himſelfe to the vttermoſt of his greatneſſe to entertaine vs, with great ſhouts of Ioy, Orations of proteſtations, and the moſt plentie of victuall hee could prouide to feaſt vs. Sitting vpon his Bed of Mats, his Pillow of Leather imbroydered (after their rude manner) with Pearle and white Beads, his Attire a faire Robe of skinnes as large as an *Irish* Mantle, at his head and feet a handſome young woman; on each ſide his houſe ſate twentie of his Concubines, their heads and ſhoulders painted red, with a great chaine of white Beads about their neckes, before thoſe ſate his chiefeſt men in like order in his Arbor-like houſe. With many pretie Diſcourſes to renue their old acquaintance; the great King and our Captaine ſpent the time till the ebbe left our Barge aground, then renuing their Feaſts and mirth, we quartred that night with *Powhatan*: the next day *Newport* came aſhore, and receiued as much content as thoſe people could giue him, a Boy named *Tho. Sauage* was then giuen vnto *Powhatan*, whom *Newport* called his Sonne, for whom *Powhatan* gaue him *Namontacke* his truſtie Seruant, and one of a ſhrewd ſubtill capacitie. Three or foure dayes were ſpent in feaſting, dancing and trading, wherein *Powhatan* carried himſelfe ſo proudly, yet diſcreetly (in his Sauage manner) as made vs all admire his naturall gifts conſidering his education, as ſcorning to trade as his ſubiects did; hee beſpake *Newport* in this manner. *Captaine* Newport *it is not agreeable with my greatneſſe in this pedling manner to trade for trifles, and I eſteeme you a great* Weroans, *Therefore lay mee downe all your Commodities together, what I like, I will take, and in recompence giue you that I thinke fitting their value.* Captaine *Smith* being our Interpreter, regarding *Newport* as his Father, knowing beſt the diſpoſition of *Powhatan* told vs his intent was but to cheat vs; yet Captaine *Newport* thinking to out-braue this Sauage in oſtentation of greatneſſe, and ſo to bewitch him with his bountie, as to haue what he liſted; but ſo it chanced; *Powhatan* hauing his deſire, valued his Corne at ſuch a rate, as I thinke it better cheape in *Spaine*, for we had not foure buſhels for that we expected twentie Hogſheads. This bred ſome vnkindneſſe betweene our two Captaines, *Newport* ſeeking to pleaſe the humour of the vnſatiable Sauage; *Smith* to cauſe the Sauage to pleaſe him, but ſmothering his diſtaſte (to auoid the Sauages ſuſpition) glanced in the eyes of *Powhatan* many Trifles who fixed his humour vpon a few blue Beads; A long time he importunately deſired them, but *Smith* ſeemed ſo much the more to affect them, ſo that ere we departed, for a pound or two of blue Beads he brought ouer my King for two or three hundred buſhels of Corne, yet parted good friends. The like entertainment we found of *Opechantynough* King of *Pamaunke* whom alſo he in like manner fitted, (at the like rates) with blue Beads: and ſo wee returned to the Fort. Where this new ſupply being lodged with the reſt, accidentally fired the quarters, and ſo the Towne, which being but thatched with Reeds, the fire was ſo fierce as it burnt their Pallizadoes (though ten or twelue yards diſtant) with their Armes, Bedding, Apparell, and much priuate prouiſion. Good Maſter *Hunt* our Preacher loſt all his Librarie, and all that hee had (but the clothes on his backe) yet none euer ſaw him repine at his loſſe, *Vpon any alarme he would be as readie for defence as any, and till he could ſpeake; he neuer ceaſſed to his vtmoſt to animate vs conſtantly to perſiſt: whoſe ſoule queſtion-*

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Powhatans ſpeech.

Difference of opinions.

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Iames Towne burnt.

M. *Hunts* loſſe.

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ſtionleſſe is with God. This happened in the Winter, in that extreme Froſt 1607. Now though we had victuall ſufficient, I meane, only of Oate-meale, Meale, and Corne, yet the ſhip ſtaying there fourteene weekes, when ſhe might as well haue beene gone in fourteene dayes, ſpent the Beefe, Porke, Oyle, Aquauitæ, Fiſh, Butter, and Cheeſe, Beere and ſuch like; as was prouided to be landed vs. When they departed, what their diſcretion could ſpare vs, to make a Feaſt or two with Bisket, Porke, Beefe, Fiſh, and Oyle, to relliſh our mouthes, of each ſomewhat they left vs, yet I muſt confeſſe, thoſe that had either Money, ſpare Clothes, credit to giue Bils of payment, Gold Rings, Furres, or any ſuch Commodities were euer welcome to this remouing Tauerne; ſuch was our patience to obey ſuch vile Commanders, and buy our owne prouiſion at fifteene times the value, ſuffering them to feaſt (we bearing the charge) yet muſt not repine, but faſt; and then leakage, ſhip-rats, and other caſualties occaſioned the loſt, but the veſſell and remnants (for totals) we were glad to receiue with all our hearts to make vp the account, highly commending their Prouidence for preſeruing that. For all this plentie our ordinarie was but meale and water, ſo that this great charge little relieued our wants, whereby with the extremitie of the bitter cold Aire more then halfe of vs died, and tooke our deaths, in that piercing Winter. I cannot deny, but both *Scriuener* and *Smith* did their beſt to amend what was amiſſe, but with the Preſident went the maior part; that their hornes were too ſhort. But the worſt miſchiefe was, our gilded Refiners with their golden promiſes, made all men their ſlaues in hope of recompence; there was no talke, no hope, no worke, but digge Gold, waſh Gold, refine Gold, load Gold, ſuch a brute of Gold, as one mad fellow deſired to bee buried in the Sands, leaſt they ſhould by their Art make Gold of his bones: Little need there was and leſſe reaſon, the ſhippe ſhould ſtay, their wages runne on, our victuall conſume fourteene weekes, that the Mariners might ſay, they built ſuch a golden Church, that we can ſay, the raine waſhed neere to nothing in fourteene dayes. Captaine *Smith* would not applaud all thoſe Golden inuentions, neuer any thing did more torment him, then to ſee all neceſſary buſineſſe neglected, to fraught ſuch a drunken ſhip with ſo much gilded * dirt; till then we neuer accounted Captaine *Newport* a Refiner; who being fit to ſet ſaile for *England*, and we not hauing any vſe of Parliaments, Playes, Petitions, Admirals, Recorders, Interpreters, Chronologers, Courts of Plea, nor Iuſtices of Peace, ſent Maſter *Wingfield* and Captaine *Archer* with him for *England*, to ſeeke ſome place of better imployment.

A ſhip idly loitring fourteen weekes, and ſhamefully abuſing the company here and Colonie there for priuate lucre.

The effect of meere Verbaliſts.

A needleſſe charge.

* Certaine ſhining yellow ſand which was ſent ouer (I ſaw it) with great promiſes of gold, like the promiſers yeelding ſandy performance.

THe authority now conſiſting in refining Captaine *Martin*, and the ſtill ſickly Preſident, the ſale of the ſtores Commodities maintayned their eſtates as inheritable Reuenues. The Spring approching, and the ſhip departed, Maſter *Scriuener* and Captaine *Smith* diuided betwixt them, the rebuilding our Towne, the repayring our Palliſadoes, the cutting downe Trees, preparing our fields, planting our Corne, and to rebuild our Church, and recouer our Storehouſe; all men thus buſie at their ſeuerall labours, Maſter *Nelſon* arriued with his loſt *Phœnix*, (loſt I ſay, for that all men deemed him loſt) landing ſafely his men, ſo well hee had mannaged his ill hap, cauſing the *Indian* Iles to feed his company that his victuall (to that was left vs before) was ſufficient for halfe a yeere, he had nothing but he freely imparted it; which honeſt dealing (in a Mariner) cauſed vs admire him, wee would not haue wiſhed ſo much as he did for vs. Now to relade this ſhip with ſome good tydings. The Preſident (yet not ſtanding with his dignity to leaue the Fort) gaue order to Captaine *Smith* and Maſter *Scriuener* to diſcouer and ſearch the Commodities of *Monacans* Countrey beyond the Falls, ſixty able men were allotted, the which within ſixe dayes exerciſe, *Smith* had ſo well trained to their Armes and Orders, that they little feared with whom they ſhould encounter. Yet ſo vnſeaſonable was the time, and ſo oppoſite was Captaine *Martin* to euery thing, but only to fraught his ſhip alſo with his phantaſticall Gold, as Cap. *Smith* rather deſired to relade her with Cedar, which was a preſent diſpatch; then either with dirt, or the reports of an vncertaine Diſcouerie. Whilſt their concluſion was reſoluing, this happened.

The repairing of *Iames* towne *Nelſons* honeſty & fidelitie.

Sixtie appointed to diſcouer *Monacan*.

Powhatan to expreſſe his loue to *Newport*, when he departed, preſented him with twenty Turkeyes, conditionally to returne him twenty Swords, which immediatly were ſent him; Now after his departure he preſented Captaine *Smith* with the like luggage, but not finding his humour obeyed in ſending him Weapons, he cauſed his people with twentie deuices to obtaine them; at laſt by Ambuſcadoes at our very Ports they would take them perforce, ſurprize vs at worke, or any way, which was ſo long permitted that they became ſo inſolent, there was no Rule, the command from *England* was ſo ſtraight not to offend them, as our authority Bearers (keeping their houſes) would rather be any thing then Peace-breakers: this vncharitable charity preuailed, till well it chanced that they medled with Captaine *Smith*, who without farther deliberation gaue them ſuch an incounter, as ſome hee ſo hunted vp and downe the Ile, ſome hee ſo terrified with whipping, beating and impriſonment, as for reuenge they ſurprized two of his foraging diſorderly Souldiers, and hauing aſſembled their forces, boldly threatned at our Ports to force *Smith* to re-deliuer ſeuen Sauages, which for their villanies he detained Priſoners. But to try their furies, in leſſe then halfe an houre he ſo hampered their inſolencies, that they brought the two priſoners

An ill example to ſell ſwords to Sauages.

Powhatans free cheere.

The Gouernours weakneſſe.

Smiths attempt to ſuppreſſe the Sauages inſolencies.

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soners desiring peace without any farther composition for their Prisoners, who being threatned and examined their intents and plotters of their villanies, confessed they were directed only by *Powhatan*, to obtaine him our owne weapons to cut our owne throats, with the manner how, where, and when, which we plainly found most true and apparant. Yet hee sent his Messengers and his deerest Daughter *Pocahuntas* to excuse him, of the iniuries done by his Subiects, desiring their liberties, with the assurance of his loue. After *Smith* had giuen the Prisoners what correction he thought fit, vsed them well a day or two after, he then deliuered them to *Pocahuntas*, for whose sake only hee fained to saue their liues and grant them liberty. The patient counsell, that nothing would moove to warre with the Sauages, would gladly haue wrangled with Captaine *Smith* for his cruelty, yet none was slaine to any mans knowledge, but it brought them in such feare and obedience, as his very name would sufficiently affright them. The fraught of this ship being concluded to be Cedar, by the diligence of the Master, and Captaine *Smith*, shee was quickly reladed; Master *Scrivener* was neither idle nor slow to follow all things at the Fort, the ship falling to the Cedar Ile, Captaine *Martin* hauing made shift to bee sicke neere a yeere, and now, neither Pepper, Sugar, Cloues, Mace, nor Nutmegs, Ginger, nor Sweet meats in the Countrey (to enioy the credit of his supposed Art) at his earnest request, was most willingly admitted to returne for *England*, yet hauing beene there but a yeere, and not past halfe a yeere since the ague left him (that he might say somewhat he had seene) he went twice by water to *Passahegh* a place neere seuen miles from *Iames* Towne, but left the dew should distemper him, was euer forced to returne before night. Thus much I thought fit to expresse, hee expresly commanding me to record his Iournies, I being his man, and he sometimes my Master. One hundred and twentie were landed in the last supply. *Thomas Studly. Anas Todkill.*

Powhatans exercises.

A ship fraught with Cedar.

The aduentures of Cap. *Martin.*

The accidents which hapned in the discouerie of the Bay. *Chap. 5.*

I haue a Diarie of this and the following Discouerie of the Bay, containing things more particularly & largely but I was loth to be tedious, & find the substance in this.

THe prodigalitie of the Presidents state went so deepe in the store that *Smith* and *Scrivener* had a while tyed both *Martin* and him to the Rules of Proportion, but now *Smith* being to depart, the Presidents authority so ouerswayed Master *Scriveners* discretion as our store, our time, our strength and labours were idlely consumed to fulfill his phantasies. The second of Iune 1608. *Smith* left the Fort to performe his Discouery; with this company. *Walter Russell* Doctor of Physicke. *Ralph Morton. Thomas Momford. William Cantrill. Richard Fotherstone. Iames Bourne. Michael Sicklemore. Anas Todkill. Robert Small. Iames Watkins. Iohn Powell. Iames Read* blacke Smith. *Richard Keale* Fishmonger. *Ionas Profit* fisher.

Cape *Charles.*

Acawmacke.

A strange mortalitie of Sauages.

These being in an open Barge of two tunnes burthen leauing the *Phœnix* at Cape *Henrie*, we crossed the Bay to the Easterne shoare, and fell with the Iles called *Smiths* Iles: the first people we saw there were two grimme and stout Sauages vpon Cape *Charles*, with long Poles like lauelings, headed with bone, they boldly demanded what we were, and what we would, but after many circumstances, they in time seemed very kind, and directed vs to *Acawmacke*, the habitation of the *Weroans* where we were kindly intreated; this King was the comeliest proper ciuill Sauage we incountred: his Country is a pleasant fertile clay soyle. He told vs of a strange accident lately happened him, and it was: Two dead children by the extreme passions of their Parents, or some dreaming Visions, Phantasie, or affection mooued them againe to reuisit their dead carkasses, whose benummed bodies reflected to the eyes of the beholders such pleasant delightfull countenances, as though they had regained their vitall spirts. This is a Miracle drew many to behold them, all which, (being a great part of his people) not long after died, and not any one escaped. They spake the Language of *Powhatan*, wherein they made such descriptions of the Bay, Iles, and Riuers that often did vs exceeding pleasure. Passing alongst the Coast, searching euery Inlet, and Bay fit for Harbours and Habitations, seeing many Iles in the midst of the Bay, we bore vp for them, but ere we could attaine them, such an extreame gust of Winde, Raine, Thunder, and Lightning happened, that with great danger wee escaped the vnmercifull raging of that Ocean-like water.

An extreame gust.

Russels Iles.

The next day searching those inhabitable Iles (which wee called *Russells* Iles) to prouide fresh water, the defect whereof forced vs to follow the next Easterne Channell, which brought vs to the Riuer *Wighcocomoco*, the people at first with great furie seemed to assault vs, yet at last with Songs, Dances, and much mirth, became very tractable, but searching their habitations for water, we could fill but three, and that such puddle, that neuer till then, we knew the want of good water. We digged and searched many places, but ere the end of two dayes wee would haue refused two Barricoes of Gold for one of that puddle water of *Wighcocomoco*. Being past these Iles, falling with a high Land vpon the Mayne, we found a great pond of fresh water, but so exceeding hot, that we supposed it some Bath: that place we called *Point-pleyer, in honour of that Honourable House of* Mousaye, *that in an extreame extremitie once robbed our Captaine:* Beeing thus refreshed in crossing ouer from the Mayne to other Iles, the winde and waters so much increased with Thunder, Lightning, and Raine, that our fore-mast blew ouer-boord, and such mightie waues ouer-wrought vs in that small Barge, that with great labour, wee kept her from sinking by freeing out the water: two dayes wee were inforced to inhabit these vninhabited Iles, which (for the extremitie of Gusts, Thunder, Raine, Stormes, and ill weather) we called *Limbo*. Repairing

Wighcocomoco.

An extreme want of fresh water.

The Barge neere sunke in a gust.

Limbo Iles.

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ring our fore-ſayle with our ſhirts, we ſet ſayle for the Mayne, and fell with a faire Riuer on the Eaſt called *Kuſkarawaocke*.

The people ran as amazed in troupes, from place to place, and diuers got into the tops of Trees, they were not ſparing of their Arrowes, nor the greateſt paſſion they could expreſſe of anger, long they ſhot we ſtill riding at an Anchor out of their reach, making all the ſignes of friendſhip wee could. The next day they came vnarmed, with euery one a Bisket, dancing in a ring to draw vs on ſhore, but ſeeing there was nothing in them but villanie, we diſcharged a volley of Muskets charged with Piſtoll ſhot, whereat they all lay tumbling on the ground, creeping ſome one way, ſome another into a great cluſter of Reeds hard by, where there companions lay in Ambuſcado. Towards the Euenning wee weighed and approched the ſhore, diſcharging fiue or ſixe ſhot amongſt the Reeds we landed, where they laid a many of baskets, but ſaw not a Sauage, a ſmoke appearing on the other ſide the Riuer we went thither, where wee found two or three little Houſes in each a fire, there we left ſome pieces of Copper, Beads, Bels, and Looking-glaſſes, and then went into the Bay. When it was darke we came to an Anchor againe. Earely in the morning, foure Sauages came to vs in their Canoa, whom we vſed with ſuch courteſie, nor knew what we were, nor had done, hauing beene in the Bay a fiſhing, bad vs ſtay, and ere long they would returne, which they did, and ſome twentie more with them, with whom after a little conference, two or three hundred men, women, and children came cluſtering about vs, euery one preſenting vs ſomewhat, which a little Bead would ſo well requite, we became ſuch friends, they would contend who ſhould fetch vs water, ſtay with vs for hoſtage, conduct our men any whether, and giue vs the beſt content. Cap. Smith.

By it inhabit the people of *Soraphanigh*, *Nauſe*, *Arſek*, and *Nantaquake*, that much extolled a great Nation called *Maſſawomekes*, in ſearch of whom wee returned by *Limbo*, but finding this Eaſterne ſhore ſhallow broken Iles, and the Mayne for moſt part without freſh water, we paſſed by the Straits of *Limbo*, for the Weſterne ſhore. So broad is the Bay here, that we could ſcarce perceiue the great high Cliffes on the other ſide; by them wee anchored that night, and called them *Richards* Cliffes. Thirtie leagues we ſayled more Northwards, not finding any Inhabitants, yet the Coaſt well watered, the Mountaines very barren, the Valleyes very fertile, but the Woods extreme thicke, full of Wolues, Beares, Deere, and other wild Beaſts. The firſt Inlet we found, we called *Bolus*, for that the clay (in many places) was like (if not) Bole-Armoniacke: when we firſt ſet ſaile, ſome of our Gallants doubted nothing, but that our Captaine would make too much haſt home; but hauing lien not aboue twelue dayes in this ſmall Barge, oft tyred at their Oares, their Bread ſpoyled with wet, ſo much that it was rotten (yet ſo good were their ſtomackes that they could digeſt it) did it with continuall complaints ſo importune him now to returne, as cauſed him beſpeake them in this manner. The firſt notice of the *Maſſawomekes*. *Bolus* Riuer.

Gentlemen, if you would remember the memorable Hiſtorie of Sir Ralfe Lane, *how his company importuned him to proceed in the Diſcouerie of* Morattico, *alleaging, they had yet a Dogge, that beeing boyled with Saxafras leaues, would richly feed them in their returnes; what a ſhame would it bee for you (that haue beene ſo ſuſpicious of my tenderneſſe) to force me returne with a moneths proniſion, ſcarce able to ſay where we haue beene, nor yet heard of that we were ſent to ſeeke; you cannot ſay but I haue ſhared with you of the worſt is paſt; and for what is to come of lodging, diet, or whatſoeuer, I am contented you allot the worſt part to my ſelfe: as for your feares that I would loſe my ſelf in theſe vnknown large waters, or be ſwallowed vp in ſome ſtormie guſt, abandon thoſe childiſh feares, for worſe then is paſt cannot happen, and there is as much danger to returne, as to proceed forward. Regaine therefore your old ſpirits; for returne I will not, (if God aſſiſt me) till I haue ſeene the* Maſſawomekes, *found* Patawomeck, *or the head of this great water, you conceit to be endleſſe.* *Smiths* ſpeech to his ſouldiers

Three or foure dayes we expected wind and weather, whoſe aduerſe extremities added ſuch diſcouragements to our diſcontents as three or foure fell extreme ſicke, whoſe pittifull complaints cauſed vs to returne, leauing the Bay ſome ten miles broad at nine or ten fathome water. The ſixteenth of Iune we fell with the Riuer of *Patawomeck*: feare being gone, and our men recouered, we were all contented to take ſome paines to know the name of this nine miles broad Riuer, we could ſee no Inhabitants for thirtie miles ſayle; then we were conducted by two Sauages vp a little bayed Creeke toward *Onawmament*, where all the Woods were laid with Ambuſcadoes to the number of three or foure hundred Sauages, but ſo ſtrangely painted, grimed, and diſguized, ſhouting, yelling, and crying, as we rather ſuppoſed them ſo many Deuils, they made many brauadoes, but to appeaſe their furie, our Captaine prepared with as ſeeming willingnes (as they) to encounter them, the grazing of the bullets vpon the Riuer, with the Eccho of the woods ſo amazed them, as downe went their Bowes and Arrowes; (and exchanging hoſtage) *Iames Watkins* was ſent ſixe miles vp the Woods to their Kings Habitation: wee were kindly vſed by theſe Sauages, of whom we vnderſtood, they were commanded to betray vs, by *Powhatans* direction, and he ſo directed from the diſcontents of *Iames* Towne. The like incounters we found at *Patawomecke*, *Cecocawne*, and diuers other places, but at *Moyaones Nacothtant* and *Taux*, the people did their beſt to content vs. The cauſe of this Diſcouerie, was to ſearch a giliſtering Mettall, the Sauages told vs they had from *Patawomeck*, (the which *Newport* aſſured that hee had tryed to hold halfe ſiluer) alſo to ſearch what Furres, Metals, Riuers, Rockes, Nations, Woods, Fiſhings, Fruits, Victuals and other Commodities the Land affoorded, and whether the Bay The diſcouerie of *Patawomeck*. Ambuſcadoes of Sauages. A treacherous proiect.

were

Antimony.

were endleſſe, how farre it extended. The Mine we found nine or ten miles vp in the Country from the Riuer, but it proued of no value; to which he marched, leading his hinds in Chaines, which they were to haue for their paines, and ſo returning loded with that Ore they had. Some Otters, Beuers, Martins, Lizards, and Sabels we found, and in diuers places that abundance of fiſh lying ſo thicke with their heads aboue the water, as for want of nets (our Barge driuing amongſt them) we attempted to catch them with a Frying-pan, but wee found it a bad inſtrument to catch fiſh with. Neither better fiſh, more plenty, or variety, had any of vs euer ſeene, in any place ſwimming in the water, then in the Bay of *Cheſabeack*, but there not to be caught with Frying-pans,

An abundant plenty of fiſh.

How to deale with the Sauages.

To expreſſe all our quarrels, treacheries, and incounters amongſt thoſe Sauages, I ſhould be too tedious; but in briefe, at all times we ſo incountred them and curbed their inſolencies, as they concluded with preſents to purchaſe peace, yet wee loſt not a man. At our firſt meeting, our Captaine euer obſerued this order, to demand their Bowes and Arrowes, Sword, Mantles or Furs, with ſome childe for hoſtage; whereby he could quickly perceiue when they intended any villanie. Hauing finiſhed this diſcouery (though our victuall was neere ſpent) he intended to haue ſeene his impriſonments, acquaintance vpon the Riuer of *Toppahannocke*. But our Boate (by reaſon of the ebbe) chanſing to ground vpon a many ſhoules lying in the entrance, wee ſpied many fiſhes lurking amongſt the weedes on the Sands, our Captaine ſporting himſelfe to catch them by nailing them to the ground with his Sword, ſet vs all a fiſhing in that manner; by this deuiſe, we tooke more in an houre, then we all could eate: but it chanced, the Captaine taking a fiſh from his Sword (not knowing her condition) being much of the faſhion of a Thornebacke with a longer taile, whereon is a moſt poyſoned ſting of two or three inches long, which ſhee ſtrooke an inch and halfe into the wriſt of his arme the which in foure houres had ſo extreamely ſwolne his hand, arme, ſhoulder, and part of his body, as wee all with much ſorrow concluded his funerall, and prepared his graue in an Ile hard by (as himſelfe appointed) which then wee called *Stingeray Ile*, after the name of the fiſh. Yet by the helpe of a precious Oyle which Doctour *Ruſſells* applied, ere night his tormenting paine was ſo well aſſwaged that hee eate the fiſh to his ſupper, which gaue no leſſe ioy and content to vs, then eaſe to himſelfe. Hauing neither Surgeon nor Surgery but that preſeruatiue Oyle, we preſently ſet ſaile for *Iames* Towne; paſſing the mouth of *Pyankatanck*, and *Pamaunke* Riuers, the next day we ſafely arriued at *Kecoughtan*. The ſimple Sauages, ſeeing our Captaine hurt, and another bloudy (which came by breaking his ſhin) our number of Bowes, Arrowes, Swords, Targets, Mantles and Furres; would needes imagine wee had bin at warres, the truth of theſe accidents would not ſatisfie them, but impatiently they importuned vs to know with whom wee fought, finding their aptneſſe to beleeue, we failed not (as a great ſecret) to tell them any thing that might affright them, what ſpoyle wee had got and made of the *Maſawomeckes*, this rumour went faſter vp the Riuer then our Barge; that arriued at *Weraſkoyack* the twentieth of Iuly, where trimming her with painted ſtreamers, and ſuch deuiſes, we made the Fort iealous of a *Spaniſh* Frigot; where we all ſafely arriued the twenty one of Iuly.

A Stingrayvery hurtfull; one in foulenes was ſo ſwolne with the ſting of a Ray thorow his thicke fiſhermans-boots, that he therof died, *An.* 1613. and was ſo ſwolne that they could not bring his coffin out of the dore but brake the wall (as they tolu me) for that purpoſe.

The Sauages affrighted with their owne ſuſpition.

A needeleſſe miſery.

There we found the laſt ſupply, all ſicke, the reſt, ſome lame, ſome bruiſed, all vnable to doe any thing, but complaine of the pride and vnreaſonable needeleſſe cruelty of their ſilly Preſident, that had riotouſly conſumed the ſtore, and to fulfill his follies about building him an vnneceſſary Pallace in the Woods, had brought them all to that miſery: That had not we arriued, they had as ſtrangely tormented him with reuenge. But the good newes of our diſcouery, and the good hope we had (by the Sauages relation) our Bay had ſtretched to the South Sea, appeaſed their furie; but conditionally that *Ratliffe* ſhould be depoſed, and that Captaine *Smith* would take vpon him the gouernment: their requeſt being effected, hee Subſtituted Maſter *Scriuener* his deare friend in the Preſidencie, equally diſtributing thoſe priuate prouiſions that the other had ingroſſed; appointing more honeſt officers to aſſiſt *Scriuener* (who then lay extreamely tormented with a callenture) and in regard of the weakeneſſe of the company, and heate of the yeare, they being vnable to worke; he left them to liue at eaſe, but imbarked himſelfe to finiſh his diſcouery. *Written by* Walter Ruſſell *and* Anas *Todkill.*

The Company left to liue at eaſe.

What hapned the ſecond voiage to diſcouer the Bay. *Chap.* 6.

THe twentieth of Iuly Captaine *Smith* ſet forward to finiſh the diſcouery with twelue men their names were *Nathaniell Powell, Thomas Momford, Richard Fetherſtone, Michaell Sicklemore, Iames Bourne, Anas Todkill, Edward Pyſing, Richard Keale, Anthony Bagnall, Iames Watkins, William Ward, Ionas Profit.* The winde being contrary cauſed our ſtay two or three daies at *Kecoughtan*, the *Werowans* feaſting vs with much mirth, his people were perſwaded wee went purpoſely to be reuenged of the *Maſſawomeckes*, in the euening we firing two or three rackets, ſo terrified the poore Saluages, they ſuppoſed nothing impoſſible we attempted, and deſired to aſſiſt vs. The firſt night we ancored at *Stingeray Ile*, the next day croſſed *Patawomecks* Riuer, and haſted for the Riuer *Bolus*, we went not much farther before wee might perceiue the Bay to deuide in two heads, and arriuing there wee found it deuided in foure, all which wee ſearched ſo farre as we could ſaile them; two of them we found vninhabited, but in croſſing the Bay to the other,

The Sauages admire fireworkes.

The head of the Bay.

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other, we encountered seuen or eight Canoaes full of *Massawomeckes*, wee seeing them prepare to assault vs, left our Oares and made way with our saile to incounter them, yet were we but fiue (with our Captaine) that could stand: for within two dayes after wee left *Kecoughtan*, the rest (being all of the last supply) were sicke almost to death (vntill they were seasoned to the Countrey) hauing shut them vnder our tarpawling, we put their hats vpon stickes by the Barge side to make vs seeme many, and on each side a man a loded Musket; and so wee thinke the *Indians* supposed those hats to be men, for they fled withall possible speede to the shoare, and there stayed, staring at the sailing of our Barge, till wee anchored right against them. Long it was ere we could draw them to come vnto vs, at last they sent two of their company vnarmed in a Canoa, the rest all followed to second them if neede required: These two being but each presented with a Bell, brought aboord all their fellowes, presenting the Captaine with Venison, Beares flesh, Bowes, Arrowes, Clubbes, Targets, and Beare-skins, we vnderstood them nothing at all but by signes, whereby they signified vnto vs that they had beene at warres with the *Tockwoghs*, the which they confirmed by shewing their green wounds; but the night parting vs, we imagined they appointed the next morning to meete, but after that we neuer saw them.

An incounter with the *Massawomecks*.

Good policy.

Entring the Riuer of *Tockwogh* the Sauages all armed in a fleete of Boates round inuironed vs; it chanced one of them could speake the language of *Powhatan*, who perswaded the rest to a friendly parley: but when they saw vs furnished with the *Massawomeckes* weapons, and we fained the inuention of *Kecoughtan* to haue taken them perforce; they conducted vs to their pallizadoed Towne, mantelled with the Barkes of trees, with Scaffolds like Mounts, brested about with Barkes very formally, their men, women, and children, with Dances, Songs, Fruits, Fish, Furres, and what they had kindely entertained vs, spreading Mats for vs to sit on, stretching their best abilities to expresse their loues.

An incounter with the *Tockwoghs*.

Many Hatchets, Kniues, and peeces of Iron, and Brasse, we saw, which they reported to haue from the *Sasquesahanockes* a mighty people, and mortall enemies with the *Massawomeckes*: The *Sasquesahanocks*, inhabit vpon the chiefe Spring of these foure, two dayes iourney higher then our Barge could passe for Rockes. Yet we preuailed with the interpreter to take with him another interpreter to perswade the *Sasquesahanocks* to come to visite vs, for their language is different: three or foure dayes we expected their returne, and then sixty of these Gyantlike people came downe with presents of Venison, Tobacco-pipes, Baskets, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes, fiue of their *Werowances* came boldly aboord vs, to crosse the Bay for *Tockwogh*, leauing their men and Canoaes, the winde being so violent that they durst not passe.

Hatchets from *Sasquesahanock*.

Our order was daily to haue prayer, with a Psalme; at which solemnity, the poore Sauages much wondered: our prayers being done, they were long busied with consultation till they had contriued their businesse; then they began in most passionate manner to hold vp their hands to the sunne with a most fearefull song, then imbracing the Captaine, they began to adore him in like manner, though he rebuked them, yet they proceeded till their Song was finished, which done with a most strange furious action, and a hellish voyce began an Oration of their loues: that ended, with a great painted Beares skinne they couered our Captaine, then one ready with a chaine of white Beades (weighing at least six or seuen pound) hung it about his necke, the others had eighteene mantles made of diuers sorts of Skins sowed together, all these with many other toyes, they laid at his feete, stroking their ceremonious hands about his necke for his creation to be their Gouernour, promising their aides, victuals, or what they had to be his, if he would stay with them to defend and reuenge them of the *Massawomeckes*: But we left them at *Tockwogh*, they much sorrowing for our departure, yet we promised the next yeare againe to visit them; many descriptions and discourses they made vs of *Atquanahucke*, *Massawomecke*, and other people, signifying they inhabited the Riuer of *Cannida*, and from the *French* to haue their Hatchets, and such like tooles by trade, these know no more of the territories of *Powhatan* then his name, and he as little of them.

The *Sasquesahanocks* offer to the *English*.

Cannida.

Thus hauing sought all the Inlets and Riuers worth noting, we returned to discouer the Riuer of *Pawtuxunt*; these people we found very tractable, and more ciuill then any, wee promised them, as also the *Patawomeckes*, the next yeare to reuenge them of the *Massawomeckes*.

Pawtuxunt. R.

In the discouery of this Riuer, which some call Rapahanocke, *others* Tapahanocke; *we were kindely entertained by the people of* Moraughtacun: *here we encountred our old friend* Mosko, *a lustie Sauage of* Wighcocomoco, *vpon the Riuer of* Patawomecke, *wee supposed him some* Frenchmans *Sonne, because he had a thicke, blacke, bush Beard, and the Sauages seldome haue any at all, of which hee was not a little proud to see so many of his Countrie men: wood, and water hee would fetch vs, guide vs any whether, nay cause diuers of his Countrie men to helpe vs too, against winde or tyde, from place to place, till we came to* Patawomeke. *There he rested, till we returned from the head of the Riuer, and then occasioned vs conduct to the Mine, which we supposed Antimony. Now in this place hee failed not to doe vs all the good he could, perswading vs in any case not to goe to the* Rapahanocks, *for they would kill vs, for being friends with the* Moraughtacuds, *that but lately had stolne three of the Kings women. This we did thinke was but that his friends might onely haue our trade, & so crossed the Riuer to the* Rapahanocks: *there some twelue or sixteene standing on the shore, directed vs to a little narrow creeke,*

The exceeding loue of the Sauage *Mosco*.

Mine of Antimony.

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Our fight with the Tapahonecks

where was good landing, and commodities for vs, in three or foure Canoaes which we saw there. But according to our custome, we demanded to exchange a man, in signe of loue, which after they had a little consulted, foure or fiue came to the middles to fetch our man, and leaue vs one of them, shewing we neede not feare them, for they had neither Clubs, Bowes, nor Arrowes: notwithstanding Anas Todkill *being sent on shore to see if he could discouer any ambuscados; desired to goe ouer the plaine to fetch some wood, but they were vnwilling, except we would come into the creeke, where the Boate might come close ashore.* Todkill *by degrees hauing gotten some two stones throwes vp the plaine, perceiued two or three hundred men as he thought behinde the trees, so that offering to returne to the Boate, the Sauages assayed to carry him away perforce. he called to vs,* we were betraid, *and by that he had spoken the word, our hostage was ouerboord, but* Watkins *his keeper slew him in the water, immediatly we let fly amõgst them so that they fled, &* Todkill *escaped, yet they shot so fast that he fell flat on the ground ere he could recouer the Boate: here the* Massawomecks *Targets stood vs in good stead, for vpon* Mosco*s words we had set them about the forepart of our Boate like a fore-castell, from whence we securely beate the Sauages from off the plaine without any hurt, yet they shot more then* 1000. *Arrowes, and then fled into the woods, arming our selues with those light Targets (which are made of little small sticks, wouen betwixt strings of their hempe and silke grasse, as is our cloth, but so firmly, that no Arrow can possibly pierce them) we rescued* Todkill, *who was blended by some of them that were shot, but as it pleased God, he had no hurt, and followed them vp to the woods, we found some wounded some slaine. & in diuers places much blood: it seemes all their Arrows were spent, for we hard no more of them: their Canoas we tooke, the Arrowes which we found we broke, except those we kept for* Mosco, *to whom we gaue the Canoaes for his kindnes, that entertained vs in the best triumphing manner and warlike order in armes he could procure of the* Moroughtacunds.

The Sauages disguised like bushes, fight.

The rest of the day wee spent in accommodating our Boate, instead of holes we made stickes like bedstaues, to which we fastned so many of our Massawomecke *Targets, that inuironed her as wastcloathes: the next morning we went vp the Riuer, and our friend* Mosco *followed vs along the shoare, but at last desired to goe with vs in our Boate. But as wee passed by* Pitacacke, Machopeake *and* Weiuppom, *three Townes scituated vpon high white clay Clifts, the other side all a low plaine marish, and the Riuer there but narrow, thirty or forty of the* Rapahanockes *had so prepared themselues with branches, as we tooke them for little Bushes growing amongst the Sedge: seeing their Arrowes strike the Targets and drop in the Riuer,* Mosco *fell flat on his face, crying the* Rapahanocks; *which presently we espied to be the Bushes, which at our first Volley fell downe in the Sedge; when we were gone neere halfe a mile, they shewed themselues, dancing and singing very merrily. The Kings of* Pissaskack, Naudtaughtacund *and* Cuttatawomen, *vsed vs kindely, and all the people neglected not any thing to* Mosco *to bring vs to them. Betwixt* Secobecke *and* Massatecke *is a small Ile or two, which causeth the Riuer to be broder then ordinary: there it pleased God to take one of our company, called M.* Richard Fetherstone, *that all the time hee had beene in the Country had behaued himselfe very honestly, valiantly, & industriously, where in a little Bay, called hereupon* Fetherstones Bay, *we buried him with a volly of shot, the rest notwithstanding their ill diet and bad lodging crouded in so small a Barge, in so many dangers neuer resting, but alwaies tossed to & againe, had all well recouered their healths. The next day we sailed so high as our Boat would flote, there setting vp Crosses. Then we discouered the Riuer of* Payankatank *so high as it was Nauigable, but the people were most a hunting, but a few old men, women and children, that were tending their Corne; of which, they promised vs part when wee would fetch it, as had done all the other Nations where euer we had yet beene. In a faire calme, rowing towards Point* Comfort, *wee anchored in* Gulnolds *Bay; but such a sodaine gust surprised vs in the night, with thunder and raine, that wee neuer thought more to haue seene* Iames *Towne; yet running before the winde, we sometimes see the Land by the flashes of fire from heauen, by which light onely wee kept from the splitting shoare, vntill it pleased God in that blacke darkenesse to preserue vs by that light to finde Point* Comfort: *there refreshing our selues, because wee had onely but heard of the* Chisapeareckes *and* Nandsamunds, *wee thought it as fit to know all our Neighbours neere home, as so many Nations abroad.* This wee did *(the particulars are omitted)* and arriued safe the seuenth of September, 1608. where wee found Master *Skrinener*, and diuers others well recouered, many dead, some sicke: The late President prisoner for muteny; by the honest diligence of Master *Skrinener* the haruest gathered, but the stores prouision much spoiled with raine. Thus was that yeare (when nothing wanted) consumed and spent, and nothing done (such was the gouernment of Captaine *Ratcliffe*) but onely this Discouery, wherein to expresse all the dangers, accidents, and incounters this small number passed in that small Barge, with such watrie diet in these great waters and barbarous Countries (till then to any *Christian* vtterly vnknowne) I rather referre their merit to the censure of the courteous and experienced Reader, then I would be tedious, or partiall, being a party. By *Nathaniell Powell*, and *Anas Todkill*.

Fetherstones Bay.

For feare of tediousnesse I haue left out the most.

Their proceedings at Iames Towne.

The Presidency surrendred to Cap. *Smith*, the arrriual and returne of the second supply: and what happened. Chap. 7.

THe tenth of September 1608. by the election of the Councell, and request of the Compa- ny, Captaine *Smith* receiued the Letters Patents, and tooke vpon him the place of President, which till then by no meanes he would accept, though he were often importuned thereunto. Now the building of *Ratcliffes* Pallace was staid as a thing needelesse. The Church was repaired, the Storehouse recouered; building prepared for the supply we expected. The Fore

reduced

reduced to the forme of this figure, the order of watch reuied; the squadrons (each setting of the watch) trained: The whole Company euery Saturday exercised in a field prepared for that purpose; the Boates trimmed for trade, which in their iourney encountred the second supply, that brought them backe to discouer the Countrey of *Monacan*. How, or why, Captaine *Newport* obtained such a priuate Commission as not to returne without a lumpe of Gold, a certainty of the South-Sea or one of the lost Company of Sir *Walter Rawley*, I know not, nor why he brought such a fiue pieced Barge, not to heare vs to that South-Sea, till wee had borne her ouer the Mountaines: which how farre they extend is yet vnknowne) as for the Coronation of *Powhatan*, and his Presents of Bason, Ewer, Bed, Cloathes, and such costly nouelties, they had bin much better well spared, then so ill spent. For we had his fauour much better, onely for a poore peece of Copper, till this stately kinde of soliciting made him so much ouerualue himselfe, that he respected vs as much as nothing at all; as for the hiring of the *Poles* and *Dutch* to make Pitch and Tarre, Glasse, Mils, and Sope-ashes, was most necessary and well. But to send them and seuenty more without victuall to worke, was not so well considered; yet this could not haue hurt vs, had they bin two hundred (though then we were one hundred and thirty that wanted for our selues.) For wee had the Sauages in that order (their harueſt being newly gathered) that we feared not to get victuall sufficient, had wee bin fiue hundred. Now was there no way to make vs miserable, but to neglect that time to make our Prouision, whilst it was to be had; the which was done to performe this strange Discouery, but more strange Coronation; to loose that time, spend that victuall wee had, tire and starue our men, hauing no meanes to carry victuall, munition, the hurt or sicke, but their owne backes, how or by whom they were inuented, I know not; But Captaine *Newport* we onely accounted the author, who to effect these proiects had so gilded all our hopes, with great promises, that both Company and Councell concluded his resolution. I confesse wee little vnderstood then our estates, to conclude his conclusion, against all the inconueniences the foreseeing President alleadged. There was added to the Counsell one Captaine *Waldo*, and Captaine *Winne*, two ancient Souldiers and valiant Gentlemen, but ignorant of the businesse (being newly arriued) *Ratcliffe* was also permitted to haue his voyce, and Master *Scrimener* desirous to see strange Countries, so that although *Smith* was President, yet the Counsell had the authority, and ruled it as they listed; as for cleering *Smiths* obiections, how Pitch, and Tarre, Wanscot, Clapboord, Glasse, and Sope-ashes, could be prouided to relade the Ship; or prouision got to liue with all, when none was in the Countrey, and that which we had, spent before the Shippes departed: The answere was, Captaine *Newport* vndertooke to fraught the Pinnace with Corne, in going and returning in his Discouery, and to refraught her againe from *Werowocomoco*; also promising a great proportion of victuall from his Ship, inferring that *Smiths* propositions were onely deuises to hinder his iourney, to effect it himselfe; and that the cruelty *Smith* had vsed to the Sauages, in his absence, might occasion them to hinder his designes: For which, all workes were left, and one hundred and twenty chosen men were appointed for his guard; and *Smith*, to make cleere these seeming suspitions, that the Sauages were not so desperate, as was pretended by Captaine *Newport*, and how willing hee was to further them to effect their proiects (because the Coronation would consume much time) vndertooke their message to *Powhatan*, to intreate him to come to *Iames* Towne to receiue his Presents, accompanied onely with Captaine *Waldo*, Master *Andrew Buckler*, *Edward Brinton*, and *Samuell Collier*; with these foure hee went ouer land, against *Werawocomoco*; there passed the Riuer of *Pamaunke* in the Sauages Canoaes, *Powhatan* being thirty miles off, who, presently was sent for, in the meane time his women entertained *Smith* in this manner.

The figure is left out.

Ciuility is not the way to win Sauages, nor magnificence and bounty to reclaime Barbarians. Children are pleased with toyes and awed with rods; and this course of toies & feares hath alwaybest prospered with wilde *Indians* either to doe them, or to make them good to vs or themselues. This vanity of ours made *Powhatan* ouerualue himselfe, his Corne, &c. No way but one to ouerthrow the businesse.

Captain *Smith* with foure goeth to *Powhatan*.

In a faire plaine field they made a fire, before which he sitting vpon a Mat; suddenly amongst the woods was heard such a hideous noise and shriking, that they betooke them to their armes, supposing *Powhatan* with all his power came to surprise them; but the beholders which were many, men, women, and children, satisfied the Captaine there was no such matter, being presently presented with this anticke, thirty yong women came naked out of the woods (onely couered behinde & before with a few greene leaues) their bodies all painted, some white, some red, some blacke, some party colour, but euery one different, their leader had a faire paire of Stagges hornes on her head, and another Skinne at her girdle, another at her arme, a quiuer of Arrowes at her backe, and Bowes and Arrowes in her hand, the next in her hand a Sword, another a Clubbe, another a Pot-sticke, all hornd alike, the rest euery one with their seuerall deuises. These Feinds with most hellish cries and shouts rushing from amongst the trees, cast themselues in a ring about the fire, singing and dancing with excellent ill variety, oft falling into their infernall passions, and then solemnely againe to sing and dance. Hauing spent neere an houre in this Maskarado, as they entred, in like manner they departed. Hauing reaccommodated themselues, they solemnly inuited *Smith* to their lodging, but no sooner was hee within the house, but all these Nimphes more tormented him then euer, with crowding, and pressing, and hanging vpon him, most tediously crying, *Loue you not mee?* This salutation ended, the feast was set, consisting of Fruite in Baskets, Fish and Flesh in woodden Platters,

The womens entertainment at *Werawocomoco*.

A wilde *Diana Atheon* in one person.

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Beanes and Peaſe there wanted not (for twenty Hogges) nor any Sauage daintie which their inuention could deuiſe; ſome attending, others ſinging and dancing about them: this mirth and banquet being ended, with Firebrands (inſtead of Torches) they conducted him to his lodging.

Captain *Smiths* meſſage.

The next day came *Powhatan*; *Smith* deliuered his Meſſage of the Preſents ſent him, and redeliuered him *Namontacke*, deſiring him to come to his Father *Newport* to accept thoſe Preſents; and conclude their reuenge againſt the *Monacans*: whereupon, the ſubtill Sauage thus replyed:

Powhatans anſwer.

If your King haue ſent mee preſents, I alſo am a King, and this my land; eight dayes I will ſtay to receiue them; your Father is to come to mee, not I to him, nor yet to your Fort, neither will I bite at ſuch a baite: as for the Monacans, *I can reuenge my owne iniuries, and as for* Aaquanuchucke, *where you ſay your Brother was ſlaine, it is a contrary way from thoſe parts you ſuppoſe it. But for any ſalt water beyond the Mountaines, the relations you haue had from my people are falſe*; whereupon he began to draw plots vpon the ground (according to his diſcourſe) of all thoſe Regions: many other diſcourſes they had (yet both deſirous to giue each other content in Complementall curteſies) and ſo Captaine *Smith* returned with this anſwer.

Powhatans Coronation.

So much was done to buy repentance with more coſt then worſhip. If we feeke Sauages we looſe them, if wee force them to ſeeke vs, wee ſhal finde theſe ſhadowes of men cloſe at our feet. I haue read more ſtories of them then perhaps any man, and finde that a cruell mercy in awing Sauages to feare vs is better then that mercifull cruelty, which by too much kindenes hath made vs feare them, or elſe by too much confidence to looſe our ſelues. *Smith* & *Newport* may by their examples teach the iuſt courſe to be take with ſuch: the one breeding awe and dread, without *Spaniſh* or *Panike* terror, the other diſgraced in ſeeking to grace with offices of humanity, thoſe which are graceleſſe, Neither doth it become vs to vſe Sauages with ſauageneſſe, nor yet with too humaine vſage, but in a middle path (*medio tutiſſimus ibis*) to goe and doe ſo that they may admire and feare vs, as thoſe whom God, Religion, Ciuility, and Art, haue made ſo farre ſuperiour; yet to abuſe them (vnprouoked) as hoſtile ſlaues, or as meere beaſts, with cruell and beaſtly feriety, whom nature hath equally made men. This breedes deſperate depopulations, as in the *Spaniſh Indies* hath beene ſeene; that gentleneſſe and vnequall equity makes them proud and treacherous, as wofull experience hath taught in the late maſſacre. Our temperance and iuſtice ſhould be qualified with prudence and fortitude. Neither muſt wee make them beaſts, nor yet value them as *Chriſtians*, till we haue made them ſuch; and the way to make them *Chriſtian* men, is firſt to make them ciuill men, to file off the ruſt of their humanity, which as children (the like in taming wilde Beaſts) muſt be done with ſeuere gentleneſſe, and gentle ſeuerity, which may breede in them a louing awe, or awfull loue, at leaſt a iuſt dread toward vs, that feare may make them know vs, and then the fault is ours if they ſee no cauſe to loue vs.

Vpon this Captaine *Newport* ſent his preſents by water, which is neere one hundred miles, with fifty of the beſt ſhot, himſelfe went by land, which is but twelue miles, where he met with our three Barges to tranſport him ouer. All things being fit for the day of his Coronation, the preſents were brought, his Baſon, Ewer, Bed and Furniture ſet vp, his Scarlet Cloake and Apparell (with much adoe) put on him, being perſwaded by *Namontacke*, they would doe him no hurt. But a foule trouble there was to make him kneele to receiue his Crowne, he neither knowing the Maieſty nor meaning of a Crowne, nor bending of the knee, indured ſo many perſwaſions, examples, and inſtructions, as tired them all: At laſt, by leaning hard on his ſhoulders, he a little ſtooped, ſo they put the Crowne on his head: When by the warning of a Piſtoll, the Boates were prepared with ſuch a Volly of ſhot, that the King ſtart vp in a horrible feare, till he ſee all was well, then remembring himſelfe, to congratulate their kindeneſſe, he gaue his old Shooes and his Mantle to Captaine *Newport*. But perceiuing his purpoſe was to diſcouer the *Monacans*, he laboured to diuert his reſolution, refuſing to lend him either men or guides, more then *Namontacke*, and ſo (after ſome complementall kindeneſſe on both ſides) in requitall of his preſents, he preſented *Newport* with a heape of Wheate eares, that might containe ſome ſeuen or eight buſhels, and as much more we bought ready dreſſed in the Towne, wherewith we returned to the Fort.

The Ship hauing disburdened her ſelfe of ſeuenty perſons, with the firſt Gentlewoman, and woman ſeruant that arriued in our Colony; Captaine *Newport* with all the Counſell, and one hundred and twenty choſen men, ſet forward for the diſcouery of *Monacan*, leauing the Preſident at the Fort with eighty (ſuch as they were) to relade the Ship. Arriuing at the fals, wee marched by land ſome forty miles in two dayes and a halfe, and ſo returned downe to the ſame path we went. Two Townes we diſcouered of the *Monacans*, the people neither vſing vs well nor ill, yet for our ſecurity we tooke one of their petty *Werowances*, and led him bound, to conduct vs the way. And in our returne ſearched many places we ſuppoſed Mines, about which we ſpent ſome time in refining, hauing one *William Callicut* a refiner, fitted for that purpoſe, from that cruſt of earth which we digged, he perſwaded vs to beleeue hee extracted ſome ſmall quantity of Siluer (and not vnlikely ſome better ſtuffe might be had for the digging) with this poore triall being contented to leaue this faire, fertill, well watered Country. Comming to the Fals, the Sauages fained there were diuers Ships come into the Bay to kill them at *Iames* Towne. Trade they would not, and finde their Córne we could not, for they had hid it in the woods, and being thus deluded we arriued at *Iames* Towne, halfe ſicke, all complaining, and tired with toile, famine, and diſcontent, to haue onely but diſcouered our gilded hopes, and fruitleſſe certainties, as the Preſident foretold vs.

No ſooner were we landed, but the Preſident diſperſed as many as were able, ſome for Glaſſe, others for Pitch, Tarre and Sope-aſhes, leauing them (with the Fort) to the Councels ouerſight. But thirtie of vs he conducted fiue miles from the Fort to learne to make clap-boord, cut downe Trees, and lie in Woods; amongſt the reſt he had choſen *Gabriell Beadell*, and *Iohn Ruſſell* the only two Gallants of this laſt ſupply, and both proper Gentlemen: ſtrange were theſe pleaſures to

their

to their conditions, yet lodging, eating, drinking, working, or playing, they doing but as the President, all these things were carried so pleasantly, as within a weeke they became Masters, making it their delight to heare the Trees thunder as they fell, but the Axes so oft blistered there tender fingers, that commonly euery third blow had a lowd Oath to drowne the Eccho; for remedie of which sinne the President deuised how to haue euery mans Oathes numbred, and at night, for euery Oath to haue a Kan of water powred downe his sleeue, with which euery Offender was so washed (himselfe and all) that a man should scarce heare an Oath in a Weeke. A pretie punishment for swearing.

By this, let no man thinke that the President, or these Gentlemens spent their times as common Wood-hackers at felling of Trees, or such like other labours, or that they were pressed to any thing as hirelings or common slaues, for what they did (beeing but once a little inured) it, seemed, and they conceited it only as a pleasure and a recreation. Yet thirtie or fortie of such voluntarie Gentlemen would doe more in a day then one hundred of the rest that must be prest to it by compulsion. Master *Scriuener*, Captaine *Waldo*, and Captaine *Winne* at the Fort, euery one in like manner carefully regarded their charge. The President returning from amongst the Woods seeing the time consumed, and no prouision gotten, (and the ship lay idle, and would do nothing presently imbarked himselfe in the Discouery Barge, giuing order to the Councell, to send Master *Percie* after him with the next Barge that arriued at the Fort; two Barges, he had himselfe, and twentie men, but arriuing at *Chickahamina*, that dogged Nation was too well acquainted with our wants, refusing to trade, with as much scorne and insolencie as they could expresse. The President perceiuing it was *Powhatans* policie to starue vs, told them hee came not so much for their Corne, as to reuenge his imprisonment, and the death of his men murdered by them, and so landing his men, and readie to charge them, they immediatly fled; but then they sent their Ambassadors, with corne, fish, fowle, or what they had to make their peace (their corne being that yeere bad) they complained extremely of their owne wants, yet fraughted our Boates with one hundred bushels of Corne, and in like manner Master *Percies*, that not long after vs arriued; they hauing done the best they could to content vs, within foure or fiue dayes wee returned to *Iames* Towne. One Gentleman better then twentie Lubbers. The *Chickahamines* forced to contribution.

All this time our old Tauerne, made as much of all them that had either Money or Ware as could be desired; and by this time they were become so perfect on all sides (I meane Souldiers, Saylers, and Sauages) as there was ten times more care, to maintayne their damnable and priuate Trade, then to prouide for the Colonie things that were necessarie, neither was it a small policie in the Mariners, to report in *England* wee had such plentie, and bring vs so many men without victuall, when they had so many priuate Factors in the Fort, that within sixe or seuen weekes after the ships returne, of two or three hundred Hatchets, Chissels, Mattockes, and Pick-axes scarce twentie could bee found, and for Pike-heads, Kniues, Shot, Powder, or any thing (they could steale from their fellowes) was vendible; They knew as well (and as secretly) how to conuay them to trade with the Sauages, for Furres, Baskets, Mussaneekes, young beasts or such like Commodities, as to exchange them with the Saylers, for Butter, Cheese, Beefe, Porke, Aqua-uitæ, Beere, Bisket, and Oate-meale; and then faine, that all was sent them from their friends. And though *Virginia* afford no Furres for the store, yet one Mariner in one Voyage hath got so many, as he hath confessed to haue sold in *England* for thirtie pound. *And for all this riot and Newports boasting to leaue vs for twelue monethes, though we had eightie nine by his Discouerie sicke and lame, which by one waie for a pound of Copper might much better haue beene done, and hauing but a pint of Corne a day for a man, we were constrained to giue him three Hogsheads of that Corne to victuall his ship homeward.* A good tauern in *Virginia*. A bad trade of Masters and Saylers.

Those are the Saint-seeming Worthies of *Virginia*, that haue notwithstanding all this, meat, drinke, and pay, but now they beginne to grow wearie, their Trade beeing both perceiued and preuented; none hath beene in *Virginia* (that hath obserued any thing) which knowes not this to be true, and yet the scorne, and shame was the poore Souldiers, Gentlemen and careleſſe Gouernours, who were all thus bought and sold, the Aduenturers coozened, and the action ouerthrowne by their false excuses, informations, and directions by this let all the World Iudge, how this businesse could prosper, being thus abused by such pilfering occasions.

The proceedings and accidents, with the second supply.

Master *Scriuener* was sent with the Barges and Pinnace to *Werawocomoco*, where he found the Sauages more readie to fight then trade, but his vigilancie was such, as preuented their proiects, and by the meanes of *Namontack* got three or foure Hogsheads of Corne, and as much red paint, which (then) was esteemed an excellent die. *Scriuenors* voyage to *Werawocomoco*.

Captaine *Newport* being dispatched with the tryals of Pitch, Tarre, Glasse, Frankincense, and Sope-ashes, with that Clapboord and Wainscot which could bee prouided, met with Master *Scriuener* at Point *Comfort*, and so returned for *England*, leauing vs in all two hundred, with those he brought vs.

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Nanſamund forced to contribution.

Thoſe poore concluſions ſo affrighted vs all with famine; that the Preſident prouided for *Nanſamund*, tooke with him Captaine *Winne* and Maſter *Scrimener*, (then returning from Captaine *Newport*) theſe people alſo long denied him Trade (excuſing themſelues to be ſo commanded by *Powhatan*) till we were conſtrained to begin with them perforce, and then they would rather ſell vs ſome, then we ſhould take all; ſo loading our Boats, with one hundred buſhels wee parted friends, and came to *Iames* Towne, at which time, there was a Marriage betweene *Iohn Laydon* and *Anna Burrowes*, being the firſt Marriage we had in *Virginia*.

First marriage.

Long he ſtayed not, but fitting himſelfe and Captaine *VValdo* with two Barges, from *Chawopo*, *VVeanocke* and all parts there, was found neither Corne nor Sauage, but all fled (being iealous of our intents) till we diſcouered the Riuer and people of *Appametuck*, where we found little: that which they had, wee equally deuided, betwixt the Sauages and vs (but gaue them Copper in conſideration) Maſter *Percie*, and Maſter *Scrimener* went alſo abroad but could finde nothing.

Appamatucke diſcouered.

The Preſident ſeeing this procraſtinating of time, was no courſe to liue, reſolued with Captaine *VValdo* (whom he knew to be ſure in time of need) to ſurprize *Powhatan*, and all his prouiſion, but Captaine *VVinne*, and Maſter *Scrimener* (for ſome priuate reſpects) did their beſt to hinder their proiect: But the Preſident whom no perſwaſions could perſwade to ſtarue, being inuited by *Powhatan* to come vnto him, and if he would ſend him but men to build him a houſe, bring him a Grindſtone, fiftie Swords, ſome Peeces, a Cocke and a Henne, with Copper and Beads, he would load his ſhip with Corne, the Preſident not ignorant of his deuices, yet vnwilling to neglect any opportunitie, preſently ſent three *Dutchmen* and two *Engliſh* (hauing no victuals to imploy them, all for want thereof being idle) knowing there needed no better Caſtell, then that houſe to ſurprize *Powhatan*, to effect this proiect hee tooke order with Captaine *Waldo* to ſecond him if need required; *Scrimener* he left his Subſtitute; and ſet forth with the Pinnace two Barges, and ſixe and fortie men which only were ſuch as voluntarily offered themſelues for his iournie the which) by reaſon of Maſter *Scrimeners* ill ſucceſſe) was cenſured very deſperate, they all knowing *Smith* would not returne emptie how ſoeuer, cauſed many of thoſe that he had appointed, to find excuſes to ſtay behind.

Cap. Smiths iourne to *Pamaunke. Ch. 8.*

THe nine and twentieth of December hee ſet forward for *Weraweomoco*. In the Pinnace. Maſter *George Percie*, brother to the Earle of *Northumberland*. Maſter *Francis Weſt*, brother to the Lord *De-la-Ware*. *William Phetiplace* Captaine of the Pinnace. *Ionas Profit* Maſter. *Robert Ford* Clerke of the Councell.

Michaell Phetiplace. Geoffery Abbot Sergeant. *William Tankard. George Yarington. Iames Bourne. George Burton. Thomas Coe.* Gentlemen.

Iohn Dods. Edward Brinton. Nathaniell Peacocke. Henry Powell. Dauid Ellis. Thomas Gipſon. Iohn Prat. George Acrigge. Iames Reade. Nicholas Hancocke. Iames Watkins. Anthony Bagely Sergeant. *Thomas Lambert. Edward Piſing* Sergeant. Souldiers.

Foure *Dutchmen* and *Richard Sauage* were ſent by Land, to build the houſe for *Powhatan* againſt our arriuall.

This company being victualled but for three or foure dayes lodged the firſt night at *Werokoyack*, where the Preſident tooke ſufficient prouiſion; This kinde Sauage did his beſt to diuert him from ſeeing *Powhatan*, but perceiuing hee could not preuaile, hee aduiſed in this manner; *Captaine* Smith, *you ſhall find* Powhatan *to vſe you kindly, but truſt him not, and be ſure he haue no opportunitie to ſeize on your armes, for he hath ſent for you only to cut your throts*; the Captaine thanked him for his good counſell, yet the better to try his loue, deſired Guides to *Chowanoke*, for hee would ſend a preſent to that King to bind him his friend. To performe this Iourney, was ſent *Michael Sicklemore*, a very honeſt valiant, and painfull Souldier, with him two Guides, and directions how to ſearch for the loſt company of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and Silke Graſſe: then wee departed thence, the Preſident aſſuring the King his perpetuall loue, and left with him *Samuell Collier* his Page to learne the Language.

The good counſell of Werokoyake.

The next night being lodged at *Kecoughtan* ſixe or ſeuen dayes, the extreme wind, raine, froſt, and ſnow, cauſed vs to keepe Chriſtmaſſe amongſt the Sauages, where we were neuer more merrie, nor fed on more plentie of good Oyſters, Fiſh, Fleſh, Wild-foule, and good Bread, nor neuer had better fires in *England* then in the dry warme ſmokie houſes of *Kecoughtan*. But departing thence, when we found no houſes, we were not curious in any weather, to lie three or foure nights together vpon any ſhore vnder the Trees by a good fire. The Preſident *Anthony Bagly*, and *Edward Piſing*, did kill one hundred fortie and eight Fowles at three ſhootes. At *Kiskiack* the Froſt forced vs three or foure dayes alſo to ſuppreſſe the inſolencie of thoſe proud Sauages; to quarter in their houſes, and guard our Barge, and cauſe them giue vs what we wanted, yet were wee but twelue with the Preſident, and yet wee neuer wanted Harbour where wee found any houſes.

Plentie of victuall. 148. Fowle killed at three ſhoots.

The twelfth of Ianuary we arriued at *Weraweomo*, where the Riuer was frozen neere halfe a mile from the ſhore; but to neglect no time, the Preſident with his Barge, ſo farre had approached

ched by breaking the Ice as the ebbe left him amongst those Ozie shoales, yet rather then to lie there frozen to death, by his owne example he taught them to march middle deepe, more then a flight shot through this muddie frozen Oze; when the Barge floted hee appointed two or three to returne her aboord the Pinnace, where for want of water in melting the Salt Ice they made fresh water, but in this march Master *Russell* (whom none could perswade to stay behind) being somewhat ill, and exceeding heauie, so ouer-toyled himselfe, as the rest had much adoe (ere hee got ashore) to regaine life, into his dead benumned spirits, quartering in the next Houses wee found, we sent to *Powhatan* for prouision, who sent vs plentie of Bread, Turkeyes, and Venison. The next day hauing feasted vs after his ordinary manner, he began to aske, when we would bee gone, fayning hee sent not for vs, neither had hee any Corne, and his people much lesse, yet for fortie Swords hee would procure vs fortie bushels. The President shewing him the men there present, that brought him the message and conditions, asked him how it chanced hee became so forgetfull, thereat the King concluded the matter with a merrie laughter, asking for our Commodities, but none hee liked without Gunnes and Swordes, valuing a basket of Corne more precious then a Basket of Copper, saying, hee could eate his Corne, but not his Copper.

An ill march. *Powhatans* subtletie.

Captaine *Smith* seeing the intent of this subtle Sauage; beganne to deale with him after this manner, Powhatan, *Though I had many courses to haue made my prouision, yet beleeuing your promises to supply my wants, I neglected all, to satisfie your desire, and to testifie my loue, I sent you my men for your building, neglecting my owne: what your people had you haue engrossed, forbidding them our Trade, and now you thinke by consuming the time, we shall consume for want, not hauing to fulfill your strange demands, as for Swords and Gunnes, I told you long agoe, I had none to spare. And you shall know, those I haue, can keepe me from want; yet steale, or wrong you I will not nor dissolue that friendship we haue mutually promised, except you constraine me by your bad vsage.*

Cap. *Smiths* discourse to *Powhatan.*

The King hauing attentiuely listned to this Discourse; promised, that both he and his Countrey would spare him what they could, the which within two dayes, they should receiue, yet Captaine *Smith* (saith the King) some doubt I haue of your comming hither, that makes me not so kindly seeke to releeue you as I would; for many doe informe mee, your comming is not for Trade, but to inuade my people and possesse my Country, who dare not come to bring you corne, seeing you thus armed with your men. To cleere vs of this feare, leaue aboord your weapons, for here they are needlesse we being all friends and for euer *Powhatans.*

Powhatans reply and flattery

With many such Discourses they spent the day, quartering that night in the Kings houses, the next day he reuiewed his building, which he little intended should proceed; for the *Dutchmen* finding his plentie, and knowing our want, and perceiuing his preparation to surprize vs, little thinking we could escape, both him and famine (to obtaine his fauour) reuealed to him as much as they knew of our estates projects, and how to preuent them; one of them being of so good a iudgement, spirit, and resolution, and a hireling that was certaine of wages for his labor, and euer well vsed, both he and his Countrimen, that the President knew not whom better to trust, and not knowing any fitter for that imployment, had sent him as a spie to discouer *Powhatans* intent, then little doubting his honestie, nor could euer be certaine of his villany, till neere halfe a yeere after. Whilst we expected the comming in of the Country, we wrangled out of the King ten quarters of Corne for a Copper Kettle, the which the President perceiuing him much to effect, valued it at a much greater rate, but (in regard of his scarcitie) he would accept of as much more the next yeere, or else the Country of *Monacan*; the King exceeding liberall of that he had not yeelded him *Monacan*. Wherewith each seeming well contented; *Powhatan* began to expostulate the difference betwixt Peace and Warre, after this manner.

Wickednesse of their *Dutchmen.*

Captaine Smith *you may vnderstand, that I, hauing seene the death of all my people thrice, and not one liuing of those three Generations, but my selfe, I know the difference of Peace and Warre, better then any in my Countrie. But now I am old, and ere long I must die, my Brethren, namely* Opichapam, Opechankanough, *and* Kekataugh, *my two sisters, and their two daughters, are distinctly each others successors, I wish their experiences no lesse then mine, and your loue to them, no lesse then mine to you; but this brute from* Nansamund *that you are come to destroy my Countrie, so much affrighteth all my people, as they dare not visit you; what will it auaile you, to take that perforce you may quietly haue with loue, or to destroy them that prouide you food? what can you get by war, when we can hide our prouision and flie to the woods, wherby you must famish by wronging vs your friends; and why are you thus iealous of our loues, seeing vs vnarmed, and both doe, and are willing still to feed you with that you cannot get but by our labours? thinke you I am so simple not to know, it is better to eat good meate, lie well, and sleepe quietly with my women and children, laugh & be merrie with you, haue Copper, Hatchets, or what I want, being your friend; then be forced to flie from all to lie cold in the woods, feed vpon Acornes, roots and such trash, and be so hunted by you, that I can neither rest, eat, nor sleepe; but my tired men must watch, and if a twig but breake, euery one cry there comes Captaine* Smith, *then must I flie I know not whether, and thus with miserable feare end my miserable life; leauing my pleasures to such youths as you, which through your rash vnadui sednesse, may quickly as miserably end, for want of that you neuer know how to find! Let this therefore assure you of our loues, and euerie yeere our friendly Trade shall furnish you with Corne,*

Powhatans discourse of Peace and Warre.

and

and now alſo, if you would come in friendly manner to ſee vs, and not thus with your Guns and Swords, as to inuade your foes. To this ſubtill diſcourſe the Preſident thus replied.

C. *Smiths reply.*

Seeing you will not rightly conceiue of our words, we ſtriue to make you know our thoughts by our deeds. The vow I made you of my loue, both my ſelfe and my men haue kept, as for your promiſe I find it euerie day violated by ſome of your ſubiects, yet we finding your loue and kindneſſe (our cuſtome is ſo far from being vngratefull) that for your ſake onely, we haue curbed our thirſting deſire of reuenge, elſe had they knowne as well the cruelties we vſe to our enemies, as our true loue and curteſie to our friends. And I thinke your iudgement ſufficient to conceiue as well by the aduentures wee haue vndertaken, as by the aduantage we haue by our Armes of yours: that had we intended you any hurt, long ere this wee could haue effected it; your people comming to me at Iames *Towne, are entertained with their Bowes and Arrowes without exception; we eſteeming it with you, as it is with vs, to weare our Armes as our apparell. As for the dangers of our enemies, in ſuch warres conſiſt our chiefeſt pleaſure, for your riches wee haue no vſe, as for the hiding your proviſion, or by your flying to the Woods, wee ſhall ſo vnaduiſedly ſtarue as you conclude, your friendly care in that behalfe is needleſſe; for wee haue a rule to find beyond your knowledge.*

Many other diſcourſes they had, till at laſt they began to trade, but the King ſeeing his will would not be admitted as a law, our guard diſperſed, nor our men diſarmed, he (ſighing) breathed his mind once more in this manner.

Powhatans importunitie for to haue them vnarmed, to betray them.

Captaine Smith, *I neuer vſed any* Werowances *ſo kindly as your ſelfe; yet from you I receiue the leaſt kindneſſe of any. Captaine* Newport *gaue me ſwords, Copper, Clothes, a Bed, Tooles, or what I deſired, euer taking what I offered him, and would ſend away his Guns when I intreated him: none doth deny to lay at my feet (or doe) what I deſire, but onely you, of whom I can haue nothing, but what you regard not, and yet you will haue what ſoeuer you demand. Captaine* Newport *you call father, and ſo you call me, but I ſee for all vs both, you will doe what you liſt, and wee muſt both ſeeke to content you: But if you intend ſo friendly as you ſay, ſend hence your Armes that I might beleeue you, for you ſee the loue I beare you, doth cauſe me thus naked to forget my ſelfe.*

Smith ſeeing this Sauage but trifled the time to cut his throat: procured the Sauages to breake the Ice (that his Boat might come to fetch both him and his Corne) and gaue order for his men to come aſhore, to haue ſurpriſed the King, with whom alſo hee but trifled the time till his men landed, and to keepe him from ſuſpition, entertained the time with this reply.

C. *Smiths* diſcourſe to delay time, that he might ſurpriſe *Powhatan.*

Powhatan, *you muſt know as I haue but one God, I honour but one King; and I liue not here as your ſubiect, but as your friend, to pleaſure you with what I can: by the gifts you beſtow on me, you gaine more then by trade, yet would you viſit mee as I doe you, you ſhould know it is not our cuſtomes to ſell our curteſie as a vendible commoditie. Bring all your Countrey with you for your guard, I will not diſlike of it as being ouer iealous. But to content you, to morrow I will leaue my Armes, and truſt to your promiſe. I call you father indeed, and as a father you ſhall ſee I will loue you, but the ſmall care you had of ſuch a child, cauſed my men to perſwade me to ſhift for my ſelfe.*

Powhatans plot to haue murdered *Smith.*

By this time *Powhatan* hauing knowledge, his men were readie: whilſt the Ice was breaking, his luggage, women, and children fled, and to auoid ſuſpition, left two or three of his women talking with the Captaine, whilſt hee ſecretly fled, and his men as ſecretly beſet the houſe, which being at the inſtant diſcouered to Captaine *Smith*, with his Piſtol, Sword, and Target, hee made ſuch a paſſage amongſt thoſe naked Deuills, that they fled before him, ſome one way, ſome another, ſo that without hurt hee obtained the Corps du-guard: when they perceiued him ſo well eſcaped, and with his eight men (for hee had no more with him) to the vttermoſt of their skill, they ſought by excuſes to diſſemble the matter, and *Powhatan* to excuſe his flight, and the ſudden comming of this multitude, ſent our Captaine a great Bracelet, and a Chaine of Pearle, by an ancient Orator that beſpoke vs to this purpoſe (perceiuing then from our Pinnace, a Barge, and men departing and comming vnto vs.) *Captaine* Smith, *our* Werowance *is fled, fearing your Guns, and knowing when the Ice was broken there would come more men, ſent theſe of his to guard his Corne from the pilfry, that might happen without your knowledge: now though ſome bee hurt by your miſpriſion, yet he is your friend, and ſo will continue: and ſince the Ice is open hee would haue you ſend away your Corne; and if you would haue his company ſend alſo your Armes, which ſo affrighteth his people, that they dare not come to you, as he hath promiſed they ſhould:* Now hauing prouided Baskets for our men to carry the Corne, they kindly offered their ſeruice to guard our Armes, that none ſhould ſteale them. A great many they were, of goodly well appointed fellowes as grim as Deuills: yet the very ſight of cocking our matches againſt them, and a few wordes cauſed them to leaue their Bowes and Arrowes to our guard, and beare downe our Corne on their owne backes; wee needed not importune them to make quick diſpatch. But our owne Barge being left by the ebbe, cauſed vs to ſtay till the midnight tide carried vs ſafe aboard, hauing ſpent that halfe night with ſuch mirth, as though we neuer had ſuſpected or intended any thing, we left the Dutchmen to build *Brinton* to kill Fowle for *Powhatan* (as by his Meſſengers he importunately deſired) and left directions with our men to giue *Powhatan* all the content they could, that we might inioy his company at our returne from *Pamaunke*.

A Chaine of Pearle for a Preſent.

His excuſe.

Pretending to kill our men loaded with baskets, wee forced the Sauages to carrie them.

We

WE had no sooner set saile, but *Powhatan* returned, and sent *Adam* and *Francis* (two stout Dutch men) to the Fort, who faining to Captaine *Winne* that all things were well, and that Captaine *Smith* had vse for their Armes, wherefore they requested new (the which were giuen them) they told him their comming was, for some extraordinary tooles and shift of apparell, by this colourable excuse, they obtained sixe or seuen more to their confederacie, such expert theeues that presently furnished them with a great many of Swords, Pike-heads, Peeces, Shot, Powder, and such like; they haue Sauages at hand ready to carry it away. The next day they returned vnsuspected, leauing their confederates to follow, and in the interim, to conuay them a competencie of all things they could, for which seruice they should liue with *Powhatan* as his chiefe affected: free from those miseries that would happen the Colony. *Samuell* their other consort, *Powhatan* kept for their pledge, whose diligence had prouided them three hundred of their kind of Hatchets, the rest fiftie Swords, eight Peeces, and eight Pikes: *Briton*, and *Richard Sauage* seeing the Dutch-men so strangely diligent to accommodate the Sauages, these weapons attempted to haue got to *Iames* Towne, but they were apprehended. Within two or three daies we arriued at *Pamaunke*, the King as many daies entertained vs with feasting and much mirth: and the day he appointed to begin our trade, the President, with M. *Persie*, M. *West*, M. *Russell*, M. *Beheathland*, M. *Powell*, M. *Crashaw*, M. *Ford*, and some others to the number of fifteene went vp to *Opechancanoughs* house (neere a quarter of a mile from the Riuer) where we found nothing, but a lame fellow and a boy, and all the houses about, of all things abandoned; not long wee staid ere the King arriued, and after him came diuers of his people loaded with Bowes and Arrowes, but such pinching commodities, and those esteemed at such a value, as our Captaine began with him in this manner.

How we escaped surprising at *Pamaunke*. *Chap. 9.*

The Dutchmen deceiue C. *Smith*.

Perfidious wretches.

Opechancanoughs abandoned.

Opechancanough, *the great loue you professe with your tongue, seemes meere deceit by your actions; last yeere you kindly fraughted our ship, but now you haue inuited me to starue with hunger. You know my want, and I your plentie, of which by some meanes I must haue a part, remember it is fit for Kings to keepe their promise, here are my commodities, whereof take your choice; the rest I will proportion fit bargaines for your people.*

Smiths speech to *Opechancanough*.

The King seemed kindly to accept his offer; and the better to colour his proiect, sold vs what they had to our owne content; promising the next day more company, better prouided (the Barges and Pinnace being committed to the charge of M. *Phetiplace*) the President, with his old fifteene marched vp to the Kings house, where wee found foure or fiue men newly come with great Baskets. Not long after came the King, who with a strained cheerefulnesse held vs with discourse, what paines he had taken to keepe his promise; till M. *Russell* brought vs in newes that we were all betrayed: for at least sixe or seuen hundred of well appointed *Indians* had inuironed the house and beset the fields. The King coniecturing what *Russell* related, wee could well perceiue how the extremitie of his feare bewrayed his intent: whereat some of our company seeming dismayed with the thought of such a multitude; the Captaine incouraged vs after this manner. *Worthy Country-men were the mischiefes of my seeming friends, no more then the danger of these enemies, I little cared, were they as many more; if you dare doe, but as I. But this is my torment, that if I escape them, our malicious Councell, with their open mouthed Minions, will make me such a peace-breaker (in their opinions) in* England, *as will breake my necke: I could wish those here, that make these seeme Saints, and me an Oppressor. But this is the worst of all, wherein, I pray aide me with your opinions; should we begin with them and surprize this King, we cannot keepe him, and defend well our selues, if wee should each kill our man, and so proceed wt hall in this house; the rest will all fly, then shall we get no more, then the bodies that are slaine, and then starue for victuall: as for their furie it is the least danger, for well you know (being alone assaulted with two or three hundred of them) I made them compound to saue my life, and we are now sixteene, and they but seuen hundred at the most, and assure your selues GOD will so assist vs, that if you dare but to stand to discharge your Peeces, the verie smoake will be sufficient to affright them: yet howsoeuer (if there be occasion) let vs fight like men, and not die like sheepe: but first I will deale with them, to bring it to passe, we may fight for some thing, and draw them to it by conditions: If you like this motion, promise me youle be valiant.* The time not permitting any argument, all vowed to execute whatsoeuer he attempted, or die; whereupon the Captaine approaching the King, bespoke him in this manner.

700. *Sauages* beset the *English* being but sixteene.

Smiths speech to his Company.

I see Opechancanough *your plot is to murder me, but I feare it not; as yet your men and mine, haue done no harme, but by our directions. Take therefore your Armes; you see mine: my bodie shall bee as naked as yours; the Ile in your Riuer is a fit place, if you be contented: and the conquerour (of vs two) shall be Lord and Master ouer all our men: otherwaies draw all your men into the field; if you haue not enough, take time to fetch more, and bring what number you will, so euerie one bring a basket of Corne, against all which I will stake the value in Copper; you see I haue but fifteene men, and our gaine shall be, The conquerour take all.*

Smiths offer to *Opechancanough*.

The King, being guarded with fiftie or sixtie of the chiefe men, seemed kindly to appease *Smiths* suspition of vnkindnesse, by a great present at the doore, they intreated him to receiue. This was to draw him without the doore where the present was guarded with (at the least two hundred men, and thirtie lying vnder a great tree (that lay thwart as a Barricado) each his Ar-

Opechancanoughs deuice to betray *Smith*.

row,

Opechancanough taken priſoner amids his men. If this courſe had bin taken by others *Virginia* by this had bin out of her cradle, & able to goe alone, yea to trade or fight. But names of peace haue bred worſe then wars, and our confidence hatched the miſerable maſſacre by this perfidious Sauage. And would God a *Dale* or *Smith*, or ſome ſuch ſpirit were yet there to take this, that is the onely right courſe, with thoſe which know not to doe right, further for feare of ſuffering it enforceth. *Smiths* diſcourſe to the *Pamaunkies*. The Sauages diſſemble their intent. See their vſe of Engliſh Armes. Their excuſe and reconcilement. The loſſe of M. *Skriuener* and others with a Skiffe. M. *Wiffin* his iourney to the Preſident.

row nocked ready to ſhoot; ſome the Preſident commanded to go & ſee what kind of deceit this was, and to receiue the Preſent, but they refuſed to doe it) yet diuers offered whom he would not permit: but commanding M. *Perſie*, and M. *Weſt* to make good the houſe, to M. *Powell*, and M. *Beheathland* to guard the doore, and in ſuch a rage ſnatched the King by his long locke of haire in the midſt of his men, with his Piſtoll readie bent againſt his breſt, he inſtantly yeelded his Bow and Arrowes, and ſued for his life: Thus he led the King (neere dead with feare) amongſt all his people, who deliuering the Captaine his Bow and arrowes, all his men were eaſily intreated to caſt downe their Armes, little dreaming any durſt in that manner haue vſed their King: who then to eſcape himſelfe, beſtowed his Preſents in good ſadneſſe. And hauing cauſed all his multitude to approach diſarmed; the Preſident argued with them to this effect,

I ſee you Pamaunkies, *the great deſire you haue to cut my throat; and my long ſuffering your iniuries, haue inboldned you to this preſumption. The cauſe I haue forborne your inſolencies, is the promiſe I made you (before the God I ſerue) to be your friend, till you giue mee iuſt cauſe to bee your enemy. If I keepe this vow, my God will keepe me, you cannot hurt me; if I breake it, he will deſtroy me. But if you ſhoot but one Arrow, to ſhed one drop of bloud of any of my men, or ſteale the leaſt of theſe Beades, or Copper (I ſpurne before me with my foot) you ſhall ſee, I will not ceaſe reuenge (if once I begin) ſo long as I can beare where to find one of your Nation that will not deny the name of* Pamaunke: *I am not now at* Raſſeneac *(halfe drown'd with mire) where you tooke me priſoner, yet then for keeping promiſe, and your good vſage, and ſauing my life, I ſo affect you, that your denialls of your treacherie, doth halfe perſwade me to miſtake my ſelfe. But if I be the marke you aime at, here I ſtand, ſhoot he that dare. You promiſed to fraught my ſhip ere I departed, and ſo you ſhall, or I meane to load her with your dead carkaſſes; yet if as friends you will come and trade, I once more promiſe not to trouble you, except you giue mee the firſt occaſion.* Vpon this away went your Bowes and Arrowes, and men, women, and children brought in their commodities, but two or three houres they ſo thronged about the Preſident, and ſo ouerwearied him, as hee retired himſelfe to reſt, leauing M. *Beheathland*, and M. *Powel* to accept their Preſents: but ſome Sauages perceiuing them faſt aſleepe, and the guard careleſly diſperſed, fortie or fiftie of their choice men each with an *Engliſh* Sword in his hand, began to enter the houſe, with two or three hundred others that preſſed to ſecond them. The noiſe and haſt they made in, did ſo ſhake the houſe, as they awoke him from his ſleepe, and being halfe amazed with this ſudden ſight, betooke him ſtraight to his Sword and Target, M. *Craſhaw* and ſome other charging in like manner, they thronged faſter backe, then before forward. The houſe thus clenſed, the King and his Ancients, with a long Oration came to excuſe this intruſion. The reſt of the day was ſpent with much kindneſſe, the company againe renuing their Preſents of their beſt prouiſion. And what ſoeuer we gaue them, they ſeemed well contented with it.

Now in the meane while ſince our departure, this hapned at the Fort; M. *Scrimener* willing to croſſe the ſurprizing of *Powhatan*; nine daies after the Preſidents departure, would needs viſit the *Ile of Hogs*, and tooke with him Captaine *Waldo* (though the Preſident had appointed him to be readie to ſecond his occaſions) with M. *Anthony Goſnoll*, and eight others; but ſo violent was the wind (that extreame frozen time) that the Boat ſunke, but where or how, none doth know, for they were all drowned; onely this was knowne, that the Skiffe was much ouerladed, and would ſcarce haue liued in that extreame tempeſt, had ſhe beene emptie; but by no perſwaſion he could be diuerted, though both *Waldo* and a hundred others doubted as it hapned. The Sauages were the firſt that found their bodies, which ſo much the more encouraged them to effect their proiects. To aduertiſe the Preſident of this heauy newes, none could be found would vndertake it, but the iourney was often refuſed of all in the Fort, vntill M. *Wiffin* vndertooke alone the performance thereof; wherein he was encountred with many dangers and difficulties, and in all parts as he paſſed (as alſo that night he lodged with *Powhatan*) he perceiued ſuch preparation for warre, that aſſured him, ſome miſchiefe was intended, but with extraordinary bribes, and much trouble, in three daies trauell at length he found vs in the midſt of theſe turmoiles. This vnhappy newes, the Preſident ſwore him to conceale from the reſt, and ſo diſſembling his ſorrow, with the beſt countenance he could, when the night approached, went ſafely aboard with all his company.

Powhatan conſtraineth his men to be treacherous.

Now ſo extreamely *Powhatan* had threatned the death of his men, if they did not by ſome meanes kill Captaine *Smith*, that the next day they appointed the Country ſhould come to trade vnarmed: yet vnwilling to be treacherous, but that they were conſtrained, hating fighting, almoſt as ill as hanging, ſuch feare they had of bad ſucceſſe. The next morning the Sunne had not long appeared, but the fields appeared couered with people, and baskets to tempt vs aſhore. The Preſident determined to keepe aboard, but nothing was to be had without his preſence, nor they would not indure the ſight of a Gun: then the Preſident ſeeing many depart, and being vnwilling to loſe ſuch a bootie, ſo well contriued the Pinnace, and his Barges with *Ambuſcadoes*, as only with M. *Perſie*, M. *Weſt*, and M. *Ruſſell* armed, he went aſhore, others vnarmed hee appointed to receiue what was brought; the Sauages flocked before him in heapes, and (the banke ſeruing as a trench for retreate) he drew them faire open to his *Ambuſcadoes*, for he not being to be perſwaded to goe to viſit their King, the King came to viſit him with two or three hundred

The third attempt to betray vs.

men,

men, in the forme of two halfe Moones, with some twentie men, and many women loaded with great painted baskets; but when they approached somewhat neere vs, their women and children fled, for when they had enuironed and beset the fields in this manner, they thought their purpose sure; yet so trembled with feare, as they were scarce able to nock their Arrowes: *Smith* standing with his three men readie bent beholding them, till they were within danger of our *Ambuscado*, who, vpon the word discouered themselues, and hee retiring to the banke: which the Sauages no sooner perceiued, but away they fled, esteeming their heeles for their best aduantage. That night we sent to the Fort M. *Crashaw*, and M. *Ford*, who (in the mid-way betweene *Werawocomoco* and the fort) met foure or fiue of the *Dutchmens* confederates going to *Powhatan*, the which (to excuse those Gentlemens suspition of their running to the Sauages returned to the Fort and there continued.

The Sauages hearing our Barge depart in the night were so terribly affraide, that wee sent for more men (wee hauing so much threatned their ruine, and the rasing of their Houses, Boates, and Canowes), that the next day the King, sent our Captaine a Chaine of Pearle to alter his purpose, and stay his men, promising (though they wanted themselues) to fraught our ship, and bring it aboard to auoid suspition; so that fiue or sixe daies after, from all parts of the Countrey within ten or twelue miles, in the extreame cold Frost, and Snow, they brought vs prouision on their naked backes. *A Chaine of Pearle sent to obtaine peace.*

Yet notwithstanding this kindnesse and trade, had their art and poison beene sufficient, the President with Master *West* and some others had beene poysoned: it made them sicke, but expelled it selfe, *Wecuttanow* a stout young fellow, knowing hee was suspected for bringing this present of poison, with fortie or fiftie of his choice companions (seeing the President but with a few men at *Potauquat*) so proudly brawed it, as though hee expected to incounter a reuenge: which the President perceiuing, in the midst of his company did not onely beat, but spurned him like a dogge, as scorning to doe him any worse mischiefe: whereupon all of them fled into the Woods, thinking they had done a great matter, to haue so well escaped: and the Townsmen remayning, presently fraughted our Barge, to bee rid of our companies, framing many excuses to excuse *Wecuttanow* (being sonne to their chiefe King, but *Powhatan*) and told vs, if wee would shew them him that brought the poyson, they would deliuer him to vs to punish as wee pleased. *The President poysoned. The offender punished.*

Men may thinke it strange there should bee this stirre for a little Corne, but had it beene Gold with more ease wee might haue got it: and had it wanted, the whole Colony had starued. Wee may bee thought verie patient, to indure all those iniuries; yet onely with fearing them, wee got what they had. Whereas if wee had taken reuenge, then by their losse wee should haue lost our selues. We searched all the Countries of *Tough-tanund* and *Mattapamient*, where the people imparted that little they had, with such complaints and teares from women and children; as hee had beene too cruell to bee a Christian that would not haue beene satisfied, and moued with compassion. But this happened in October, Nouember, and December, when that vnhappy discouerie of *Monacan* was made, wee might haue fraughted a Ship of fortie Tunnes, and twice as much might haue beene had from the Riuers of *Toppahanock*, *Patawomeck*, and *Pawtuxunt*. The maine occasion of our temporizing with the Sauages was to part friendes (as wee did) to giue the lesse cause of suspition to *Powhatan*, to flye: by whom wee now returned, with a purpose to haue surprised him and his prouision: for effecting whereof (when wee came against the Towne) the President sent Master *Wiffin* and Master *Coe*, a shoare to discouer and make way for his intended proiect. But they found that those damned *Dutchmen* had caused *Powhatan* to abandon his new house, and *Werawocomoco*, and to carrie away all his Corne and prouision; and the people they found by their meanes so ill affected, that had they not stood well vpon their guard, they had hardly escaped with their liues. So the President finding his intention thus frustrated, and that there was nothing now to bee had, and therefore an vnfit time to reuenge their abuses, held on the course for *Iames* Towne; wee hauing in this iourney (for fiue and twentie pound of Copper, fiftie pound of Iron and Beades) kept fortie men sixe weekes, and daily feasted with Bread, Corne, Flesh, Fish, and Fowle, euery man hauing for his reward (and in consideration of his commodities) a months prouision (no trade being allowed but for the store) and wee deliuered at *Iames* Towne to the Cape-Merchant two hundred seuentie nine bushels of Corne. *The Sauage want and pouertie.* *The Dutchmen did much hurt.*

WHen the ships departed, all the prouision of store (but that the President had gotten) was so rotten with the last Summers Raine, and eaten with Rats and Wormes, as the Hogges would scarcely eate it, yet it was the Souldiers Diet, till our returnes: so that we found nothing done, but victuall spent, and the most part of our Tooles, and a good part of our Armes conueyed to the Sauages. But now, casting vp the store, and finding sufficient till the next Harueſt, the feare of staruing was abandoned; and the Company diuided into tennes, fifteenes, or as the busines required foure houres each day was spent in work, the rest in pastimes and merrie exercise. The *Dutchmens* Consorts so closely still conuaid Powder, Shot, Swords, and Tooles, that though *How the Sauages became subiect to the English. Chap. 10.*

The *Dutchmens* plot to murder Cap. *Smith.*

though wee could find the defect, we could not find by whom it was occasioned, till it was too late. All this time the *Dutchmen* remayning with *Powhatan*, receiued them, instructing the Sauages their vse. But their Consorts not following them as they expected (to know the cause, they sent *Francis* their companion (a stout young fellow) diguised Sauage like) to the Glasse-house (a place in the Woods neere a mile from *Iames* Towne) where was the randeuoze for all their vnsuspected villany; fortie men they procured of *Powhatan* to lie in Ambuscadoe for Captaine *Smith*, who no sooner heard of this *Dutchman*, but he sent to apprehend him, who found he was gone, yet to crosse his returne to *Powhatan*, Captaine *Smith* presently dispatched twenty shot after him, and then returning but from the Glasse-house alone, he incountred the King of *Pasp-*
heigh, a most strong stout Sauage, whose perswasions not being able to perswade him to his am-
bush, seeing him only armed but with a Fauchion, attempted to haue shot him; but the President preuented his shot by grapling with him, and the Sauage as well preuented him for drawing his Fauchion, and perforce bore him into the Riuer to haue drowned him; long they struggled in the water, from whence the King perceiuing two of the *Poles* vpon the sands would haue fled; but the President held him by the haire and throat till the *Poles* came in; then seeing how pittifully the poore Sauage begged his life, they conducted him prisoner to the Fort. The *Dutchman* ere long was also brought in, whose Villany, though all this time it was suspected, yet he fained such a formall excuse, that for want of Language, *Winne* had not rightly vnderstood them, and for their dealings with *Powhatan*, that to saue their liues they were constrained to accomodate his armes, of whom he extremely complained to haue detained them perforce; and that hee made this es-
cape with the hazard of his life, and meant not to haue returned, but only walked in the woods to gather Walnuts: yet for all this faire Tale (there was so small appearance of truth) hee went by the heeles; the King also he put fetters; purposing to regaine the *Dutchmen*, by the sauing his life; the poore Sauage did his best, by his daily Messengers to *Powhatan*, but all returned that the *Dutchmen* would not returne, neither did *Powhatan* stay them, and to bring them fiftie miles on their backes they were not able. Daily this Kings Wiues, children, and people, came to visit him with Presents, which he liberally bestowed to make his peace, much trust they had in the Presidents promise, but the King finding his Guard negligent (though fettered) yet escaped; Captaine *Winne* thinking to pursue him, found such troupes of Sauages to hinder his passages, as they exchanged many volies of shot for flight of Arrowes. Captaine *Smith* hearing of this, in retur-
ning to the Fort tooke two Sauages Prisoners, the one called *Kemps*, the other *Kinsock*, the two most exact Villaines in the Countrey; with those, Captaine *Winne* and fiftie chosen men attempted that night to haue regained the King, and reuenged his iniurie (and so had doue if he had followed his directions, or beene aduised by those two Villaines, that would haue betrayed both their King and Kindred for a piece of Copper) but hee trifling away the night, the Sauages the next morning by the rising of the Sunne, braued him to come ashore to fight, a good time both sides let flie at other, but we heard of no hurt, only they tooke two Canoaes, burnt the Kings House and so returned.

Smith taketh the King of *Paspaheigh* prisoner.

The Sauages desire peace.

The President fearing those brauadoes, would but incourage the Sauages, begunne himselfe to trie his conclusions; whereby sixe or seuen Sauages were slaine, as many made Prisoners; burnt their Houses, tooke their Boats with all their fishing weares, and planted them at *Iames* Towne for his owne vse; and now resolued not to ceasse till hee had reuenged himselfe vpon all that had iniured him, but in his iourney passing by *Paspaheigh* towards *Chickahamina*, the Sauages did their best to draw him to their Ambuscadoes; but seeing him regardlesly passe their Countrey, all shewed themselues in their braueste manner, to try their valours; he could not but flie, and ere hee could land, the Sauages no sooner knew him, but they threw downe their Armes and desired Peace; their Orator was a stout young man called *Ocanindge*, whose worthy Discourse deser-
eth to be remembred; and this it was.

Ocanindge his Oration.

Captaine Smith, *my Master is here present in this companie thinking it Captaine* Winne, *and not you; and of him he intended to haue beene reuenged, hauing neuer offended him: if he haue offended you in escaping your imprisonment; the Fishes swimme, the Fowles flie, and the verie Beasts striue to escape the snare and line; then blame not him being a man; he would entreate you remember, your being a prisoner, what paines hee tooke to saue your life; if since hee hath iniured you, hee was compelled to it; but howsoeuer, you haue reuenged it with our too great losse; we perceiue and well know you intend to destroy vs, that are here to intreat and desire your friendship, and to enioy our houses and plant our fields, of whose fruit you shall participate, otherwise you will haue the worst by our absence, for we can plant any where, though with more labour, and we know you cannot liue if you want our Harueste, and that reliefe we bring you; if you promise vs peace we will beleeue you, if you proceed in reuenge, we will abandon the Countrie.* Vpon these tearmes the President promised them peace, till they did vs iniurie, vpon condition they should bring in prouision, so all departed good friends, and so continued till *Smith* left the Countrey.

A Sauage smothered at *Iames* Towne, and was recouered.

Arriuing at *Iames* Towne, complaint was made to the President that the *Chickahaminos*, who all this while continued Trade, and seemed our friends by colour thereof were the only Theeues, and amongst other things, a Pistoll being stolne, and the Theife fled, there was apprehended two

proper

proper young fellowes that were brothers, knowne to be his confederates. Now to regaine this Pistoll, the one we imprisoned, the other was sent to returne againe within twelue houres, or his brother to be hanged, yet the President pitying the poore naked Sauage in the dungeon, sent him victuall and some Char-cole for fire; ere midnight his brother returned with the Pistoll, but the Sauage in the dungeon was so smothered with the smoake hee had made, and so piteously burnt, that he found him dead, the other most lamentably bewailed his death, and brake forth in such bitter agonies, that the President (to quiet him) told him that if hereafter they would not steale, he would make him aliue againe, but little thought he could be recouered, yet (we doing our best with Aquauitæ and Vineger) it pleased God to restore him againe to life, but so drunke and affrighted that he seemed lunaticke, not vnderstanding any thing he spoke or heard, the which as much grieued and tormented the other, as before to see him dead; of which maladie (vpon promise of their good behauiour afterward) the President promised to recouer him; and so caused him to be laid by a fire to sleepe, who in the morning (hauing well slept) had recouered his perfect senses; and then being dressed of his burning, and each a piece of Copper giuen them, they went away so well contented, that this was spread amongst all the Sauages for a Miracle, that Captaine *Smith* could make a man aliue that is dead. These and many other such pretie accidents, so amazed and affrighted both *Powhatan* and all his people that from all parts with presents they desired peace, returning many stolne things which wee neither demanded nor thought of. And after that, those that were taken stealing (both *Powhatan* and his people) hath sent them backe to *Iames* Towne to receiue their punishment, and all the Countrie became absolutely as free for vs, as for themselues.

Charcole-smoke an vnfit murtherer by ouersight, where no vent is left to it.

Perhaps the Iesuites wits haue (besides meere lies) hatched many of their *Indian* Miracles from as vnlikely egs as this by conioyning industrie and opportunitie.

Powhatan desireth peace.

NOw wee so quietly followed our businesse, that in three moneths wee made three or foure last of Pitch and Tarre, and Sope-ashes, produced a triall of Glasse, made a Well in the Fort of excellent sweet water (which till then was wanting) built some twenty houses, recouered our Church, prouided Nets and wares for fishing (and to stop the disorders of our disorderly theeues and the Sauages) built a Blocke-house in the necke of our Ile, kept by a garrison to entertaine the Sauages trade, and none to passe nor repasse, *Sauage*, nor *Christian*, with out the Presidents order; thirty or forty acres of ground we digged, and planted; of three Sowes in one yeare increased sixty and odde Pigges, and neere fiue hundred Chickens brought vp themselues (without hauing any meate giuen them) but the Hogges were transported to *Hogge Ile*, where also we built a Blocke-house with a Garrison, to giue vs notice of any shipping, and for their exercise they made Clap-board, Wainscot, and cut downe Trees against the ships comming. Wee built also a Fort for a retreat, neere a conuenient Riuer vpon a high commanding Hill, very hard to be assaulted, and easie to be defended; but ere it was halfe finished, this defect caused a stay; in searching our Casked Corne, wee found it halfe rotten, the rest so consumed with the many thousand Rattes (increased first from the ships) that wee knew not how to keepe that little wee had. This did driue vs all to our wits end, for there was nothing in the Countrey but what Nature affoorded, vntill this time *Keinps* and *Tassore*, were fettered Prisoners, and daily wrought, and taught vs how to order and plant our fields. Whom now (for want of victuall) we set at libertie, but so well were they vsed, that they little desired it; and to expresse their loues, for sixteene dayes continuance, the Countrey brought vs (when least) one hundred a day of Squirrils, Turkeyes, Deare, and other wilde Beasts; but this want of Corne occasioned the end of all our workes, it beeing worke sufficient to prouide victuall, fortie or eightie with Ensigne *Laxon*, were sent downe the Riuer to liue vpon Oysters, and twentie with Lieutenant *Percie* to try for fishing at *Point Comfort*, but in sixe weekes, they would not agree once to cast out their Net. Master *West* with as many went vp to the *Falls*, but nothing could be found but a few Berries and Acornes; of that in the store euery one had their equall proportion. Till this present (by the hazard and endeauour of some thirtie or fortie) this whole number had euer bin fed. We had more Sturgeon then could be deuoured by Dogge and Man; of which the industrious, by drying and pownding, mingled with Cauiare, Sorrell, and other wholsome hearbs, would make Bread and Meate; others would gather as much *Tockwough* Roots in a day, as would make them Bread a Weeke, so that of those wilde Fruites, Fish, and Berries, these liued very well (in regard of such a Diet) but such was the most strange condition of some one hundred and fiftie, that had they not beene forced to gather and prepare their victuall they would all haue starued, and haue eaten one another: of those wilde fruites the Sauages often brought vs: and for that the President would not fulfill the vnreasonable desire of those distracted lubberly Gluttons to sell, not only our Kettles, Howes, Tooles, and Iron, nay Swords, Peeces, and the very Ordnance, and Houses (might they haue preuailed but to haue beene but idle) for those Sauage fruites they would haue imparted all to the Sauages, especially for one basket of Corne they heard of, to bee at *Powhatans*, fiftie miles from our Fort, though hee brought neere halfe of it to satisfie their humours, yet to haue had the other halfe, they would haue sold their soules (though not sufficient to haue kept them a Weeke) thousands were their exclamations, suggestions, and deuises, to force him to those base

Rat-plague.

The paines of [illegible]

Basenesse of idlenesse.

Their desire to destroy themselues.

Inuentions, to haue made it an occasion to abandon the Countrey. Want perforce constrayned him to indure their exclayming follies till hee found out the Author, one *Dyer*, a most craftie Knaue, and his ancient maligner, whome hee worthily punished, and with the rest hee argued the case in this manner. *Fellow Souldiers, I did little thinke any so false to report, or so many so simple to bee perswaded, that I either intend to starue you, or that* Powhatan *(at this present) hath Corne for himselfe, much lesse for you; or that I would not haue it, if I knew where it were to be had. Neither did I thinke any so malicious as now I see a great many, yet it shall not so much passionate mee, but I will doe my best for my worst maligner. But dreame no longer of this vaine hope from* Powhatan, *nor that I will longer forbeare to force you from your idlenesse, and punish you if you raile, you cannot denie but that by the hazard of my life, many a time I haue saued yours, when, might your owne wills haue preuailed, you would haue starued, and will doe still whether I will or no. But I protest by that God that made me, since necessitie hath not power to force you to gather for your selues those fruits the Earth doth yeeld, you shall not only gather for your selues, but for those that are sicke: as yet I neuer had more from the store then the worst of you; and all my* English *extraordinary prouision that I haue, you shall see me deuide among the sicke. And this Sauage trash, you so scornfully repine at, being put in your mouthes your stomacks can digest it, and therefore I will take a course you shall prouide it. The sicke shall not starue, but equally share of all our labours, and euery one that gathereth not euery day as much I doe, the next day shall be set beyond the Riuer, and for euer be banished from the Fort, and liue there or starue.*

The Presidents Speech to the Drones.

This order many murmured, was very cruell, but it caused the most part so well bestirre themselues, that of two hundred men (except they were drowned) there died not past seuen or eight. As for Captaine *Winne*, and Master *Ley*, they died ere this want happened, and the rest died not for want of such as preserued the rest. Many were billitted among the Sauages, whereby we knew all their passages, fields, and habitations, how to gather and vse their fruits, as well as themselues. So well those poore Sauages vsed vs (that were thus Billited) as diuers of the Souldiers ranne away, to search *Kemps* our old prisoner. Glad was this *Sauage* to haue such an occasion to testifie his loue, for insteed of entertayning them, and such things as they had stolne with all the great offers and promises they made them, to reuenge their iniuries vpon Captaine *Smith*. First hee made himselfe sport, in shewing his Countrimen (by them) how hee was vsed; feeding them with this Law, Who would not worke must not eate, till they were neere starued, continually threatning to beate them to death, neither could they get from him, till perforce he brought them to our Captaine; that so we contented him, and punished them: as many others that intended also to haue followed them, were rather contented to labour at home, then aduenture to liue idle among the Sauages (of whom there was more hope to make better Christians and good subiects, then the one halfe of those that counterfeited themselues both) For so affraid were all those Kings and the better sort of their people, to displease vs, that some of the baser sort that wee haue extreamely hurt and punished for their villanies, would hire vs that wee should not tell it to their Kings or Countrimen, who would also repunish them, and yet returne them to *Iames* Towne to content the President, by that testimonie of their loues.

But 7. of 200. died in two moneths.

The Sauages returne our Fugitiues.

Master *Sicklemore* well returned from *Chawonock*, but found little hope and lesse certaintie of them which had beene left by Sir *Walter Rawley*. So that *Nathaniell Powell* and *Anas Todkill*, were also, by the *Quiyoughquohanocks*, conducted to the *Mangoages* to search them there. But nothing could we learne but they were all dead. This honest, proper, good-promise-keeping King, of all the rest did euer best affect vs, and though to his false Gods hee was yet very zealous, yet he would confesse, our God as much exceeded his, as our Guns did his Bow and Arrowes, often sending our President many Presents to pray to his God for rain, or his corn would perish, for his Gods were angrie all this time. To reclaime the *Dutchmen*, and one *Bentley* another Fugitiue, we imployed one *William Volda*, (a *Switzer* by birth) with pardons and promises to regain them. Little we then suspected this double villanie of any villany, who plainly taught vs, in the most trust was the greatest Treason. For this wicked Hypocrite, by the seeming hate hee bore to the lewd condition of his cursed Countrimen, hauing this opportunitie by his imployment to regaine them, conueighed them euery thing they desired to effect their project to destroy the Colonie. With much deuotion they expected the *Spaniard*, to whom they intended to haue done good seruice. But to begin with the first opportunitie, they seeing necessitie thus inforced vs to disperse our selues, importuned *Powhatan* to lend them but his forces, and they would not only destroy our Hogges, fire our Towne, and betray our Pinnasse; but bring to his seruice and subiection the most part of our companies. With this plot they had acquainted many discontents, and many were agreed to their deuillish practise. But one *Thomas Douese* and *Thomas Mallard* (whose Christian hearts much relenting at such an vnchristian act) voluntarily reuealed it to Captaine *Smith*: who did his best it might be concealed, perswading *Douese* and *Mallard* to proceed in the confederacie: only to bring the irreclamable *Dutchmen*, and inconstant Sauages in such a manner amongst his Ambuscadoes, as hee had prepared, as not many of them should euer haue returned from out our *Peninsula*.

Search for them sent by Sir *W. Rawlew.* *Powhatan* confessed that hee had bin at the murther of that Colonie: and shewed to Cap. *Smith* a Musket barrell and a brasse Morter, and certaine peeces of Iron which had bin theirs.

The *Dutchmens* trayterous proiects.

But

But this brute comming to the eares of the impatient multitude, they so importuned the President to cut off those *Dutchmen*, as amongst many that offered to cut their throats before the face of *Powhatan*, Master *Wiffin* and *Iefra Abbot* were sent to stabbe or shoote them; but these *Dutchmen* made such excuses accusing *Voldav* whom they supposed had reuealed their proiect, as *Abbot* would not, yet *Wiffin* would, perceiuing it but deceit. The King vnderstanding of this their imployment, sent presently his Messengers to Captaine *Smith*, to signifie it was not his fault to detayne them, nor hinder his men from executing his command, nor did hee nor would he maintaine them, or any to occasion his displeasure. But ere this businesse was brought to a point, God hauing seene our misery sufficient, sent in Captaine *Argall* to fish for Sturgeon with a ship well furnished with Wine and Bisket, which though it was not sent vs, such were our occasions we tooke it at a price, but left him sufficient to returne for *England*, till dissembling *Valdo* his villany, but certainly he had not escaped had the President continued.

Two Gentlemen sent to kil them.

Notwithstanding this Valdo *comming for* England, *pretending to the Company what rich Mynes he had found, for which he was verie much fauoured, rewarded and respected, but returning with the Lord* La-ware, *he could not performe any thing hee promised, And thus also hauing cousened them all, died both basely and miserably. For the rest of his Consorts vpon the arriuall of the Lord* La-ware, *whom they highly recommended to* Powhatan, *promising what great wonders they would worke with his Lordship, would be giue them leaue to goe to him, but when he saw they would be gone, he replied, as you would haue betrayed Captaine* Smith *to me, so will you me to this Lord, for you that would be so false to him, cannot be true to me, so caused his men to beat out their braines, as the Sauages reported to diuers that came from thence.*

Cap. Smith.

TO redresse those iarres and ill proceedings, the Councell in *England* altered the gouernment and deuolued the authoritie to the Lord *De-la-ware*. Who for his Deputie, sent Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Somers*, with nine ships and fiue hundred persons: they set saile from *England* in May 1609. a small Catch perished at Sea in a *Hericano*. The Admirall, with 150. men, with the two Knights, and their new Commission, their Bils of loading with all manner of directions, and the most part of their prouision arriued not. With the other seuen (as Captaines) arriued *Ratliffe* (whose right name was *Sickelmore*) *Martin*, and *Archer*. Who as they had beene troublesome at Sea, began againe to marre all ashore. For though, as is said, they were formerly deposed and sent for *England*, yet now returning againe, graced by the title of Captaines of the passengers, seeing the Admirall wanting, and great probabilitie of her losse: strengthned themselues with those new Companies, so railing and exclayming against Captaine *Smith*, that they mortally hated him, ere euer they saw him. Who vnderstanding by his Scowts, the arriuall of such a fleet (little dreaming of any such supply) supposing them *Spaniards*, he so determined and ordered his affaires, as we little feared their arriuall, nor the successe of our encounter, nor were the Sauages any way negligent or vnwilling, to aide and assist vs with their best power, had it so beene, we had beene happy. For we would not haue trusted them but as our foes, whereas receiuing those as our Countrimen and friends, they did their best to murder our President, to surprize the store, the Fort, and our Lodgings, to vsurpe the gouernment, and make vs all their seruants and slaues to our owne merit. To a thousand mischiefes those lewd Captaines led this lewd company, wherein were many vnruly Gallants packed thether by their friends to escape ill Destinies, and those would dispose and determine of the gouernment, sometimes one, the next day another, to day the old Commission, to morrow the new, the next day by neither. In fine, they would rule all or ruine all; yet in Charitie wee must endure them thus to destroy vs, or by correcting their follies, haue brought the Worlds censure vpon vs to haue beene guiltie of their bloods. Happie had we beene had they neuer arriued; and wee for euer abandoned, and (as wee were) left to our fortunes, for on Earth was neuer more confusion, or misery, then their factions occasioned.

The arriuall of the third supply. *Chap.* 12.
The alteration of the gouernment.
The losse of *Virginia*.
The Sauages offer to fight vnder our colours.
Mutinies.

The President seeing the desire those Braues had to rule, seeing how his authoritie was so vnexpectedly changed, would willingly haue left all and returned for *England*, but seeing there was small hope this new Commission would arriue, longer hee would not suffer those factious spirits to proceed. It would be too tedious, too strange, and almost incredible, should I particularly relate the infinite dangers, plots, and practises, hee daily escaped amongst this factious crue, the chiefe whereof hee quickly laid by the heeles, till his leasure better serued to doe them iustice, and to take away all occasions of further mischiefe, Master *Percie* had his request granted to returne for *England*, and Master *West* with one hundred and twentie went to plant at *the Falls*, *Martin* with neere as many to *Nansamund*, with their due proportions of all prouisions, according to their numbers.

The planting *Nansamund*.
A plantation of the fals.

Now the Presidents yeere being neere expired, he made *Martin* President, who knowing his owne insufficiencie, and the Companies scorne and conceit of his vnworthinesse, within three houres resigned it againe to Captaine *Smith*, and at *Nansamund* thus proceeded. The people being Contributors vsed him kindly: yet such was his iealous feare, and cowardize in the midst of his mirth, he did surprize this poore naked King, with his Monuments, Houses, and the Ile hee in-

The breach of peace with the Sauages.

inhabited; and there fortified himselfe, but so apparantly distracted with feare, as imboldned the Sauages to assault him, kill his men, redeeme their King, gather and carrie away more then one thousand bushels of Corne, he not once daring to intercept them. But sent to the President then at *the Falls* for thirtie good shot, which from *Iames* Towne immediatly were sent him, but he so well imployed them, as they did iust nothing, but returned, complayning of his childishnesse, that with them fled from his company, and so left them to their fortunes.

Master *West* hauing seated his men at *the Falls*, presently returned to reuisit *Iames* Towne, the President met him by the way as hee followed him to *the Falls*: where hee found this Company inconsiderately seated, in a place not only subiect to the Riuers inundation, but round inuironed with many intollerable inconueniences. For remedy whereof, hee sent presently to *Powhatan*, to sell him the place called *Powhatan*, promising to defend him against the *Monacans*, and these should be his conditions (with his people) to resigne him the Fort and Houses, and all that Countrey for a proportion of Copper: that all stealing offenders should bee sent him, there to receiue their punishment: that euery House as a custome should pay him a bushell of Corne for an inch square of Copper, and a proportion of *Pocones* as a yeerely Tribute to King *Iames*, for their protection as a dutie: what else they could spare to barter at their best discretion.

Powhatan sold for Copper.

But both this excellent place and those good conditions did those furies refuse, contemning both him, his kinde care and authoritie, the worst they could to shew their spight, they did. I doe more then wonder to thinke how only with fiue men, hee either durst, or would aduenture as he did (knowing how greedie they were of his bloud) to land amongst them, and commit to imprisonment the greatest spirits amongst them, till by their multitudes being one hundred and twentie, they forced him to retire, yet in that retreat he surprized one of the Boats, wherewith he returned to their ship, wherein was their prouisions, which also he tooke. And well it chanced he found the Mariners so tractable and constant, or there had beene small possibilitie hee had euer escaped. Notwithstanding there were many of the best, I meane, of the most worthy in iudgement, reason or experience, that from their first landing hearing the generall good report of his old Souldiers, and seeing with their eyes his actions so well mannaged with discretion, as Captaine *Wood*, Captaine *Web*, Captaine *Moone*, Captaine *Phitz-Iames*, Master *Partridge*, Master *White*, Master *Powell*, and diuers others; when they perceiued the malice and condition of *Ratcliffe*, *Martin*, and *Archer*, left their factions; and euer rested his faithfull friend: But the worst was, the poore Sauages that daily brought in their contribution to the President, that disorderly company so tormented those poore naked soules, by stealing their Corne, robbing their Gardens, beating them, breaking their Houses, and keeping some prisoners; that they daily complayned to Captaine *Smith*, hee had brought them for Protectors worse enemies then the *Monacans* themselues, which though till then (for his loue) they had indured: they desired pardon, if hereafter they defended themselues, since hee would not correct them, as they had long expected he would: so much they importuned him to punish their misdemeanours, as they offered (if he would conduct them) to fight for him against them. But hauing spent nine dayes in seeking to reclaime them, shewing them how much they did abuse themselues, with their great gilded hopes, of Seas, Mynes, Commodities, or Victories they so madly conceiued. Then (seeing nothing would preuaile with them) hee set saile for *Iames* Towne: now no sooner was the ship vnder saile but the Sauages assaulted those one hundred and twentie in their Fort, finding some straggling abroad in the Woods they slue many, and so affrighted the rest, as their prisoners escaped, and they scarce retyred, with the Swords and Clokes, of these they had slaine. But ere we had sailed a league our ship grounding, gaue vs once more libertie to summon them to a parlie Where we found them all so strangely amazed with this poore simple assault, as they submitted themselues vpon any tearmes to the Presidents mercy. Who presently put by the heeles six or seuen of the chiefe offenders, the rest he seated gallantly at *Powhatan*, in their Sauage Fort they built and pretily fortified with Poles and Barkes of Trees sufficient to haue defended them from all their Sauages in *Virginia*, dry Houses for Lodgings three hundred Acres of ground readie to plant, and no place so strong, so pleasant and delightfull in *Virginia*, for which wee called it *None-such*. The Sauages also he presently appeased; redeliuering to euery one their former losses. Thus all were friends, new Officers appointed to command, and the President againe ready to depart. But at that instant arriued Master *VVest*, whose good nature with the perswasions and compassion of those mutinous prisoners was so much abused, that to regaine their old shops new turmoyles arose. For the rest being possessed of all their Victuall, Munition, and euery thing, they grow to that height in their former factions, as there the President left them to their Fortunes, they returning againe to the open Aire at *VVest Fort*, abandoning *Nonsuch*, and hee to *Iames* Towne with his best Expedition, but this happened him in that Iourney.

Mutinies.

Fiue suppresse 120.

The breach of peace with the Sauages at the Falls.

An assault by the Sauages.

The planting of *Nonsuch*. New peace concluded.

Sleeping in his Boat (for the Ship was returned two dayes before) accidentally, one fired his Powder-bag, which tore his flesh from his bodie and thighes, nine or ten inches square in a most pittifull manner: but to quench the tormenting fire, frying him in his clothes, hee leaped ouerboard into the deepe Riuer, where ere they could recouer him hee was neere drowned. In this estate,

Cap. *Smith* blowne vp with powder.

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estate, without either Chirurgion, or Chirurgerie he was to goe neere one hundred miles. Arriuing at *Iames* Towne, causing all things to be prepared for Peace or Warres to obtaine prouision, whileſt thoſe things were prouiding, *Martin*, *Ratcliffe*, and *Archer*, being to haue their trialls, their guiltie conſciences fearing a iuſt reward for their deſerts, ſeeing the Preſident vnable to ſtand, and neere bereft of his ſenſes by reaſon of his torment, they had plotted to haue murdered him in his bed. But his heart did faile him that ſhould haue giuen fire to that mercileſſe Piſtoll: So, not finding that courſe to be the beſt, they ioyned together to vſurpe the gouernment, thereby to eſcape their puniſhment, and excuſe themſelues by accuſing him. *The Preſident had notice of their proiects: the which to withſtand, though his old Souldiers importuned him, but to permit them to take off their heads that would reſiſt his command, yet he would not permit them: but ſent for the Maſters of ſhips, and tooke order with them for his returne for* England. *Seeing their was neither Chirurgion, nor Chirurgery in the Fort to cure his hurt, and the ſhips to depart the next day, his Commiſſion to be ſuppreſſed hee knew not why, himſelfe and Souldiers to bee rewarded he knew not how, and a new Commiſſion granted they knew not to whom, the which ſo diſabled that authoritie he had, as made them preſume ſo oft to thoſe mutinies and factions as they did. Beſides, ſo grieuous was his wounds, and ſo cruell his torment, few expected he could liue, nor was he able to follow his buſineſſe to regaine what they had loſt, ſuppreſſe thoſe factions, and range the Countries for prouiſion as he intended, and well he knew thoſe affaires his owne actions and preſence was as requiſite as his experience, and directions, which now could not be, hee went preſently aboard, reſoluing there to appoint them gouernours, and to take order for the mutiners and their confederates. Who ſeeing him gone, perſwaded Maſter* Perſie *to ſtay and be their Preſident, and within leſſe then an houre was this mutation begun & concluded. For when the Company vnderſtood* Smith *would leaue them, and ſee the reſt in Armes called Preſidents and Councellors, diuers began to fawne on thoſe new Commanders, that now bent all their wits to get him reſigne them his Commiſſion, who after many ſalt and bitter repulſes, that their confuſion ſhould not bee attributed to him, for leauing the Country without gouernment and authoritie; hauing taken order to be free from danger of their malice; he was not vnwilling they ſhould ſteale it from him, but neuer conſented to deliuer it to any.*

A bloudy intent.

The gouernment vſurped.

The cauſes why *Smith* left the Countrie and his Commiſſion.

Leauing vs thus, with three Ships, ſeuen Boats, commodities readie to trade, the Harueſt newly gathered, ten weekes prouiſion in the ſtore, foure hundred nintie and odde perſons, foure and twentie Peeces of Ordnance, three hundred Muskets, Snaphanches, and fire-lockes, Shot, Powder, and match ſufficient, Curats, Pikes, Swords, and Morions more then men: the Sauages their language and habitations well knowne to one hundred well trained and expert Souldiers: Nets for Fiſhing, Tooles of all ſorts to worke, Apparell to ſupply our wants, ſixe Mares, and a Horſe, fiue or ſixe hundred Swine, as many Hennes and Chickens; ſome Goates, ſome Sheepe, what was brought or bred there remained: but they regarded nothing but from hand to mouth, to conſume what wee had, tooke care for nothing but to perfit ſome colourable complaints againſt Captaine *Smith*, for effecting whereof, three weekes longer they ſtaied the ſixe Ships till they could produce them. That time and charge might much better haue beene ſpent, but it ſuted well with the reſt of their diſcretions. Now all theſe which *Smith* had either whipped, puniſhed, or any way diſgraced, had free power and libertie to ſay or ſweare any thing, and from a whole armefull of their examination, this was concluded:

The Theft of the Colony, when C. *Smith* left it. Prouiſions left

Their complaints and proofe againſt him.

The Mutiners at The Falls, *complained he cauſed the Sauages to aſſault them, for that he would not reuenge their loſſe, they being but one hundred and twentie, and hee fiue men and himſelfe, and this they proued by the oath of one hee had oft whipped for periury and pilfering. The Dutch-men that hee had appointed to be ſtab'd for their treacheries, ſwore he ſent to poiſon them with Rats-bane. The prudent Councell, that he would not ſubmit himſelfe to their ſtolne authoritie.* Coe *and* Dyer, *that ſhould haue murdered him, were highly preferred for ſwearing, they heard one ſay, he heard* Powhatan *ſay, That hee heard a man ſay: if the King would not ſend that Corne hee had, hee ſhould not long enioy his Copper Crowne, nor thoſe Robes hee had ſent him: yet theſe alſo ſwore he might haue had Corne for Tooles, but would not. The truth was,* Smith *had no ſuch Engines as the King demanded, nor* Powhatan *any Corne. Yet this argued he would ſtarue them. Others complained hee would not let them reſt in the Fort (to ſtarue) but forced them to the Oyſter Bankes to liue or ſtarue, as hee liued himſelfe. For though hee had of his owne priuate prouiſions ſent from* England, *ſufficient: yet hee gaue it all away to the weake and ſicke, cauſing the moſt vntoward (by doing as he did) to gather their food from the vnknowne parts of the Riuers and Woods, that they liued (though hardly) that otherwayes would haue ſtarued, ere they would haue left their beds, or at the moſt the ſight of* Iames Towne *to haue got their owne victuall. Some propheticall ſpirit calculated he had the Sauages in ſuch ſubiection, he would haue made himſelfe a King, by marrying* Pocahontas, Powhatans *daughter. It is true, ſhe was the very nonpareil of his Kingdome, and at moſt not paſt thirteene or fourteene yeeres of age. Very oft ſhe came to our Fort, with what ſhee could get for Captaine* Smith, *that euer loued and vſed all the Country well, but her eſpecially hee euer much reſpected: and ſhee ſo well requited it, that when her father intended to haue ſurpriſed him, ſhe by ſtealth in the darke night came through the wild Woods and told him of it. But her marriage could no way haue entitled him by any right to the Kingdome, nor was it euer ſuſpected he had euer ſuch a thought, or more regarded her, or any of them, then in honeſt reaſon and diſcretion he might. If he would he might haue married her, or haue done what him liſted. For there was none that could haue hindred his determination.*

Pocahontas, Powhatans daughter, her kindneſſe to C. *Smith.*

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mination. Some that knew not any thing to say, the Councell instructed, and aduised what to sweare. So diligent they were in this businesse, that what any could remember, he had euer done, or said in mirth, or passion, by some circumstantiall oath, it was applyed to their fittest vse, yet not past eight or nine could say much, and that nothing but circumstances, which all men did know was most false and vntrue. Many got their Passes, by promising in England *to say much against him.* Instead of accusing him, I haue neuer heard any giue him a better report, then many of those witnesses themselues that were sent only home to testifie against him. *Richard Pots, W. P.*

The planting at *Point Comfort.*

The day before the Ships departed, C. *Davis* arriued in a small Pinnace, with some sixteene proper men more: to those were added a company from *Iames* Towne, vnder the command of Captaine *Ratcliffe*, to inhabite *Point-Comfort*. *Martin*, and Master *West* hauing lost their Boats, and neere halfe their men amongst the Sauages, were returned to *Iames* Towne. For the Sauages no sooner vnderstood of Captaine *Smiths* losse, but they all reuolted, and did murder and spoile all they could encounter. Now were wee all constrained to liue onely of that which *Smith* had onely for his owne company, for the rest had consumed their proportions. And now haue wee twentie Presidents, with all their appurtenances, for Master *Persie* was so sicke he could not goe nor stand. But ere all was consumed, Master *West*, and *Ratliffe*, each with a Pinnace, and thirtie or fortie men well appointed, sought abroad to trade, and vpon confidence of *Powhatan*, *Ratliffe* and his men were slaine, *onely* Ieffery Shortridge *escaped, and* Pochahuntas *the Kings daughter saued a boy, called* Henry Spelman, *who liued many yeeres after by her meanes amongst the* Patawomekes. Powhatan *still as hee found meanes, cut off their Boats and denied them trade.* And Master *West* finding little better successe, set saile for *England*. Now we all found the want of Captaine *Smith*, yea his greatest maligners could then curse his losse. Now for corne, prouision, and contribution from the Sauages; wee had nothing but mortall wounds with Clubs and Arrowes. As for our Hogs, Goats, Sheepe, Horse, or what liued, our Commanders and Officers did daily consume them: some small proportions (sometimes) wee tasted till all was deuoured, then Swords, Arrowes, Peeces, or any thing we traded to the Sauages, whose bloudy fingers were so imbrued in our blouds, that what by their crueltie, our Gouernours indiscretion, and the losse of our Ships: Of fiue hundred within sixe moneths, after there remained not any more then sixtie most miserable and poore creatures. It were to vild to say what wee endured, *Life was now preserued by Roots, Herbs, Acornes, Walnuts, Berries, now and then a little Fish, and Starch by such as had any. A Sauage slaine and buried, is said to haue beene taken vp by the poorer and eaten: which is reported also to haue hapned to others of their owne. A report was that one slew his wife, and had eaten part of her: this is by others denied, the murther acknowledged, and he iustly executed for that parricide.*

Ratliffe alias Sicklemore slain by *Powhatan.*

The occasion of these miseries was onely our owne, for want of prouidence, industrie, and gouernment, and not the barrennesse and defect of the Countrey, as is generally supposed, for till then in three yeeres (for the numbers were landed vs) wee had neuer landed sufficient prouision for sixe moneths, such a glutton is the Sea, and such good fellowes the Mariners, wee as little tasted of those great proportions for their prouisions, as they of our miseries, that notwithstanding euer swayd and ouerruled the businesse; though wee did liue as is said, three yeeres chiefly of what this good Countrey naturally affordeth: yet now had wee beene in Paradice it selfe (with those Gouernours) it would not haue beene much better with vs, yet were there some amongst vs, who had they had the gouernment, would surely haue kept vs from those extreamities of miseries, that in ten dayes more would haue supplanted vs all by death. *Thus you see the miserable ends of those vsurping Commanders, for all their greatnesse, Oratory, and long being there, and what is the want of owne man in Authoritie, that is honest and valiant, discreet, and industrious; and how easily that may also be blemished, by ambitious indiscretion, or what did hinder them now in his absence, they had not done much better then hee, hauing all these aduantages.*

Wickednes of some Mariners The fruits of improuidences

But God that would not it should bee vnplanted, sent Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Summers*, with one hundred and fiftie men, most happily preserued by the *Bermudas* to preserue vs. But when those noble Knights did see our miseries (being strangers in the Countrey) and could vnderstand no more of the cause but by their coniecture of our clamours and complaints, of accusing or excusing one another, they imbarked vs with themselues, with the best meanes they could, and abandoning *Iames* Towne, set saile for *England*.

The arriuall of Sir *Tho. Gates* with 150. *Iames* Towne abandoned.

But yet God would not so haue it, for ere wee left the Riuer; wee met the *Lord de-la-ware*, then gouernour of the Countrey, with three Ships exceeding well furnished with all necessaries fitting, who againe returned them to the abandoned *Iames* Towne, the ninth of Iune, 1610. accompanied with Sir *Ferdinando Wainman*, and diuers other Gentlemen of sort. Sir *George Somers*, and Captaine *Argall* he presently dispatcheth to repaire to the *Bermudas*, to furnish them with prouision: Sir *Thomas Gates* for *England* to helpe forward their supplies: himselfe neglected not the best was in his power for the furtherance of the businesse, and regaining what was lost. But euen in the beginning of his proceedings, his Lordship had such an incounter, that after eight moneths sickenesse, he was forced to saue his life, by his returne for *England*.

The arriuall of the Lord *La-ware.*

Two ships sent to the *Bermudas.*

In this time *Argall*, not finding the *Bermudas*, hauing lost Sir *George Somers* at sea, fell on the coast of *Sagadahock*, where refreshing himselfe, he found a conuenient fishing for Cod. With a taste whereof

whereof he returned to *Iames* Towne, from whence the Lord *De-la-ware* ſent him to trade in the Riuer of *Patawomeck*, where finding an *Engliſh* boy thoſe people had preſerued from the fury of *Powhatan*, by his acquaintance had ſuch good vſage of thoſe kind Sauages, that they fraughted his Ship with Corne, wherewith he returned to *Iames* Towne, and ſo for *England* with the Lord Gouernour; yet before his returne, the aduenturers had ſent Sir *Thomas Dale* with three Ships, men and cattell, and all other prouiſions neceſſarie for a yeere, all which arriued the tenth of May, 1611. The arriual of Sir *Tho. Dale.*

Againe, to ſecond him with all poſſible expedition there was prepared for Sir *Thomas Gates*, ſixe tall Ships with three hundred men, and one hundred Kine, with other cattell, with munition, and all manner of prouiſion could be thought needfull, and they arriued about the firſt of Auguſt next after ſafely at *Iames* Towne.

Sir *George Somers* all this time was ſuppoſed loſt: but thus it hapned, miſſing the *Barmudas*, hee fell alſo as did *Argall* with *Sagadahock*, where being refreſhed, would not content himſelfe with that repulſe, but returned againe in the ſearch, and there ſafely arriued. But ouertoyling himſelfe on a ſurfet died. And in this Cedar Ship built by his owne directions, and partly with his owne hands, that had not in her any Iron, but onely one bolt in her Keele, yet well endured thus toſſed to and againe in this mightie Ocean, till with his dead bodie ſhe arriued in *England*, and at *Whitchurch* in Dorſetſhire, his body by his friends was honourably buried, with mane volies of ſhot, and the rites of a Souldier, &c. Sir *George Somers* arriuall at the *Bermudas*, and dieth. His heart and entralls were buried in *Summer Ilands*, a name from his to them communicated.

But thus much may ſerue as the argument of the diſcourſes following, and as the Prologue to the Virginian *Scene, where we will firſt produce M.* Archer, *after whoſe ſuccinct narration, M.* Strachies *copious diſcourſe ſhall feaſt you with the liuely expreſſion of others miſeries, and* Barmudas *happy diſcouery in Rhetorickes Full ſea and ſpring tide.*

CHAP. V.

A Letter of M. GABRIEL ARCHAR, *touching the Voyage of the Fleet of Ships, which arriued at* Virginia, *without Sir* THO. GATES, *and Sir* GEORGE SVMMERS, 1609.

FRom Woolwich *the fifteenth of May*, 1609, *ſeuenth ſaile weyed anchor, and came to* Plimmouth *the twentieth day, where Sir* George Somers, *with two ſmall Veſſels, conſorted with vs. Here we tooke into the* Bleſſing *(being the ſhip wherein I went) ſixe Mares and two Horſes; and the Fleet layed in ſome neceſſaries belonging to the action: In which buſineſſe we ſpent time till the ſecond of Iune. And then wee ſet ſayle to Sea, but croſt by South-weſt windes, we put in to* Faulemouth, *and there ſtaying till the eight of Iune, we then gate out. Our Courſe was commanded to leaue the* Canaries *one hundred leagues to the Eaſtward at leaſt, and to ſteere away directly for* Virginia, *without touching at the Weſt* Indies, *except the Fleet ſhould chance to be ſeparated, then they were to repaire to the* Bermuda, *there to ſtay ſeuen dayes in expectation of the Admirall; and if they found him not, then to take their courſe to* Virginia. The appointed Course.

Now thus it happened: about ſixe dayes after we loſt the ſight of England, *one of Sir* George Somers *Pinnaſſes left our company, and (as I take it) bare vp for* England; *the reſt of the Ships, viz. The* Sea Aduenture *Admirall, wherein was Sir* Thomas Gates, *Sir* George Somer, *and Captaine* Newport: *The* Diamond *Vice-admirall, wherein was Captaine* Ratcliffe, *and Captaine* King. *The* Falcon *Reare-admirall, in which was Captaine* Martin, *and Maſter* Nellſon: *The* Bleſſing, *wherein I and Captaine* Adams *went: The* Vnitie, *wherein Captaine* Wood, *and Maſter* Pett *were. The* Lion, *wherein Captaine* Webb *remained: And the* Swallow *of Sir* George Somers, *in which Captaine* Moone, *and Maſter* Somer *went. In the* Catch *went one* Matthew Fitch *Maſter: and in the Boat of Sir* George Somers, *called the* Virginia, *which was built in the North Colony, went one Captaine* Davies, *and one Maſter* Davies. *Theſe were the Captaines and Maſters of our Fleet.* The Ships, and chiefe men in the Fleet.

We ran a Southerly courſe from the Tropicke of Cancer, *where hauing the Sun within ſixe or ſeuen degrees right ouer our head in Iuly, we bore away Weſt; ſo that by the feruent heat and loomes breezes, many of our men fell ſicke of the* Calenture, *and out of two ſhips was throwne ouer-board thirtie two perſons. The* Viceadmirall *was ſaid to haue the plague in her; but in the* Bleſſing *we had not any ſicke, albeit we had twenty women and children.* Sickneſſe and mortalitie at Sea.

Vpon Saint Iames *day, being about one hundred and fiftie leagues diſtant from the Weſt* Indies, *in croſſing the Gulfe of* Bahoma, *there hapned a moſt terrible and vehement ſtorme, which was a taſte of the Weſt* Indian Horacano; *this tempeſt ſeperated all our Fleet one from another, and it was ſo violent that men could ſcarce ſtand vpon the Decks, neither could any man heare another ſpeake, being thus diuided, euery man ſteered his owne courſe, and as it fell out about fiue or ſixe dayes after the ſtorme ceaſed (which endure for the foure houres in extremitie.) The* Lion *firſt, and after the* Falcon *and the* Vnitie, *got ſight* Terrible tempeſt.

of

Note. False rumors chargeable.

of our Shippe, and ſo we lay a way directly for Virginia, *finding neither current nor winde oppoſite, as ſome haue reported, to the great charge of our Counſell and Aduenturers. The* Vnity *was ſore diſtreſſed when ſhe came vp with vs, for of ſeuenty land men, ſhe had not ten ſound, and all her Sea men were downe, but onely the Maſter and his Boy, with one poore ſailer, but we relieued them, and we foure conſorting, fell into the Kings Riuer haply the eleuenth of Auguſt. In the* Vnity *were borne two children at Sea, but both died, being both Boyes.*

Arriuall in *Virginia.*

When wee came to Iames *Towne, we found a Ship which had bin there in the Riuer a moneth before we came; this was ſent out of* England *by our Counſels leaue and authority, to fiſh for Sturgeon, and to goe the ready way, without tracing through the Torrid Zoan, and ſhee performed it: her Commander was* Captaine Argall *(a good Marriner, and a very ciuill Gentleman) and her Maſter one* Robert Tindall.

Captain *Argall*

State of the Colony.

The people of our Colonie were found all in health (for the moſt part) howbeit when Captaine Argoll *came in, they were in ſuch diſtreſſe, for many were diſperſed in the Sauages townes, liuing vpon their almes for an ounce of Copper a day, and foureſcore liued twenty miles from the Fort, and fed vpon nothing but Oyſters eight weekes ſpace, hauing no other allowance at all, neither were the people of the Country able to relieue them if they would. Whereupon Captaine* Newport *and others haue beene much to blame to informe the Counſell of ſuch plenty of victuall in this Country, by which meanes they haue beene ſlacke in this ſupply to giue conuenient content. Vpon this, you that be aduenturers, muſt pardon vs, if you finde not returne of Commodity ſo ample as you may expect, becauſe the law of nature bids vs ſeeke ſuſtenance firſt, and then to labour to content you afterwards. But vpon this point I ſhall be more large in my next Letter.*

Idleneſſe and other vices to blame alſo.

Some things partly, falſe rumors, partly factions, ſuggeſtions, are here left out.

After our foure Ships had bin in harbour a few dayes, came in the Viceadmirall, hauing cut her maine Maſt ouer boord, and had many of her men very ſicke and weake, but ſhe could tell no newes of our Gouernour, and ſome, three or foure dayes after her, came in the Swallow, *with her maine Maſt ouerboord alſo, and had a ſhrewd leake, neither did ſhe ſee our Admirall.*

They chooſe a new Gouernor

Now did we all lament much the abſence of our Gouernour, for contentions began to grow, and factions, and partakings, &c. Inſomuch as the Preſident, to ſtrengthen his authority, accorded with the Mariners, and gaue not any due reſpect to many worthy Gentlemen, that came in our Ships: whereupon they generally (hauing alſo my conſent) choſe Maſter Weſt, *my Lord* de la Warr *brother, to be their Gouernour, or preſident* de bene eſſe, *in the abſence of Sir* Thomas Gates, *or if he miſcarried by Sea, then to continue till we heard newes from our Counſell in* England. *This choice of him they made not to diſturbe the old Preſident during his time, but as his authority expired, then to take vpon him the ſole gouernment, with ſuch aſſiſtants of the Captaines, as diſcreeteſt perſons as the Colonie afforded. Perhaps you ſhall haue it blazoned a mutenie by ſuch as retaine old malice; but Maſter* Weſt, *Maſter* Percie, *and all the reſpected Gentlemen of worth in* Virginia, *can and will teſtifie otherwiſe vpon their oathes. For the Kings Patent we ratified, but refuſed to be gouerned by the Preſident that now is, after his time was expired, and onely ſubiected our ſelues to Maſter* Weſt, *whom we labour to haue next Preſident. I cannot certifie you of much more as yet; vntill we grow to ſome certaine ſtay in this our ſtate, but by the other Ships you ſhall know more. So with my harty commendations I ceaſe. From* Iames *Towne this laſt of Auguſt* 1609.

Hinc ille lachrymæ Hence frō the malecontents which had beene in *Virginia* before enemies to the Preſident, raiſing now ill reports at their comming of him aroſe theſe ſtirs, and the following miſeries in which this Author with almoſt the whole Colony periſhed.

CHAP. VI.

A true reportory of the wracke, and redemption of Sir THOMAS GATES *Knight; vpon, and from the Ilands of the* Bermudas: *his comming to* Virginia, *and the eſtate of that Colonie then, and after, vnder the gouernment of the Lord* LA WARRE, *July* 15. 1610. *written by* WILLIAM STRACHY, *Eſquire.*

§. I.

A moſt dreadfull Tempeſt (the manifold deaths whereof are here to the life deſcribed) their wracke on Bermuda, *and the deſcription of thoſe Ilands.*

2. June. 1609.

EXcellent Lady, know that vpon Friday late in the euening, we brake ground out of the Sound of *Plymouth*, our whole Fleete then conſiſting of ſeuen good Ships, and two Pinnaces, all which from the ſaid ſecond of Iune, vnto the twenty three of Iuly, kept in friendly conſort together not a whole watch at any time, looſing the ſight each of other. Our courſe when we came about the height of betweene 26. and 27. degrees, we declined to the Northward, and according to our

Sea-courſe altered.

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our Gouernours instructions altered the trade and ordinary way vsed heretofore by *Dominico*, and *Mevis*, in the *West Indies*, and found the winde to this course indeede as friendly, as in the iudgement of all Sea-men, it is vpon a more direct line, and by Sir *George Summers* our Admirall had bin likewise in former time sailed, being a Gentleman of approued assuredneſſe, and ready knowledge in Sea-faring actions, hauing often carried command, and chiefe charge in many Ships Royall of her Maiesties, and in sundry Voyages made many defeats and attempts in the time of the *Spaniards* quarrelling with vs, vpon the Ilands and *Indies*, &c. We had followed this course so long, as now we were within seuen or eight dayes at the most, by Cap. *Newports* reckoning of making Cape *Henry* vpon the coast of *Virginia*: When on S. *Iames* his day, Iuly 24. being Monday (preparing for no lesse all the blacke night before) the cloudes gathering thicke vpon vs, and the windes singing, and whistling most vnusually, which made vs to cast off our Pinnace towing the same vntill then asterne, a dreadfull storme and hideous began to blow from out the North-east, which swelling, and roaring as it were by fits, some houres with more violence then others, at length did beate all light from heauen; which like an hell of darkeneſſe turned blacke vpon vs, so much the more fuller of horror, as in such cases horror and feare vse to ouerrunne the troubled, and ouermastered sences of all, which (taken vp with amazement) the eares lay so sensible to the terrible cries, and murmurs of the windes, and distraction of our Company, as who was most armed, and best prepared, was not a little shaken. For surely (Noble Lady) as death comes not so sodaine nor apparant, so he comes not so eluish and painfull (to men especially euen then in health and perfect habitudes of body) as at Sea; who comes at no time so welcome, but our frailty (so weake is the hold of hope in miserable demonstrations of danger) it makes guilty of many contrary changes, and conflicts: For indeede death is accompanied at no time, nor place with circumstances euery way so vncapable of particularities of goodneſſe and inward comforts, as at Sea. For it is most true, there ariseth commonly no such vnmercifull tempest, compound of so many contrary and diuers Nations, but that it worketh vpon the whole frame of the body, and most loathsomely affecteth all the powers thereof: and the manner of the sickneſſe it laies vpon the body, being so vnsufferable, giues not the minde any free and quiet time, to vse her iudgement and Empire: which made the Poet say:

Hoſtium uxores, puerique caeci
Sentiant motus orientis Haedi, &
Æquoris nigri fremitum, & trementes
Verbere ripas.

Sir *G. Summers* a good mariner and tried Souldier.

A terrible storme expreſſed in a pathetical and retoricall description.

Blacke-darkneſs.

Feare of death at Sea more fearefull.

For foure and twenty houres the storme in a restleſſe tumult, had blowne so exceedingly, as we could not apprehend in our imaginations any possibility of greater violence, yet did wee still finde it, not onely more terrible, but more constant; fury added to fury, and one storme vrging a second more outragious then the former; whether it so brought vpon our feares, or indeede met with new forces: Sometimes strikes in our Ship amongst women, and passengers, not vsed to such hurly and discomforts, made vs looke one vpon the other with troubled hearts, and panting bosomes: our clamours dround in the windes, and the windes in thunder. Prayers might well be in the heart and lips, but drowned in the outcries of the Officers: nothing heard that could giue comfort, nothing seene that might incourage hope. It is impossible for me, had I the voyce of *Stentor*, and expreſſion of as many tongues, as his throate of voyces, to expreſſe the outcries and miseries, not languishing, but wasting his spirits, and art constant to his owne principles, but not prenailing. Our sailes wound vp lay without their vse, and if at any time wee bore but a Hollocke, or halfe forecourse, to guide her before the Sea, six and sometimes eight men were not inough to hold the whipstaffe in the steerage, and the tiller below in the Gunner roome, by which may be imagined the strength of the storme: In which, the Sea swelled aboue the Clouds, and gaue battell vnto Heauen. It could not be said to raine, the waters like whole Riuers did flood in the ayre. And this I did still obserue, that whereas vpon the Land, when a storme hath powred it selfe forth once in drifts of raine, the winde as beaten downe, and vanquished therewith, not long after indureth: here the glut of water (as if throatling the winde ere while) was no sooner a little emptied and qualified, but instantly the windes (as hauing gotten their mouthes now free, and at liberty) spake more loud, and grew more tumultuous, and malignant: What shall I say? Windes and Seas were as mad, as fury and rage could make them; for mine owne part, I had bin in some stormes before, as well vpon the coast of *Barbary* and *Algeere*, in the *Leuant*, and once more distresfull in the *Adriatique* gulfe, in a bottome of Candy, so as I may well say. *Ego quid sit ater; Adria noui sinus, & quid albus Peccet Iapex.* Yet all that I had euer suffered gathered together, might not hold comparison with this: there was not a moment in which the sodaine splitting, or instant ouer-setting of the Shippe was not expected.

Continuance and increaſe.

Swelling Sea set forth in a swelling stile.

Compared with the Authors former experiments.

Howbeit this was not all; It pleased God to bring a greater affliction yet vpon vs; for in the beginning of the storme we had receiued likewise a mighty leake. And the Ship in euery ioynt almost, hauing spued out her Okam, before we were aware (a casualty more desperate then any other that a Voyage by Sea draweth with it) was growne fiue foote suddenly deepe with water aboue

Leake added to the stormes terrour.

aboue her ballaſt, and we almoſt drowned within, whileſt we ſat looking when to periſh from aboue. This imparting no leſſe terrour then danger, ranne through the whole Ship with much fright and amazement, ſtartled and turned the bloud, and cooke downe the braues of the moſt hardy Mariner of them all, inſomuch as he that before happily felt not the ſorrow of others, now began to ſorrow for himſelfe, when he ſaw ſuch a pond of water ſo ſuddenly broken in, and which he knew could not (without preſent auoiding) but inſtantly ſinke him. So as ioyning (onely for his owne ſake, not yet worth the ſauing) in the publique ſafety, there might be ſeene Maſter, Maſters Mate, Boateſwaine, Quarter Maſter, Coopers, Carpenters, and who not, with candels in their hands, creeping along the ribs viewing the ſides, ſearching euery corner, and liſtening in euery place, if they could heare the water runne. Many a weeping leake was this way found, and haſtily ſtopt, and at length one in the Gunner roome made vp with I know not how many peeces of Beefe: but all was to no purpoſe, the Leake (if it were but one) which drunke in our greateſt Seas, and cooke in our deſtruction faſteſt, could not there be found, nor euer was, by any labour, counſell, or ſearch. The waters ſtill increaſing, and the Pumpes going, which at length choaked with bringing vp whole and continuall Bi-ket (and indeede all we had, tenne thouſand weight) it was conceiued, as moſt likely, that the Leake might be ſprung in the Bread-roome, whereupon the Carpenter went downe, and ript vp all the roomd, but could not finde it ſo.

Leake cannot be found, which cannot but be found.

I am not able to giue vnto your Ladiſhip euery mans thought in this perplexity, to which we were now brought; but to me, this Leakage appeared as a wound giuen to men that were before dead. The Lord knoweth, I had as little hope, as deſire of life in the ſtorme, & in this, it went beyond my will; becauſe beyond my reaſon, why we ſhould labour to preſerue life; yet we did, either becauſe ſo deare are a few lingring houres of life in all mankinde, or that our *Chriſtian* knowledges taught vs, how much we owed to the rites of Nature, as bound, not to be falſe to our ſelues, or to neglect the meanes of our owne preſeruation; the moſt deſpaireſull things among ſt men, being matters of no wonder nor moment with him, who is the rich Fountaine and admirable Eſſence of all mercy.

Their labour for life three dayes and foure nights.

Our Gouernour, vpon the tueſday morning (at what time, by ſuch who had bin below in the hold, the Leake was firſt diſcouered) had cauſed the whole Company, about one hundred and forty, beſides women, to be equally diuided into three parts, and opening the Ship in three places (vnder the forecaſtle, in the waſte, and hard by the Beacke) appointed each man where to attend; and thereunto euery man came duely vpon his watch, tooke the Bucket, or Pumpe for one houre, and reſted another. Then then might be ſeene labour, I may well ſay, for life, and the beſt ſort, euen our Gouernour, and Admirall themſelues, not refuſing their turne, and to ſpeak each to other, to giue example to others. The common ſort ſtripped naked, as men in Gallies, the eaſier both to hold out, and to ſhrinke from vnder the ſalt water, which continually leapt in among them, kept their eyes waking, and their thoughts and hands working, with tyred bodies, and waſted ſpirits, three dayes and foure nights deſtitute of outward comfort, and deſperate of any deliuerance, teſtifying how mutually willing they were, yet by labour to keepe each other from drowning, albeit each one drowned whileſt he laboured.

Sea breakes in.

Once, ſo huge a Sea brake vpon the poope and quarter, vpon vs, as it couered our Shippe from ſtearne to ſtemme, like a garment or a vaſt cloude, it filled her brimme full for a while within, from the hatches vp to the ſparre decke. This ſource or confluence of water was ſo violent, as it ruſht and carried the Helm-man from the Helme, and wreſted the Whipſtaffe out of his hand, which ſo flew from ſide to ſide, that when he would haue ceaſed the ſame againe, it ſo toſſed him from Star-board to Lar-board, as it was Gods mercy it had not ſplit him: It ſo beat him from his hold, and ſo bruiſed him, as a freſh man hazarding in by chance fell faire within it; and by maine ſtrength bearing ſomewhat vp, made good his place, and with much clamour incouraged and called vpon others; who gaue her now vp, rent in pieces and abſolutely loſt. Our Gouernour was at this time below at the Capſtone, both by his ſpeech and authoritie

The Gouernours care.

heartening euery man vnto his labour. It ſtrooke him from the place where hee ſate, and grouelled him, and all vs about him on our faces, beating together with our breaths all thoughts from our boſomes, elſe, then that wee were now ſinking. For my part, I thought her alreadie in the bottome of the Sea; and I haue heard him ſay, wading out of the floud thereof, all his ambition was but to climbe vp aboue hatches to dye in *Aperto cœlo*, and in the company of his old friends. It ſo ſtunkt the ſhip in her full pace, that ſhee ſtirred no more, then if ſhee had beene caught in a net, or then, as if the fabulous *Remora* had ſtucke to her fore-caſtle. Yet without beating one inch of laſke, euen then ſhee was making her way nine or ten leagues in a watch. One thing, it is not without his wonder (whether it were the feare of death in ſo great a ſtorme, or that it pleaſed God to be gracious vnto vs) there was not a paſſenger, gentleman, or other, after hee beganne to ſtirre and labour, but was able to relieue his fellow, and make good his courſe: And it is moſt true, ſuch as in all their life times had neuer done houres worke before (their mindes now helping their bodies) were able twice fortie eight houres together to toile with the beſt.

Remero is ſabled to be a ſmall fiſh able to withſtand a Shippe in her courſe.

God inableth whom he will ſaue to ſaue themſelues.

During all this time, the heauens looked ſo blacke vpon vs, that it was not poſſible the eleua-

tion

uation of the Pole might be obserued: nor a Starre by night, not Sunne beame by day was to be seene. Onely vpon the thursday night Sir *George Summers* being vpon the watch, had an apparition of a little round light, like a faint Starre, trembling, and streaming along with a sparkeling blaze, halfe the height vpon the Maine Mast, and shooting sometimes from Shroud to Shroud, tempting to settle as it were vpon any of the foure Shrouds: and for three or foure houres together, or rather more, halfe the night it kept with vs, running sometimes along the Maine-yard to the very end, and then returning. At which, Sir *George Summers* called diuers about him, and shewed them the same, who obserued it with much wonder, and carefulnesse: but vpon a sodaine, towards the morning watch, they lost the sight of it, and knew not what way it made. The superstitious Sea-men make many constructions of this Sea-fire, which neuertheleſſe is vsuall in stormes: the same (it may be) which the *Graecians* were wont in the *Mediterranean* to call *Castor* and *Pollux*, of which, if one onely appeared without the other, they tooke it for an euill signe of great tempest. The *Italians*, and such, who lye open to the *Adriatique* and *Tyrrene* Sea, call it (a *sacred Body*) *Corpo sancto*: the *Spaniards* call it Saint *Elmo*, and haue an authentique and miraculous Legend for it. Be it what it will, we laid other foundations of safety or ruine, then in the rising or falling of it, could it haue serued vs now miraculously to haue taken our height by, it might haue stucken amazement, and a reuerence in our deuotions, according to the due of a miracle. But it did not light vs any whit the more to our knowne way, who ran now (as doe hood-winked men) at all aduentures, sometimes North, and North-east, then North and by West, and in an instant againe varying two or three points, and sometimes halfe the Compasse. East and by South we steered away as much as we could to beare vpright, which was no small carefulnesse nor paine to doe, albeit we much vnrigged our Ship, threw ouer-boord much luggage, many a Trunke and Chest (in which I suffered no meane losse) and staued many a Butt of Beere, Hogsheads of Oyle, Syder, Wine, and Vinegar, and heaued away all our Ordnance on the Starboord side, and had now purposed to haue cut downe the Maine Mast, the more to lighten her, for we were much spent, and our men so weary, as their strengths together failed them, with their hearts, hauing trauailed now from Tuesday till Friday morning, day and night, without either sleepe or foode; for the leakeage taking vp all the hold, wee could neither come by Beere nor fresh water; fire we could keepe none in the Cookeroome to dresse any meate, and carefulnesse, griefe, and our turne at the Pumpe or Bucket, were sufficient to hold sleepe from our eyes.

Vtter darkneſs.

Light on the Shrouds.

See *Tom.* 1. *l.* 9. *c.* 12. §. 1.

No sleepe or food from tuesday till friday.

And surely Madam, it is most true, there was not any houre (a matter of admiration) all these dayes, in which we freed not twelue hundred Barricos of water, the least whereof contained six gallons, and some eight, besides three deepe Pumpes continually going, two beneath at the Capstone, and the other aboue in the halfe Decke, and at each Pumpe foure thousand stroakes at the least in a watch; so as I may well say, euery foure houres, we quitted one hundred tunnes of water: and from tuesday noone till friday noone, we bailed and pumped two thousand tunne, and yet doe what we could, when our Ship held least in her, after tuesday night second watch) shee bore ten foote deepe, at which stay our extreame working kept her one eight glasses, forbearance whereof had instantly sunke vs, and it being now Friday, the fourth morning, it wanted little, but that there had bin a generall determination, to haue shut vp hatches, and commending our sinfull soules to God, committed the Shippe to the mercy of the Sea: surely, that night we must haue done it, and that night had we then perished: but see the goodnesse and sweet introduction of better hope, by our mercifull God giuen vnto vs. Sir *George Summers*, when no man dreamed of such happinesse, had discouered, and cried Land. Indeede the morning now three quarters spent, had wonne a little cleerenesse from the dayes before, and it being better surueyed, the very trees were seene to moue with the winde vpon the shoare side: whereupon our Gouernour commanded the Helme-man to beare vp, the Boate-swaine sounding at the first, found it thirteene fathome, & when we stood a little in seuen fatham; and presently hearing his lead the third time, had ground at foure fathome, and by this, we had got her within a mile vnder the South-east point of the land, where we had somewhat smooth water. But hauing no hope to saue her by comming to an anker in the same, we were inforced to runne her ashoare, as neere the land as we could, which brought vs within three quarters of a mile of shoare, and by the mercy of God vnto vs, making out our Boates, we had ere night brought all our men, women, and children, about the number of one hundred and fifty, safe into the Iland.

1200. Barricos an houre, besides 3. Pumps, acquitting 100 tuns of water euery 4. houres.

Summer Ilands descried by Sir *George Summers*.

They go a land.

We found it to be the dangerous and dreaded Iland, or rather Ilands of the *Bermudas*: whereof let mee giue your Ladyship a briefe description, before I proceed to my narration. And that the rather, because they be so terrible to all that euer touched on them, and such tempests, thunders, and other fearefull obiects are seene and heard about them; that they be called commonly, *The Deuils Ilands*, and are feared and auoyded of all sea trauellers aliue, aboue any other place in the world. Yet it pleased our mercifull God, to make euen this hideous and hated place, both the place of our safetie, and meanes of our deliuerance.

Bermuda Ilands supposed the Diuels, &c.

And hereby also, I hope to deliuer the world from a foule and generall errour: it being counted of most, that they can be no habitation for Men, but rather giuen ouer to Deuils and wicked Spirits;

Spirits; whereas indeed wee find them now by experience, to bee as habitable and commodious as most Countries of the same climate and situation: insomuch as if the entrance into them were as easie as the place it selfe is contenting, it had long ere this beene inhabited, as well as other Ilands. Thus shall we make it appeare, *That Truth is the daughter of Time*, and that men ought not to deny euery thing which is not subiect to their owne sense.

Bermuda Ilands described.

The *Bermudas* bee broken Ilands, fiue hundred of them in manner of an *Archipelagus* (at least if you may call them all Ilands, that lie, how little soeuer into the Sea, and by themselues) of small compasse, some larger yet then other, as time and the Sea hath wonne from them, and eaten his passage through, and all now lying in the figure of a Croissant, within the circuit of sixe or seuen leagues at the most, albeit at first it is said of them that they were thirteene or fourteene leagues; and more in longitude as I haue heard. For no greater distance is it from the Northwest Point to *Gates his Bay*, as by this Map your Ladyship may see, in which Sir *George Sommers*, who coasted in his Boat about them all, tooke great care to expresse the same exactly and full, and made his draught perfect for all good occasions, and the benefit of such, who either in distresse might be brought vpon them, or make saile this way.

Sir *George Sommers* diligent surucy: his draught which we haue not. M. *Norgate* hath since published an exact Map.

It should seeme by the testimony of *Gonzalus Ferdinandus Ouiedus*, in his Booke intituled, *The Summary or Abridgement of his generall History of the West* Indies, written to the Emperor *Charles* the Fift, that they haue beene indeed of greater compasse (and I easily beleeue it) then they are now, who thus saith: *In the yeere* 1515. *when I came first to informe your Maiesty of the state of the things in* India, *and was the yeere following in* Flanders, *in the time of your most fortunate successe in these your kingdomes of* Aragony *and* Castell, *whereas at that voyage I sayled aboue the Iland* Bermudas, *otherwise called* Gorza, *being the farthest of all the Ilands that are yet found at this day in the world, and arriuing there at the depth of eight yards * of water, and distant from the Land as farre as the shot of a Peece of Ordnance, I determined to send some of the ship to Land, as well to make search of such things as were there, as also to leaue in the Iland certaine Hogges for increase, but the time not seruing my purpose, by reason of contrary winde I could bring my Ships no neerer: the Iland being twelue leagues in length, and sixteene in breadth, and about thirtie in circuit, lying in the thirtie three degrees of the North side.* Thus farre hee.

* Or fadams; *braccia.*

In his *Gen hist. li* 2 *c.* 9. he reciteth the same historie more particularly he saith it hath two names, *Gorza*, of the ship which first discouered it, being so called, and *Bermudez*, of the Captain of that ship, named *Iohn Bermudes*. Note that he placeth it more to the North, then that which is by ours inhabited, & say sometime they see it, sometime not as they passe. The *Spaniards* (as I haue heard) which were wracked there in Cap. *Butlers* time, were of opinion that ours are not the *Bermudas*: Yea some of ours affirme, they haue seen such an Iland to the North of ours, and haue offered to discouer it, *sub iudice lis est; veritas temporis filia.* *Halo*, the circle seen about the Moon, of great compasse.

True it is; the maine Iland, or greatest of them now, may bee some sixteene miles in length East North-east, and West South-west the longest part of it, standing in thirtie two degrees and twentie minutes, in which is a great Bay on the North side, in the North-west end, and many broken Ilands in that Sound or Bay, and a little round Iland at the South-west end. As occasions were offered, so we gaue titles and names to certaine places.

These Ilands are often afflicted and rent with tempests, great strokes of thunder, lightning and raine in the extreamity of violence: which (and it may well bee) hath so sundred and torne downe the Rockes, and whurried whole quarters of Ilands into the maine Sea (some sixe, some seuen leagues, and is like in time to swallow them all) so as euen in that distance from the shoare there is no small danger of them and with them, of the stormes continually raging from them, which once in the full and change commonly of euery Moone (Winter or Summer) keepe their vnchangeable round, and rather thunder then blow from euery corner about them, sometimes fortie eight houres together: especially if the circle, which the Philosophers call *Halo* were (in our being there) seene about the Moone at any season, which bow indeed appeared there often, and would bee of a mightie compasse and breadth. I haue not obserued it any where one quarter so great, especially about the twentieth of March, I saw the greatest when followed vpon the eues eue of the Annuntiation of our Ladie, the mightiest blast of lightning, and most terrible rap of thunder that euer astonied mortall men, I thinke. In August, September, and vntill the end of October, wee had very hot and pleasant weather onely (as I say) thunder, lightning, and many scattering showers of Raine (which would passe swiftly ouer, and yet fall with such force and darkenesse for the time as if it would neuer bee cleere againe) wee wanted not any; and of raine more in Summer then in Winter, and in the beginning of December wee had great store of hayle (the sharpe windes blowing Northerly) but it continued not, and to say truth, it is wintry or summer weather there, according as those North and Noth-west windes blow. Much taste of this kind of Winter wee had; for those cold windes would suddenly alter the ayre: but when there was no breath of wind to bring the moyst ayre out of the Seas, from the North and North-west, wee were rather weary of the heate, then pinched with extreamitie of cold: Yet the three Winter moneths, December, Ianuary, and February, the winds kept in those cold corners, and indeed then it was heauy and melancholy being there, nor were the winds more rough in March, then in the foresaid moneths, and yet euen then would the Birds breed. I thinke they bredde there, most moneths in the yeere, in September, and at Christmasse I saw young Birds, and in Februarie, at which time the mornings are there (as in May in *England*) fresh and sharpe.

Well may the *Spaniards*, and these *Biscaui* Pilots, with all their Traders into the *Indies*, passe by these Ilands as afraid (either bound out or homewards) of their very Meridian, and leaue the fishing for the Pearle (which some say, and I beleeue well is as good there, as in any of their other *Indian* Ilands, and whereof we had some triall) to such as will aduenture for them. The

Seas

Seas about them are so ful of breaches, as with those dangers, they may wel be said to be the strongest situate in the world. I haue often heard Sir *George Summers*, and Captaine *Newport* say, how they haue not beene by any chance or discouery vpon their like. It is impossible without great and perfect knowledge, and search first made of them to bring in a bable Boat, so much as of ten Tun without apparant ruine, albeit within there are many faire harbours for the greatest *English* Ship: yea, the *Argosies* of *Venice* may ride there with water enough, and safe land-lockt. There is one onely side that admits so much as hope of safetie by many a league, on which (as before described) it pleased God to bring vs, wee had not come one man of vs else a shoare, as the weather was: they haue beene euer therefore left desolate and not inhabited.

10 The soile of the whole Iland is one and the same, the mould, dark, red, sandie, dry, and vncapable I beleeue of any of our commodities or fruits. Sir *George Summers* in the beginning of August, squared out a Garden by the quarter (the quarter being set downe before a goodly Bay, vpon which our Gouernour did first leape ashoare, and therefore called it (as aforesaid) *Gates his Bay*, which opened into the East, and into which the Sea did ebbe and flow, according to their tides, and sowed Muske Melons, Pease, Onyons, Raddish, Lettice, and many *English* seeds, and Kitchen Herbes. All which in some ten daies did appeare aboue ground, but whether by the small Birds, of which there be many kindes, or by Flies (Wormes I neuer saw any, nor any venomous thing, as Toade, or Snake, or any creeping beast hurtfull, onely some Spiders, which as many affirme are
20 signes of great store of Gold: but they were long and slender legge Spiders, and whether venomous or no I know not, I beleeue not, since wee should still find them amongst our linnen in our Chests, and drinking Cans; but we neuer receiued any danger from them: A kind of *Melontha*, or blacke Beetell there was, which bruised, gaue a sauour like many sweet and strong gums punned together) whether, I say, hindred by these, or by the condition or vice of the soyle they came to no proofe, nor thriued. It is like enough that the commodities of the other Westerne Ilands would prosper there, as Vines, Lemmons, Oranges, and Sugar Canes: Our Gouernour made triall of the later, and buried some two or three in the Garden mould, which were reserued in the wracke amongst many which wee carried to plant here in *Virginia*, and they beganne to grow, but the Hogs breaking in, both rooted them vp and eate them: there is not through the whole Ilands, either Champion ground, Valleys, or fresh Riuers. They are full of Shawes of good-
30 ly Cedar, fairer then ours here of *Virginia*; the Berries, whereof our men seething, straining, and letting stand some three or foure daies, made a kind of pleasant drinke: these Berries are of the same bignesse, and collour of *Corynthes*, full of little stones, and verie restringent or hard building. *Peter Martin* saith, That at *Alexandria* in *Egypt* there is a kind of Cedar, which the Iewes dwelling there, affirme to be the Cedars of *Libanus*, which beare old fruite and new all the yeere, being a kinde of Apple which tast like Prunes: but then, neither those there in the *Bermudas*, nor ours here in *Virginia* are of that happy kind.

Likewise there grow great store of Palme Trees, not the right *Indian* Palmes, such as in Saint *Iohn Port-Rico* are called *Cocos*, and are there full of small fruites like Almonds (of the bignesse of the graines in Pomgranates) nor of those kind of Palmes which beares Dates, but a kind of Si-
40 merons or wild Palmes in growth, fashion, leaues, and branches, resembling those true Palmes: for the Tree is high, and straight, sappy and spongious, vnfirme for any vse, no branches but in the vppermost part thereof, and in the top grow leaues about the head of it (the most inmost part whereof they call *Palmeto*, and it is the heart and pith of the same Trunke, so white and thin, as it will peele off into pleates as smooth and delicate as white Sattin into twentie folds, in which a man may write as in paper) where they spread and fall downward about the Tree like an ouer-blowne Rose, or Saffron flower not early gathered; so broad are the leaues, as an *Italian Vmbrello*, a man may well defend his whole body vnder one of them, from the greatest storme raine that falls. For they being stiffe and smooth, as if so many flagges were knit together, the raine easily slideth off. Wee oftentimes found growing to these leaues, many Silk-wormes inuolued there-
50 in, like those small wormes which *Acosta* writeth of, which grew in the leaues of the Tunall Tree, of which being dried, the *Indians* make their Cochinile so precious and marchantable. With these leaues we thatched our Cabbins, and roasting the Palmito or soft top thereof, they had a taste like fried Melons, and being sod they eate like Cabbedges, but not so offensiuely thankefull to the stomacke. Many an ancient Burger was therefore heaued at, and fell not for his place, but for his head: for our common people, whose bellies neuer had eares, made it no breach of Charitie in their hot blouds and tall stomackes to murder thousands of them. They beare a kind of Berry, blacke and round, as bigge as a Damson, which about December were ripe and luscious: being scalded (whilest they are greene) they eate like Bullaces. These Trees shed their leaues in the Winter moneths, as withered or burnt with the cold blasts of the North winde, especi-
60 ally those that grow to the Seaward, and in March, there Burgen new in their roome fresh and tender.

Other kindes of high and sweet smelling Woods there bee, and diuers colours, blacke, yellow, and red, and one which beares a round blew Berry, much eaten by our owne people, of a stiptick qualitie and rough taste on the tongue like a Slow to stay or binde the Fluxe, which the often

Experience hath better shewed since, as we after see, both for fruits, wormes, &c. those that dwell there finding more then these, which tooke there Inne or lodging. Yet the dawning & *Aurora* yeeld a delightsome light, though not all so certaine as the Sun: for which cause I haue not omitted these first discoueries.

Spiders.

Beetle very sweet.

Hogs.

Cedars.

Cedar-drinke.

American Cedars, are not the same kind with those of *Libanus*, as by the historie of them in our former Tome, *pag.* 1500, &c.

Palmetos.

Many sorts of Palmes, the Coco, the Date-Palme, the Wine-Palme, or taddie, &c. besides these Reed-Palmes.

Silke-wormes.

Other Trees.

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eating of the luscious Palme berry would bring them into, for the nature of sweet things is to
Prickle-peare. clense and dissolue. A kinde of Pease of the bignesse and shape of a *Katherine* Peare, wee found growing vpon the Rockes full of many sharpe subtill prickes (as a Thistle) which wee therefore called, *The Prickle Peare*, the outside greene, but being opened, of a deepe murrie, full of iuyce like a Mulberry, and iust of the same substance and taste, wee both eate them raw and baked.

Waters. No Springs then found, since Wells haue bin there digged which ebbe and flow with the Sea. &c.

Sure it is, that there are no Riuers nor running Springs of fresh water to bee found vpon any of them: when wee came first wee digged and found certaine gushings and soft bublings, which being either in bottoms, or on the side of hanging ground, were onely fed with raine water, which neuertheless soone sinketh into the earth and vanisheth away, or emptieth it selfe out of sight into the Sea, without any channell aboue or vpon the superficies of the earth: for according as their raines fell, we had our Wels and Pits (which we digged) either halfe full, or absolute exhausted and dry, howbeit some low bottoms (which the continuall descent from the Hills filled full, and in those flats could haue no passage away) we found to continue as fishing Ponds, or standing Pooles, continually Summer and Winter full of fresh water.

Fish. The shoare and Bayes round about, when wee landed first afforded great store of fish, and that of diuers kindes, and good, but it should seeme that our fiers, which wee maintained on the shoares side draue them from vs, so as wee were in some want, vntill wee had made a flat bottome Gundall of Cedar with which wee put off farther into the Sea, and then daily hooked great store of many kindes, as excellent Angell-fish, Salmon Peale, Bonetas, Stingray, Cabilly, Snappers, Hogge-fish, Sharkes, Dogge-fish, Pilcherds, Mullets, and Rock-fish, of which bee diuers kindes: and of these our Gouernour dryed and salted, and barrelling them vp, brought to sea fiue hundred, for he had procured Salt to bee made with some Brine,

Salt made there. which happily was preserued, and once hauing made a little quantity, he kept three or foure pots boyling, and two or three men attending nothing else in an house (some little distance from his Bay) set vp on purpose for the same worke.

Likewise in *Furbishers building Bay* wee had a large Sein, or Tramell Net, which our Gouernour caused to be made of the Deere Toyles, which wee were to carry to *Virginia*, by drawing the Masts more straight and narrow with Roape Yarne, and which reached from one side of

5000. fishes taken at a hale the Dock to the other: with which (I may boldly say) wee haue taken fiue thousand of small and great fish at one hale. As Pilchards, Breames, Mullets, Rocke-fish, &c. and other kindes for which wee haue no names. Wee haue taken also from vnder the broken Rockes, Creuises oftentimes greater then any of our best *English* Lobsters; and likewise abundance of Crabbes, Oysters, and Wilkes. True it is, for Fish in euerie Coue and Creake wee found Snaules, and Skulles in that abundance, as (I thinke) no Land in the world may haue greater store or better Fish. For they sucking of the very water, which descendeth from the high

Cause of their wholsomnesse. Hills mingled with iuyce and verdor of the Palmes, Cedars, and other sweet Woods (which likewise make the Herbes, Roots, and Weeds sweet which grow about the Bankes) become thereby both fat and wholsome. As must those Fish needes bee grosse, slimy, and corrupt the bloud, which feed in Fennes, Marishes, Ditches, muddy Pooles, and neere vnto places

No vnscaled fishes. where much filth is daily cast forth. Vnscaled Fishes, such as *Iunius* calleth *Malles Pisces*, as Trenches, Eele, or Lampries, and such feculent and dangerous Snakes wee neuer saw any, nor may any Riuer bee inuenomed with them (I pray God) where I come. I forbeare to speake what a sort of Whales wee haue seene hard aboard the shoare, followed sometime by the

Whale and Sword-fish. Sword-fish and the Thresher, the sport whereof was not vnpleasant. The Sword-fish, with his sharpe and needle Finne, pricking him into the belly when hee would sinke and fall into the Sea; and when hee startled vpward from his wounds, the Thresher with his large Fins (like

Cater-tray beare the bell away. *Medio tutissimus ibis.* Flayles) beating him aboue water. The examples whereof giues vs (saith *Ouiedus*) to vnderstand, that in the selfe same perill and danger doe men liue in this mortall life, wherein is no certaine security neither in high estate nor low.

Fowles. Fowle there is great store, small Birds, Sparrowes fat and plumpe like a Bunting, bigger then ours, Robbins of diuers colours greene and yellow, ordinary and familiar in our Cabbins, and other of lesse sort. White and gray Hernshawes, Bitters, Teale, Snites, Crowes, and Hawkes, of which in March wee found diuers Ayres, Goshawkes and Tassells, Oxen-birds, Cormorants, Bald-Cootes, Moore-Hennes, Owles, and Battes in great store. And vpon New-yeeres day in the morning, our Gouernour being walked foorth with another Gentleman Master *Iames Swift*, each of them with their Peeces killed a wild Swanne, in a great Sea-water Bay

Wild Swans. or Pond in our Iland. A kinde of webbe-footed Fowle there is, of the bignesse of an *English*

Web-footed Fowle. They call it of the cry which it maketh a *Cohow*. greene Plouer, or Sea-Meawe, which all the Summer wee saw not, and in the darkest nights of Nouember and December (for in the night they onely feed) they would come forth, but not flye farre from home, and houering in the ayre, and ouer the Sea, made a strange hollow and harsh howling. Their colour is inclining to Russet, with white bellies, as are likewise the long Feathers of their wings Russet and White) these gather themselues together and breed in those Ilands which are high, and so farre alone into the Sea, that the Wilde Hogges

cannot

cannot swimme ouer them, and there in the ground they haue their Burrowes, like Conyes in a Warren, and so brought in the loose Mould, though not so deepe: which Birds with a light bough in a darke night (as in our Lowbelling) wee caught. I haue beene at the taking of three hundred in an houre, and wee might haue laden our Boates. Our men found a prettie way to take them, which was by standing on the Rockes or Sands by the Sea side, and hollowing, laughing, and making the strangest out-cry that possibly they could: with the noyse whereof the Birds would come flocking to that place, and settle vpon the very armes and head of him that so cryed, and still creepe neerer and neerer, answering the noyse themselues: by which our men would weigh them with their hand, and which weighed heauiest they tooke for the best and let the others alone, and so our men would take twentie dozen in two houres of the chiefest of them; and they were a good and well relished Fowle, fat and full as a Partridge. In Ianuary wee had great store of their Egges, which are as great as an Hennes Egge, and so fashioned and white shelled, and haue no difference in yolke nor white from an Hennes Egge. There are thousands of these Birds, and two or three Ilands full of their Burrowes, whether at any time (in two houres warning) wee could send our Cock-boat, and bring home as many as would serue the whole Company: which Birds for their blindnesse (for they see weakly in the day) and for their cry and whooting, wee called the *Sea Owle*: they will bite cruelly with their crooked Bills.

Wild Hogges how first found out and taken.

Wee had knowledge that there were wilde Hogges vpon the Iland, at first by our owne Swine preserued from the wrack and brought to shoare: for they straying into the Woods, an huge wilde Boare followed downe to our quarter, which at night was watched and taken in this sort. One of Sir *George Summers* men went and lay among the Swine, when the Boare being come and groueled by the Sowes, hee put ouer his hand and rubbed the side gently of the Boare, which then lay still, by which meanes hee fastned a rope with a sliding knot to the hinder legge and so tooke him, and after him in this sort two or three more. But in the end (a little businesse ouer) our people would goe a hunting with our Ship Dogge, and sometimes bring home thirtie, sometimes fiftie Boares, Sowes, and Pigs in a weeke aliue: for the Dog would fasten on them and hold, whilest the Hunti-men made in: and there bee thousands of them in the Ilands, and at that time of the yeere, in August, September, October, and Nouember, they were well fed with Berries that dropped from the Cedars and the Palmes, and in our quarter wee made styes for them, and gathering of these Berries serued them twice aday, by which meanes we kept them in good plight: and when there was any fret of weather (for vpon euery increase of wind the billow would be so great, as it was no putting out with our Gundall or Canow) that we could not fish nor take Tortoyses, then wee killed our Hogs. But in February when the Palme Berries began to be scant or dry, and the Cedar Berries failed two moneths sooner. True it is the Hogs grew poore, and being taken so, wee could not raise them to be better, for besides those Berries, we had nothing wherewith to franke them: but euen then the Tortoyses came in againe, of which wee daily both turned vp great store, finding them on Land, as also sculling after them in our Boate strooke them with an Iron goad, and sod, baked, and roasted them. The Tortoyse is reasonable toothsom (some say) wholsome meate. I am sure our Company liked the meate of them verie well, and one Tortoyse would goe further amongst them, then three Hogs. One Turtle (for so we called them) feasted well a dozen Messes, appointing sixe to euery Messe. It is such a kind of meat, as a man can neither absolutely call Fish nor Flesh, keeping most what in the water, and feeding vpon Sea-grasse like a Heifer, in the bottome of the Coues and Bayes, and laying their Egges (of which wee should finde fiue hundred at a time in the opening of a shee Turtle) in the Sand by the shoare side, and so couering them close leaue them to the hatching of the Sunne, like the *Manati* at Saint *Dominique*, which made the *Spanish* Friars (at their first arriuall) make some scruple to eate them on a Friday, because in colour and taste the flesh is like to morsells of Veale. Concerning the laying of their Egges, and hatching of their young, *Peter Martyr* writeth thus in his Decades of the Ocean: at such time as the heate of Nature moueth them to generation, they came forth of the Sea, and making a deepe pit in the sand, they lay three or foure hundred Egges therein: when they haue thus emptied their bag of Conception, they put as much of the same againe into the Pit as may satisfie to couer the Egges, and so resort againe vnto the Sea, nothing carefull of their succession. At the day appointed of Nature to the procreation of these creatures, there creepeth out a multitude of Tortoyses, as it were Pismyers out of an Ant-hill, and this only by the heate of the Sunne, without any helpe of their Parents: their Egges are as big as Geese Egges, and themselues growne to perfection, bigger then great round Targets.

Tortoises.

§. II.

Actions and Occurrents whiles they continued in the Ilands: Rauens sent for Virginia; *Diuers mutinies;* PAINE *executed: Two Pinnaces built.*

SO soone as wee were a little setled after our landing, with all the conueniencie wee might, and as the place, and our many wants would giue vs leaue, wee made vp our long Boate (as your Ladyship hath heard) in fashion of a Pinnace, fitting her with a little Deck, made of the Hatches of our ruin'd ship, so close that no water could goe in her, gaue her Sayles and Oares, and intreating with our Masters Mate *Henry Rauens* (who was supposed a sufficient Pilot) wee found him easily wonne to make ouer therewith, as a Barke of *Aniso* for *Virginia*, which being in the height of thirtie seuen degrees, fiue degrees from the Iland which we were, might bee some one hundred and fortie leagues from vs, or thereabouts (reckoning to euery degree that lies North-east, and Westerly twentie eight *English* leagues) who the twentie eight of August being Munday, with sixe Saylers, and our Cape Merchant *Thomas Whittingham* departed from vs out of *Gates* his Bay: but to our much wonder returned againe vpon the Wednesday night after, hauing attempted to haue got cleere of the Iland, from the North North-eath to the South-west, but could not as little water as shee drew, which might not bee aboue twentie inches for shoales and breaches, so as he was faine to go out from *Summers* Creeks, and the same way we came in on the South South-east of the Ilands, and from thence wee made to Sea the Friday after the first of September, promising if hee liued and arriued safe there, to returne vnto vs the next new Moone with the Pinnace belonging to the Colony there: according vnto which instructions were directed vnto the new Leiftenant Gouernour, and Councell from our Gouernour here, for which the Ilands were appointed carefully to be watched, and fiers prepared as Beacons to haue directed and wafted him in, but two Moones were wasted vpon the Promontory before mentioned, and gaue many a long and wished looke round about the Horizon, from the North-east to the South-west, but in vaine, discouering nothing all the while, which way soeuer we turned our eye, but ayre and sea.

H. Rauens voyage from *Bermuda* to *Virginia.*

You may please, excellent Lady, to know the reason which moued our Gouernour to dispatch this long Boat, was the care which hee tooke for the estate of the Colony in this his inforced absence: for by a long practised experience, foreseeing and fearing what innouation and tumult might happily arise, amongst the younger and ambitious spirits of the new companies to arriue in *Virginia*, now comming with him along in this same Fleet, hee framed his letters to the Colony, and by a particular Commission confirmed Captaine *Peter Winn* his Lieutenant Gouernour, with an Assistance of sixe Counsellours, writing withall to diuers and such Gentlemen of qualitie and knowledge of vertue, and to such louers of goodnesse in this cause whom hee knew, intreating them by giuing examples in themselues of duty and obedience, to assist likewise the said Lieutenant Gouernour, against such as should attempt the innouating of the person (now named by him) or forme of gouernment, which in some Articles hee did likewise prescribe vnto them: and had faire hopes all should goe well, if these his letters might arriue there, vntill such time as either some Ship there (which hee fairely beleeued) might bee moued presently to aduenture for him: or that it should please the right honourable, the Lordes, and the rest of his Maiesties Councell in *England*, to addresse thither the right honourable the Lord *Lawar* (one of more eminencie and worthinesse) as the proiect was before his comming forth) whilest by their honourable fauours, a charitable consideration in like manner might bee taken of our estates to redeeme vs from hence. For which purpose likewise our Gouernour directed a particular letter to the Councell in *England*, and sent it to the foresaid Captaine *Peter Winne* (his now to bee chosen Lieutenant Gouernour) by him to bee dispatched (which is the first) from thence into *England*.

Gap. *Win.* L. *Lawarre.* Sir *George Summers* his surueay, and other industrie.

In his absence Sir *George Summers* coasted the Ilands, and drew the former plat of them, and daily fished, and hunted for our whole company, vntill the seuen and twentieth of Nouember, when then well perceiuing that we were not likely to heare from *Virginia*, and conceiuing how the Pinnace which *Richard Frobbusher* was a building would not be of burthen sufficient to transport all our men from thence into *Virginia* (especially considering the season of the yeare, wherein we were likely to put off) he consulted with our Gouernour, that if hee might haue two Carpenters (for we had foure, such as they were) and twenty men, ouer with him into the maine Iland, he would quickly frame vp another little Barke, to second ours, for the better fitting and conueiance of our people. Our Gouernour, with many thankes (as the cause required) cherishing this so carefull and religious consideration in him (and whose experience likewise was somewhat in these affaires) granted him all things sutable to his desire, and to the furthering of the worke: who therefore had made ready for him all such tooles and instruments, as our owne vse required not: and for him, were drawne forth twenty of the ablest and stoutest of the company, and the best of our men, to hew and square timber, when himselfe then, with daily paines and

He builds a Pinnace.

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and labour, wrought vpon a small Vessell, which was soone ready as ours: at which wee leaue him a while busied, and returne to our selues. In the meane space did one *Frubbusher*, borne at *Graues end*, and at his comming forth now dwelling at *Lime* House (a painefull and well experienced Shipwright, and skilfull workman) labour the building of a little Pinnace: for the furtherance of which, the Gouernour dispensed with no trauaile of his body, nor forbare any care or study of minde, perswading (as much and more, an ill qualified parcell of people, by his owne performance, then by authority, thereby to hold them at their worke, namely to fell, carry, and sawe Cedar, fit for the Carpenters purpose (for what was so meane, whereto he would not himselfe set his hand, being therefore vp earely and downe late?) yet neuertheless were they hardly drawne to it, as the Tortoise to the inchantment, as the Prouerbe is, but his owne presence and hand being set to euery meane labour, and imployed so readily to euery office, made our people at length more diligent, and willing to be called thereunto, where, they should see him before they came. In which, we may obserue how much example preuailes aboue precepts; and how readier men are to be led by eyes, then eares.

R. Frubusher builds another

Power of example.

And sure it was happy for vs, who had now runne this fortune, and were fallen into the bottome of this misery, that we both had our Gouernour with vs, and one so solicitous and carefull, whose both example (as I said) and authority, could lay shame, and command vpon our people: else, I am perswaded, we had most of vs finished our dayes there, so willing were the maior part of the common sort (especially when they found such a plenty of victuals) to settle a foundation of euer inhabiting there; as well appeared by many practises of theirs (and perhaps of some of the better sort) Loe, what are our affections and passions, if not rightly squared? how irreligious, and irregular they expresse vs? not perhaps so ill as we would be, but yet as wee are; some dangerous and secret discontents nourished amongst vs, had like to haue bin the parents of bloudy issues and mischieses; they began first in the Sea-men, who in time had fastened vnto them (by false baits) many of our land-men likewise, and some of whom (for opinion of their Religion) was carried an extraordinary and good respect. The Angles wherewith chiefely they thus hooked in these disquieted Pooles, were, how that *in Virginia, nothing but wretchednesse and labour must be expected, with many wants, and a churlish intreaty, there being neither that Fish, Flesh, nor Fowle, which here (without wasting on the one part, or watching on theirs, or any threatning, and are of authority) at ease, and pleasure might be inioyed: and since both in the one, and the other place, they were (for the time) to loose the fruition both of their friends and Countrey, as good, and better were it for them, to repose and seate them where they should haue the least outward wants the while.* This, thus preached, and published each to other; though by such who neuer had bin more onward towards *Virginia*, then (before this Voyage) a Sculler could happily rowe him (and what hath a more adamantiue power to draw vnto it the consent and attraction of the idle, vntoward, and wretched number of the many, then liberty, and fulnesse of sensuality?) begat such a murmur, and such a discontent, and disunion of hearts and hands from this labour, and forwarding the meanes of redeeming vs from hence, as each one wrought with his Mate how to diuorse him from the same.

Mutinous conceptions.

And first (and it was the first of September) a conspiracy was discouered, of which six were found principals, who had promised each vnto the other, not to set their hands, to any trauaile or endeauour which might expedite or forward this Pinnace: and each of these had seuerally (according to appointment) sought his opportunity to draw the Smith, and one of our Carpenters, *Nicholas Bennit*, who made much profession of Scripture, a mutinous and dissembling Impostor; the Captaine, and one of the chiefe perswaders of others, who afterwards brake from the society of the Colony, and like outlawes retired into the Woods, to make a settlement and habitation there) on their party, with whom they purposed to leaue our Quarter, and possesse another Iland by themselues: but this happily found out, they were condemned to the same punishment which they would haue chosen (but without Smith or Carpenter) and to an Iland farre by it selfe, they were carried, and there left. Their names were *Iohn Want*, the chiefe of them, an *Essex* man of *Newport* by *Saffronwalden*, both seditious, and a sectary in points of Religion, in his owne prayers much deuout and frequent, but hardly drawne to the publique, insomuch as being suspected by our Minister for a *Brownist*, he was often compelled to the common Liturgie and forme of Prayer. The rest of the confederates were *Christopher Carter*, *Francis Pearepoint*, *William Brian*, *William Martin*, *Richard Knowles*: but soone they missed comfort (who were farre remoued from our store) besides, the society of their acquaintance had wrought in some of them, if not a loathsomenesse of their offence, yet a sorrow that their complement was not more full, and therefore a wearinesse of their being thus vntimely prescribed; insomuch, as many humble petitions were sent vnto our Gouernor, fraught full of their seeming sorrow and repentance, and earnest vowes to redeeme the former trespasse, with example of dueties in them all, to the common cause, and generall businesse; vpon which our Gouernour (not easie to admit any accusation, and hard to remit an offence, but at all times sorry in the punishment of him, in whom may appeare either shame or contrition) was easily content to reacknowledge them againe.

Conspiracy.

Iohn Want, *Carter*, and others exiled and pardoned.

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Another Mutinie.

Yet could not this be any warning to others, who more ſubtilly began to ſhake the foundation of our quiet ſafety, and therein did one *Stephen Hopkins* commence the firſt act or ouerture: A fellow who had much knowledge in the Scriptures, and could reaſon well therein, whom our Miniſter therefore choſe to be his Clarke, to reade the Pſalmes, and Chapters vpon Sondayes, at the aſſembly of the Congregation vnder him: who in Ianuary the twenty foure, brake with one *Samuel Sharpe* and *Humfrey Reede* (who preſently diſcouered it to the Gouernour) and alleaged ſubſtantiall arguments, both ciuill and diuine (the Scripture falſly quoted) that it was no breach of honeſty, conſcience, nor Religion, to decline from the obedience of the Gouernour, or refuſe to goe any further, led by his authority (except it ſo pleaſed themſelues) ſince the authority ceaſed when the wracke was committed, and with it, they were all then freed from the gouernment of any man; and for a matter of Conſcience, it was not vnknowne to the meaneſt, how much we were therein bound each one to prouide for himſelfe, and his owne family: for which were two apparant reaſons to ſtay them euen in this place; firſt, abundance by Gods prouidence of all manner of good foode: next, ſome hope in reaſonable time, when they might grow weary of the place, to build a ſmall Barke, with the skill and helpe of the aforeſaid *Nicholas Bennit*, whom they inſinuated to them, albeit hee was now abſent from his quarter, and working in the maine Iland with Sir *George Summers* vpon his Pinnace, to be of the conſpiracy, that ſo might get cleere from hence at their owne pleaſures: when in *Virginia*, the firſt would be aſſuredly wanting, and they might well feare to be detained in that Countrie by the authority of the Commander thereof, and their whole life to ſerue the turnes of the Aduenturers, with their trauailes and labours. This being thus laid, and by ſuch a one, who had gotten an opinion (as I before remembred) of Religion; when it was declared by thoſe two accuſers, not knowing what further ground it had or complices, it pleaſed the Gouernour to let this his factious offence to haue a publique affront, and conteſtation by theſe two witneſſes before the whole Company, who at the toling of a Bell) aſſemble before a Corps du guard, where the Priſoner was brought forth in manacles, and both accuſed, and ſuffered to make at large, to euery particular, his anſwere; which was onely full of ſorrow and teares, pleading ſimplicity, and deniall. But hee being onely found, at this time, both the Captaine, and the follower of this Mutinie, and generally held worthy to ſatisfie the puniſhment of his offence, with the ſacrifice of his life, our Gouernour paſſed the ſentence of a Martiall Court vpon him, ſuch as belongs to Mutinie and Rebellion. But ſo penitent hee was, and made ſo much moane, alleadging the ruine of his Wife and Children in this his treſpaſſe, as it wrought in the hearts of all the better ſort of the Company, who therefore with humble intreaties, and earneſt ſupplications, went vnto our Gouernor, whom they beſought (as likewiſe did Captaine *Newport*, and my ſelfe) and neuer left him vntill we had got his pardon.

Conſcience greateſt enemy to conſcience.

Stephen Hopkins condemned and pardoned.

In theſe dangers and diuelliſh diſquiets (whileſt the almighty God wrought for vs, and ſent vs miraculouſly deliuered from the calamities of the Sea, all bleſſings vpon the ſhoare, to content and binde vs to gratefulneſſe) thus inraged amongſt our ſelues, to the deſtruction each of other, into what a miſchiefe and miſery had wee bin giuen vp, had wee not had a Gouernour with his authority, to haue ſuppreſſed the ſame? Yet was there a worſe practiſe, faction, and coniuration a foote, deadly and bloudy, in which the life of our Gouernour, with many others were threatned, and could not but miſcarry in his fall. But ſuch is euer the will of God (who in the execution of his iudgements, breaketh the firebrands vpon the head of him, who firſt kindleth them) there were, who conceiued that our Gouernour indeede neither durſt, nor had authority to put in execution, or paſſe the act of Iuſtice vpon any one, how treacherous or impious ſo euer; their owne opinions ſo much deceiuing them for the vnlawfulneſſe of any act, which they would execute: daring to iuſtifie among themſelues, that if they ſhould be apprehended, before the performance, they ſhould happily ſuffer as Martyrs. They perſeuered therefore not onely to draw vnto them ſuch a number, and aſſociates as they could worke in, to the abandoning of our Gouernour, and to the inhabiting of this Iland. They had now purpoſed to haue made a ſurpriſe of the Store-houſe, and to haue forced from thence, what was therein either of Meale, Cloath, Cables, Armes, Sailes, Oares, or what elſe it pleaſed God that we had recouered from the wracke, and was to ſerue our generall neceſſity and vſe, either for the reliefe of vs, while wee ſtaied here, or for the carrying of vs from this place againe, when our Pinnace ſhould haue bin furniſhed.

Third Mutiny.

Euill, as it hath a deficient cauſe, ſo in and before the effects, defects are found.

But as all giddy and lawleſſe attempts, haue alwayes ſomething of imperfection, and that as well by the porperty of the action, which holdeth of diſobedience and rebellion (both full of feare) as through the ignorance of the deuiſers themſelues; ſo in this (beſides thoſe defects) there were ſome of the aſſociation, who not ſtrong inough fortified in their owne conceits, brake from the plot it ſelfe, and (before the time was ripe for the execution thereof) diſcouered the whole order, and euery Agent, and Actor thereof, who neuertheleſſe were not ſuddenly apprehended, by reaſon the confederates were diuided and ſeperated in place, ſome with vs, and the chiefe with Sir *Georg Summers* in his Iland (and indeede all his whole company) but good watch paſſed vpon them, euery man from thenceforth commmanded to weare his

his weapon, without which before, we freely walked from quarter to quarter; and conuerſed among our ſelues, and euery man aduiſed to ſtand vpon his guard; his owne life not being in ſafety, whileſt his next neighbour was not to be truſted. The Centinels, and nightwarders doubled, the paſſages of both the quarters were carefully obſerued; by which meanes nothing was further attempted; vntill a Gentleman amongſt them, one *Henry Paine*, the thirteenth of March, full of miſchiefe, and euery houre preparing ſomething or other, ſtealing Swords, Adiſes, Axes, Hatchets, Sawes, Augers, Planes, Mallets, &c. to make good his owne bad end, his watch night comming about, and being called by the Captaine of the ſame; to be vpon the guard, did not onely giue his ſaid Commander euill language, but ſtrucke at him; doubled his blowes, and when hee was not ſuffered to cloſe with him, went off the Guard, ſcoffing at the double diligence and attendance of the Watch, appointed by the Gouernour for much purpoſe, as hee ſaid: vpon which, the Watch telling him, if the Gouernour ſhould vnderſtand of this his inſolency, it might turne him to much blame, and happily be as much as his life were worth. The ſaid *Paine* replyed with a ſetled and bitter violence, and in ſuch vnreuerent tearmes, as I ſhould offend the modeſt eare too much to expreſſe it in his owne phraſe; but the contents were, how *that the Gouernour had no authoritie of that qualitie, to iuſtifie vpon any one (how meane ſoeuer in the Colonie) an action of that nature, and therefore let the Gouernour* (ſaid hee) *kiſſe, &c.* Which words, being with the omitted additions, brought the next day vnto euery common and publique diſcourſe, at length they were deliuered ouer to the Gouernour, who examining well the fact (the tranſgreſſion ſo much the more exemplary and odious, as being in a dangerous time, in a Confederate, and the ſucceſſe of the ſame wiſhtly liſtened after, with a doubtfull conceit, what might be the iſſue of ſo notorious a boldneſſe and impudency) calling the ſaid *Paine* before him, and the whole Company, where (being ſoone conuinced both by the witneſſe, of the Commander, and many which were vpon the watch with him) our Gouernour, who had now the eyes of the whole Colony fixed vpon him, condemned him to be inſtantly hanged; and the ladder being ready, after he had made many confeſſions, hee earneſtly deſired, being a Gentleman, that hee might be ſhot to death, and towards the euening he had his deſire, the Sunne and his life ſetting together.

H. Paine his Mutinus behauiour.

His execution.

But for the other which were with Sir *George*, vpon the Sunday following (the Barke beeing now in good forwardneſſe) and readie to lanch in ſhort time, from that place (as we ſuppoſed) to meet ours at a pond of freſh water, where they were both to bee moored, vntill ſuch time as being fully tackled, the wind ſhould ſerue faire, for our putting to Sea together) being the eighteenth of March, hearing of *Paynes* death, and fearing hee had appeached them, and diſcouered the attempt (who poore Gentleman therein, in ſo bad a cauſe, was too ſecret and conſtant to his owne faith ingaged vnto them, and as little needed, as vrged thereunto, though ſomewhat was voluntarily deliuered by him) by a mutuall conſent forſooke their labour, and Sir *George Summers*, and like Out-lawes betooke them to the wild Woods: whether meere rage, and greedineſſe after ſome little Pearle (as it was thought) wherewith they conceiued, they ſhould for euer inrich themſelues, and ſaw how to obtaine the ſame eaſily in this place, or whether, the deſire for euer to inhabite heere, or what other ſecret elſe moued them thereunto, true it is, they ſent an audacious and formall Petition to our Gouernour, ſubſcribed with all their names and Seales: not only intreating him, that they might ſtay heere, but (with great art) importuned him, that he would performe other conditions with them, and not waue, nor euade from ſome of his owne promiſes, as namely to furniſh each of them with two Sutes of Apparell, and contribute Meale rateably for one whole yeere, ſo much among them, as they had weekly now, which was one pound and an halfe a weeke (for ſuch had beene our proportion for nine moneths.) Our Gouernour anſwered this their Petition, writing to Sir *George Summers* to this effect.

Diuers of Sir *G. Summers* company fled into the woods.

That true it was, at their firſt arriuall vpon this Iland, when it was feared how our meanes would not extend to the making of a Veſſell, capeable and large enough, to tranſport all our Countrimen at once, indeed out of his Chriſtian conſideration (mourning for ſuch his Countrimen, who comming vnder his command, he foreſaw that for a while, he was like enough to leaue here behind, compelled by tyrannie of neceſſitie) his purpoſe was not yet to forſake them ſo, as giuen vp like Sauages: but to leaue them all things fitting to defend them from want and wretchednesſe, as much at least as lay in his power, to ſpare from the preſent vſe (and perhaps neceſſitie of others, whoſe fortunes ſhould be to be tranſported with him) for one whole yeere or more (if ſo long by any caſualtie, the ſhips which he would ſend vnto them might be ſtaied before their arriuall, ſo many hazards accompanying the Sea) but withall intreated Sir George *to remember vnto his Company (if by any meanes he could learne where they were) how he had vowed vnto him, that if either his owne meanes, his authoritie in* Virginia, *or loue with his friends in* England, *could diſpatch for them ſooner, how farre it was from him, to let them remayne abandoned, and neglected without their redemption ſo long: and then proceeded, requeſting Sir* George Summers *againe, to ſignifie vnto them, ſince now our owne Pinnaſſe did ariſe to that burthen, and that it would ſufficiently tranſport them all, beſide the neceſſitie of any other Barke: and yet, that ſince his Barke was now readie too, that thoſe conſultations, how ſoeuer charitable and moſt paſſionate in themſelues, might determine, as*

Sir *T. Gates* his letter to Sir *G. Summers*.

taken

taken away thereby, and therefore, that he ſhould now bee pleaſed to adviſe them well, how vnanſwerable this graunt or conſent of his ſhould be: firſt, to his Maieſtie for ſo many of his ſubiects, next to the Adventurers; and laſtly, what an imputation and infamy it might be, to both their owne proper reputations, and honours, hauing each of them authoritie in their places, to compell the aduerſant and irregular multitude, at any time, to what ſhould bee obedient and honeſt, which if they ſhould not execute, the blame would not lye vpon the people (at all times wauering and inſolent) but vpon themſelues ſo weake and vnworthy in their command. And moreouer intreated him by any ſecret practice to apprehend them, ſince that the obſtinate, and precipitate many, were no more in ſuch a condition and ſtate to bee fauoured, then the murmuring and mutinie of ſuch Rebellious and turbulent Humoriſts, who had not conſcience nor knowledge, to draw in the yoke of goodneſſe, and in the buſineſſe for which they were ſent out of England: *for which likewiſe, at the expence and charge of the Adventurers, they were to him committed, and that the meaneſt in the whole Fleet ſtood the Company in no leſſe then twentie pounds, for his owne perſonall Tranſportation, and things neceſſary to accompany him. And therefore louingly coniured Sir* George, *by the worthineſſe of his (heretofore) well mayntayned reputation, and by the powers of his owne iudgement, and by the vertue of that ancient loue and friendſhip, which had theſe many yeeres beene ſetled betweene them, to doe his beſt, to giue this reuolted Company (if he could ſend vnto them) the conſideration of theſe particulars, and ſo worke with them (if he might) that by faire meanes (the Mutinie reconciled) they would at length ſuruey their owne errours, which hee would bee as readie, vpon their rendring and comming into pardon, as he did now pittie them; aſſuring them in generall and particular, that whatſoeuer they had ſiniſterly committed, or practiſed hitherto againſt the Lawes of dutie and honeſtie, ſhould not in any ſort be imputed againſt them.*

Waters and *Carter* ſtand out and are left behind.

In which good Office Sir *George Summers* did ſo nobly worke, and heartily labour, as hee brought moſt of them in, and indeed all, but *Chriſtopher Carter*, and *Robert Waters*, who (by no meanes) would any more come amongſt Sir *Georges* men, hearing that Sir *George* had commanded his men indeed (ſince they would not be intreated by faire meanes) to ſurprize them (if they could) by any deuice or force. From which time they grew ſo cautelous and wary, for their owne ill, as at our comming away, wee were faine to leaue them behind. That *Waters* was a Sayler, who at his firſt landing vpon the Iland (as after you ſhall heare) killed another fellow Sayler of his, the bodie of the murthered and Murtherer ſo dwelling, as preſcribed now together.

Religious exerciſes perfor-med by Maſter *Buckc*.

During our time of abode vpon theſe Ilands, wee had daily euery Sunday two Sermons preached by our Miniſter, beſides euery Morning and Euening at the ringing of a Bell, wee repayred all to puplique Prayer, at what time the names of our whole Company were called by Bill, and ſuch as were wanting, were duly puniſhed.

The contents (for the moſt part) of all our Preachers Sermons, were eſpecially of Thankefulneſſe and Vnitie, &c.

The moſt holy; ciuill and moſt naturall poſſeſſion taken of the *Bermudas* by exerciſe of Sacraments Marriage, Child-birth, &c. Chi'dren named *Bermuda* and *Bermudas*.

It pleaſed God alſo to giue vs opportunitie, to performe all the other Offices, and Rites of our Chriſtian Profeſſion in this Iland: as Marriage, for the ſixe and twentieth of Nouember, we had one of Sir *George Summers* his men, his Cooke, named *Thomas Powell*, who married a Maid Seruant of one Miſtris *Horton*, whoſe name was *Elizabeth Perſons*: and vpon Chriſtmaſſe Eue, as alſo once before, the firſt of October; our Miniſter preached a godly Sermon, which being ended, he celebrated a Communion, at the partaking whereof our Gouernour was, and the greateſt part of our Company: and the eleuenth of February, wee had the childe of one *Iohn Roſe* chriſtened a Daughter, to which Captaine *Newport* and my ſelfe were Witneſſes, and the aforeſaid Miſtris *Horton* and we named it *Bermuda*, as alſo the fiue and twentieth of March, the wife of one *Edward Eaſon*, being deliuered the weeke before of a Boy, had him then chriſtened, to which Captaine *Newport* and my ſelfe, and Maſter *Iames Swift* were Godfathers, and we named it *Bermudas*.

Likewiſe, we buried fiue of our company, *Ieffery Briars*, *Richard Lewis*, *William Hitchman*, and my God-daughter *Bermuda Rolfe*, and one vntimely *Edward Samuell* a Sayler, being villanouſly killed by the foreſaid *Robert Waters*, (a Sayler likewiſe) with a ſhouell, who ſtrake him therewith vnder the lift of the Eare, for which he was apprehended, and appointed to be hanged the next day, the fact being done in the twilight) but being bound faſt to a Tree all night, with many Ropes, and a Guard of fiue or ſix to attend him, his fellow Saylers watching the aduantage of the Centinels ſleeping) in deſpight and diſdaine that Iuſtice ſhould bee ſhewed vpon a Sayler, and that one of their crue ſhould be an example to others, not taking into conſideration, the vnmanlineſſe of the murther, nor the horror of the ſinne, they cut his bands, and conueyed him into the Woods, where they fed him nightly, and cloſely, who afterward by the mediation of Sir *George Summers*, vpon many conditions, had his tryall reſpited by our Gouernour.

Sayler's miſor-der.

Wee had brought our Pinnaſſe ſo forward by this time, as the eight and twentieth of Auguſt we hauing laid her Keele. The ſixe and twentieth of February, we now began to calke: old Cables we had preſerued vnto vs, which affoorded Ocam enough: and one barrell of Pitch, and another of Tarre, we likewiſe ſaued, which ſerued our vſe ſome little way vpon the Brig. wee breamed her otherwiſe with Lime made of Wilke-ſhels, and an hard white ſtone which we burned

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ned in a Kill, slaked with fresh water, and tempered with Tortoyses Oyle. The thirtieth of March being Friday, we towed her out in the morning Spring-tyde, from the Wharfe where she was built, boying her with foure Caske in her runne only: which opened into the North-west, and into which when the Breeze stood North and by West with any stiffe gale, and vpon the Spring-tydes, the Sea would increase with that violence, especially twice it did so, as at the first time (before our Gouernour had caused a solid Causey of an hundred load of stone to bee brought from the Hils and Neighbour Rockes, and round about her ribs from stemme to stemme; where it made a pointed Baulke, and thereby brake the violence of the Flowe and Billowe) it indangered her ouerthrow and ruine, beeing greene as it were vpon the Stockes. With much difficultie, diligence, and labour, we saued her at the first, all her Bases, Shores, and Piles, which vnder-set her, being almost carried from her, which was the second of Ianuary, when her knees were not set to, nor one ioynt firme: We launched her vntrigged, to carrie her to a little round Iland, lying West North-west, and close aboord to the backe side of our Iland, both neerer the Ponds and Wels of some fresh water, as also from thence to make our way to the Sea the better: the Channell being there sufficient and deepe enough to leade her forth, when her Masts, Sayles, and all her Trimme should bee about her. Shee was fortie foot by the Keele, and nineteene foot broad at the Beame, sixe foote floore, her Rake forward was fourteene foot, her Rake aft from the top of her Post (which was twelue foot long) was three foot, shee was eight foot deepe vnder her Beame, betweene her Deckes she was foure foot and an halfe, with a rising of halfe a foot more vnder her fore Castle, of purpose to scowre the Decke with small shot, if at any time wee should bee borded by the Enemie. Shee had a fall of eighteene inches aft, to make her sterage and her great Cabbin the more large: her sterage was fiue foote long, and sixe foote high, with a close Gallerie right aft, with a window on each side, and two right aft. The most part of her timber was Cedar, which we found to be bad for shipping, for that it is wonderous false inward, and besides it is so spault or brickle, that it will make no good plankes, her Beames were all Oke of our ruine ship, and some plankes in her Bow of Oke, and all the rest as is aforesaid. When shee began to swimme (vpon her launching) our Gouernour called her *The Deliuerance*, and shee might be some eighty tunnes of burthen.

Cedar ill for shipping.

Before we quitted our old quarter, and dislodged to the fresh water with our Pinnasse, our Gouernour set vp in Sir *George Summers* Garden a faire *Mnemósynon* in figure of a Crosse, made of some of the timber of our ruined shippe, which was scrued in with strong and great trunnels to a mightie Cedar, which grew in the middest of the said Garden, and whose top and vpper branches he caused to be lopped, that the violence of the winde and weather might haue the lesse power ouer her.

Crosse set vp for a memorial

In the middest of the Crosse, our Gouernour fastened the Picture of his Maiestie in a piece of Siluer of twelue pence, and on each side of the Crosse, hee set an Inscription grauen in Copper, in the *Latine* and *English* to this purpose.

His Maiesties Picture.

In memory of our great Deliuerance, both from a mightie storme and leake: wee haue set vp this to the honour of God. It is the spoyle of an English *ship (of three hundred tunne) called the* Sea Venture, *bound with seuen ships more (from which the storme diuided vs) to* Virginia, *or* Noua Britania, *in* America. *In it were two Knights, Sir* Thomas Gates *Knight, Gouernour of the* English *Forces and Colonie there: and Sir* George Summers *Knight, Admirall of the Seas. Her Captaine was* Christopher Newport, *Passengers and Mariners shee had beside (which came all safe to Land) one hundred and fiftie. We were forced to runne her ashore (by reason of her leake) vnder a Point that bore South-east from the Northerne Point of the Iland, which wee discouered first the eight and twentieth of July* 1609.

About the last of Aprill, Sir *George Summers* launched his Pinnasse, and brought her from his building Bay, in the Mayne Iland, into the Chanuell where ours did ride, and shee was by the Keele nine and twentie foot: at the Beame fifteene foot and an halfe: at the Loofe fourteene, at the Trausam nine, and she was eight foot deepe, and drew sixe foote water, and hee called her the *Patience*.

§. III.

Their departure from Bermuda *and arriuall in* Virginia: *miseries there, departure and returne vpon the Lord* LA WARRES *arriuing.* IAMES *Towne described.*

FRom this time we only awaited a fauourable Westerly wind to carrie vs forth, which longer then vsuall now kept at the East, and South-east; the way which wee were to goe. The tenth of May early, Sir *George Summers* and Captaine *Newport* went off with their long Boates, and with two Canoaes boyed the Channell, which wee were to leade it out in, and which was no broader from Shoales on the one side and Rockes

Rockeson the other, then about three times the length of our Pinnasse. About ten of the clocke, that day being Thursday, we set sayle an easie gale, the wind at South, and by reason no more winde blew, we were faine to towe her with our long Boate, yet neither with the helpe of that, were we able to fit our Bowyes, but euen when we came iust vpon them, we strucke a Rocke on the starboord side, ouer which the Bowye rid, and had it not beene a soft Rocke, by which meanes she bore it before her, and crushed it to pieces, God knowes we might haue beene like enough, to haue returned anew, and dwelt there, after tenne monethes of carefulnesse and great labour a longer time: but God was more mercifull vnto vs. When shee strucke vpon the Rocke, the Cock-swayne one *Walsingham* beeing in the Boate with a quicke spirit (when wee were all amazed, and our hearts failed) and so by Gods goodnesse wee led it out at three fadome, and three fadome and an halfe water. The wind serued vs easily all that day and the next, when (God be euer praysed for it) to the no little ioy of vs all, we got cleere of the Ilands. After which holding a Southerly course, for seuen dayes wee had the winde sometimes faire, and sometimes scarce and contrarie: in which time we lost Sir *George Summers* twice, albeit we still spared him our mayne top-sayle, and sometimes our fore course too.

Signe of Land. The seuenteenth of May we saw change of water, and had much Rubbish swimme by our ship side, whereby wee knew wee were not farre from Land. The eighteenth about midnight wee sounded, with the Dipsing Lead, and found thirtie seuen fadome. The nineteenth in the morning we sounded, and had nineteene and an halfe fadome, stonie, and sandie ground. The twentieth about midnight, we had a maruellous sweet smell from the shoare (as from the Coast of *Spaine*, short of the Straits) strong and pleasant, which did not a little glad vs. In the morning by day breake (so soone as one might well see from the fore-top) one of the Saylers descryed Land about an houre after, I went vp and might discouer two Hummockes to the Southward, from which (Northward all along) lay the Land, which wee were to Coast to Cape *Henrie*. About seuen of the clocke we cast forth an Anchor, because the tyde (by reason of the Freshet that set into the Bay) make a strong Ebbe there, and the winde was but easie, so as not beeing able to stemme the Tyde, we purposed to lye at an Anchor vntill the next flood, but the wind comming South-west a loome gale about eleuen, we set sayle againe, and hauing got ouer the Barre, bore in for the Cape.

Cheſapiack Bay. This is the famous *Cheſipiacke* Bay, which wee haue called (in honour of our young Prince) Cape *Henrie* ouer against which within the Bay, lyeth another Head-land, which wee called in honour of our Princely Duke of *Yorke* Cape *Charles*; and these lye North-east and by East, and South-west and by West, and they may bee distant each from the other in breadth seuen leagues, betweene which the Sea runnes in as broad as betweene *Queenebarrough* and *Lee*. Indeed it is a goodly Bay and a fairer, not easily to be found.

The one and twentieth, beeing Munday in the morning, wee came vp within two miles of *Points Comfort*, when the Captaine of the Fort discharged a warning Peece at vs, whereupon we came to an Anchor, and sent off our long Boat to the Fort, to certifie who we were by reason of the shoales which lye on the South-side, this Fort easily commands the mouth of the Riuer, albeit it is as broad as betweene *Greenwich*, and the Ile of *Dogges*.

True it is, such who talked with our men from the shoare, deliuered how safely all our ships the last yeere (excepting only the Admirall, and the little Pinnasse in which one *Michael Philes* commanded of some twentie tunne, which we towed a sterne till the storme blew) arriued, and how our people (well increased) had therefore builded this Fort; only wee could not learne any thing of our long Boat, sent from the *Bermudas*, but what wee gathered by the *Indians* themselues, especially from *Powhatan*, who would tell our men of such a Boat landed in one of his Riuers, and would describe the people, and make much scoffing sport thereat: by which wee haue gathered, that it is most likely, how it arriued vpon our Coast, and not meeting with our Riuer were taken at some time or other, at some aduantage by the Sauages, and so cut off. When our Skiffe came vp againe, the good newes of our ships, and mens arriuall the last yeere, did not a little glad our Gouernour: who went soone ashoare, and assoone (contrary to all our faire hopes) had new vnexpected, vncomfortable, and heauie newes of a worse condition of our people aboue at *Iames* Towne.

The long Boat sent by Ratcliffe cast away

Vpon *Point Comfort* our men did the last yeere (as you haue heard) rayse a little Fortification, which since hath beene better perfected, and is likely to proue a strong Fort, and is now kept by Captaine *Iames Davies* with forty men, and hath to name *Algernoone* Fort, so called by Captaine *George Percy*, whom we found at our arriuall President of the Colony, and at this time likewise in the Fort. When we got into the Point, which was the one and twentieth of May, being Munday about noone; where riding before an *Indian* Towne called *Kecoughton*, a mightie storme of Thunder, Lightning, and Raine, gaue vs a shrewd and fearefull welcome.

Algernoone Fort *M. George Percy.*

From hence in two dayes (only by the helpe of Tydes, no winde stirring) wee plyed it sadly vp the Riuer, and the three and twentieth of May we cast Anchor before *Iames* Towne, where we landed, and our much grieued Gouernour first visiting the Church caused the Bell to be rung, at which (all such as were able to come forth of their houses) repayred to Church where our Mi-

Miserable shewes of welcome.

ni-ſter

niſter Maſter *Bucke* made a zealous and ſorrowfull Prayer, finding all things ſo contrary to our expectations, ſo full of miſery and miſgouernment. After Seruice our Gouernour cauſed mee to reade his Commiſſion, and Captaine *Percie* (then Preſident) deliuered vp vnto him his Commiſſion, the old Patent and the Councell Seale. Viewing the Fort, we found the Palliſadoes torne downe, the Ports open, the Gates from off the hinges, and emptie houſes (which Owners death had taken from them) rent vp and burnt, rather then the dwellers would ſtep into the Woods a ſtones caſt off from them, to fetch other fire-wood: and it is true, the *Indian* killed as faſt without, if our men ſtirred but beyond the bounds of their Block-houſe, as Famine and Peſtilence did within; with many more particularities of their ſufferances (brought vpon them by their owne diſorders the laſt yeere) then I haue heart to expreſſe. In this deſolation and miſery our Gouernour found the condition and ſtate of the Colonie, and (which added more to his griefe) no hope how to amend it or ſaue his owne Company, and thoſe yet remayning aliue, from falling into the like neceſſities. For we had brought from the *Bermudas* no greater ſtore of prouiſion (fearing no ſuch accidents poſſible to befall the Colony here) then might well ſerue one hundred and fiftie for a Sea Voyage: and it was not poſſible, at this time of the yeere to amend it, by any helpe from the *Indian*. For beſides that they (at their beſt) haue little more, then from hand to mouth, it was now likewiſe but their Seed-time, and all their Corne ſcarce put into the ground: nor was there at the Fort, as they whom we found related vnto vs) any meanes to take fiſh, neither ſufficient Seine, nor other conuenient Net, and yet if there had, there was not one eye of Sturgeon yet come into the Riuer. All which conſidered, it pleaſed our Gouernour to make a Speech vnto the Company, giuing them to vnderſtand, that what prouiſion he had, they ſhould equally ſhare with him, and if he ſhould find it not poſſible, and eaſie to ſupply them with ſome thing from the Countrey, by the endeuours of his able men, hee would make readie, and tranſport them all into their Natiue Countrey (accommodating them the beſt that he could) at which there was a generall acclamation, and ſhoute of ioy on both ſides (for euen our owne men began to be diſheartened and faint, when they ſaw this miſery amongſt the others, and no leſſe threatned vnto themſelues. In the meane while, our Gouernour publiſhed certaine Orders and Inſtructions, which hee enioyned them ſtrictly to obſerue, the time that hee ſhould ſtay amongſt them, which being written out faire, were ſet vp vpon a poſt in the Church for euery one to take notice of.

Old Patent yeelded vp.

Their miſeries inuited. *Ipſi ſibi cauſa malorum.*

Orders eſtabliſhed which continued for their ſhort ſtay: the particulers are here omitted. They contained a Preface and 21. Articles for Pietie, Loyaltie and Politie conuenient to the Colonie.

If I ſhould be examined from whence, and by what occaſion, all theſe diſaſters, and afflictions deſcended vpon our people, I can only referre you (honoured Ladie) to the Booke, which the Aduenturers haue ſent hither intituled, *Aduertiſements vnto the Colony in Virginia*: wherein the ground and cauſes are fauourably abridged, from whence theſe miſerable effects haue beene produced, not excuſing likewiſe the forme of gouernment of ſome errour, which was not powerfull enough among ſo headie a multitude, eſpecially, as thoſe who arriued here in the ſupply ſent the laſt yeere with vs: with whom the better authoritie and gouernment now changed into an abſolute command, came along, and had beene as happily eſtabliſhed, had it pleaſed God, that we with them had reached our wiſhed Harbour.

Vnto ſuch calamity can ſloath, riot, and vanity, bring the moſt ſetled and plentifull eſtate. Indeede (right noble Lady) no ſtory can remember vnto vs, more woe and anguiſhes, then theſe people, thus gouerned, haue both ſuffered and puld vpon their owne heads. And yet true it is, ſome of them, whoſe voyces and command might not be heard, may eaſily be abſolued from the guilt hereof, as ſtanding vntouched, and vpright in their innocencies; whileſt the priuie factionaries ſhall neuer find time nor darkneſſe, to wipe away or couer their ignoble and irreligious practiſes, who, it may be, lay all the diſcredits, and imputations the while vpon the Countrie. But vnder pardon, let me ſpeake freely to them: let them remember that if riot and ſloth ſhould both meet in any one of their beſt Families, in a Countrey moſt ſtored with abundance and plentie in *England*, continuall waſting, no Husbandry, the old ſtore ſtill ſpent on, no order for new prouiſions, what better could befall vnto the Inhabitants, Land-lords, and Tenants of that corner, then neceſſarily following cleanneſſe of teeth, famine and death? Is it not the ſentence and doome of the Wiſeman? *Yet a little ſleepe, a little ſlumber, and a little folding of the hands to ſleepe: ſo thy powerty commeth, as one that trauelleth by the way, and thy neceſſitie like an armed man.* And with this Idleneſſe, when ſome thing was in ſtore, all waſtfull courſes exerciſed to the heigth, and the headleſſe multitude, ſome neither of qualitie nor Religion) not imployed to the end for which they were ſent hither, no not compelled (ſince in themſelues vnwilling) to ſowe Corne for their owne bellies, nor to put a Roote, Herbe, &c. for their owne particular good in their Gardens or elſewhere: I ſay in this neglect and ſenſuall Surfet, all things ſuffered to runne on, to lie ſicke and languiſh; muſt it be expected, that health, plentie, and all the goodneſſe of a well ordered State, of neceſſitie for all this to flow in this Countrey? You haue a right and noble heart (worthy Lady) bee iudge of the truth herein. Then ſuffer it not bee concluded vnto you, nor beleeue, I beſeech you, that the wants and wretchedneſſe which they haue indured, aſcend out of the pouertie and vileneſſe of the Countrey, whether bee reſpected the Land or Riuers: the one, and the other, hauing not only promiſed, but powred enough in their veines, to conuince

Men blamed, but not all: the Country freed

Prou. 6.

The Countrey commended.

uince them in such calumnies, and to quit those common calamities, which (as the shadow accompanies the body) the precedent neglects touched at, if truely followed, and wrought vpon. What *England* may boast of, hauing the faire hand of husbandry to manure and dresse it, God, and Nature haue fauourably bestowed vpon this Country, and as it hath giuen vnto it, both by situation, height, and soyle, all those (past hopes) assurances which follow our well planted natiue Countrie, and others, lying vnder the same influence: if, as ours, the Countrey and soyle might be improued, and drawne forth: so hath it indowed it, as is most certaine, with many more, which *England* fetcheth farre vnto her from elsewhere. For first wee haue experience, and euen our eyes witnesse (how yong so euer wee are to the Countrie) that no Countrey yeeldeth goodlier Corne, nor more manifold increase: large Fields wee haue, as prospects of the same, and not farre from our Pallisado. Besides, wee haue thousands of goodly Vines in euery hedge, and Boske running along the ground, which yeelde a plentifull Grape in their kinde. Let mee appeale then to knowledge, if these naturall Vines were planted, dressed, and ordered by skilfull Vinearoones, whether wee might not make a perfect Grape, and fruitefull Vintage in short time? And we haue made triall of our owne *English* seedes, kitchen Hearbs, and Rootes, and finde them to prosper as speedily as in *England*.

Remacu tetigit. True cause of misery in *Virginia.*

Onely let me truely acknowledge, they are not an hundred or two of deboist hands, dropt forth by yeare after yeare, with penury, and leisure, ill prouided for before they come, and worse to be gouerned when they are here, men of such distempered bodies, and infected mindes, whom no examples daily before their eyes, either of goodnesse or punishment, can deterre from their habituall impieties, or terrifie from a shamefull death, that must be the Carpenters, and workemen in this so glorious a building.

Then let no rumour of the pouerty of the Country (as if in the wombe thereof there lay not those elementall seedes, which could produce as many faire births of plenty, and increase, and better hopes, then any land vnder the heauen, to which the Sunne is no neerer a neighbour) I say, let no imposture rumour, nor any fame of some one, or a few more changeable actions, interposing by the way, or at home, waue any mans faire purposes hitherward, or wrest them to a declining and falling off from the businesse.

Times of labour vnder Sir T. *Gates.*

I will acknowledge, deere Lady, I haue seene much propensnesse already towards the vnity, and generall endeauours: how contentedly doe such as labour with vs, goe forth, when men of ranke and quality, assist, and set on their labours? I haue seene it, and I protest it, I haue heard the inferiour people, with alacrity of spirit professe, that they should neuer refuse to doe their best in the practise of their sciences and knowledges, when such worthy, and Noble Gentlemen goe in and out before them, and not onely so, but as the occasion shall be offered, no lesse helpe them with their hand, then defend them with their Sword. And it is to be vnderstood, that such as labour, are not yet so taxed, but that easily they performe the same, and euer by tenne of the clocke haue done their Mornings worke: at what time, they haue their allowances set out ready for them, and vntill it be three of the clocke againe, they take their owne pleasure, and afterwards with the Sunne set, their dayes labour is finished. In all which courses, if the businesse be continued, I doubt nothing, with Gods fauour towards vs, but to see it in time, a Countrie, an Hauen, and a Staple, fitted for such a trade, as shall aduance assureder increase, both to the Aduenturers, and free Burgers thereof, then any Trade in *Christendome*, or then that (euen in her earely dayes, when *Michael Canacco* the *Greeke*, did first discouer it to our *English* Factor in *Poland*) which extends it selfe now from *Calpe* and *Abila*, to the bottome of *Sidon*, and so wide as *Alexandria*, and all the Ports and Hauens North and South, through the Arches to *Cio*, *Smyrna*, *Troy*, the *Hellespont*, and vp to *Pompeys* Pillar, which as a Pharos, or watch Tower, stands vpon the wondrous opening into the *Euxine* Sea.

Note. The hopes of *Virginia.*

Sir T. *Gates* his care.

From the three and twentieth of May, vnto the seuenth of Iune, our Gouernour attempted, and made triall of all the wayes, that both his owne iudgement could prompe him in, and the aduise of Captaine *George Percy*, and those Gentlemen whom hee found of the Counsell, when hee came in, as of others; whom hee caused to deliuer their knowledges, concerning the State and Condition of the Countrey: but after much debating, it could not appeare, how possibly they might preserue themselues (reseruing that little which wee brought from the *Bermudas* in our Shippes, and was vpon all occasions to stand good by vs) tenne dayes from staruing. For besides, that the *Indians* were of themselues poore, they were forbidden likewise (by their subtile King *Powhatan*) at all to trade with vs; and not onely so, but to indanger and assault any Boate vpon the Riuer, or straggler out of the Fort by Land, by which (not long before our arriuall) our people had a large Boate cut off, and diuers of our men killed, euen within command of our Blocke-house; as likewise, they shot two of our people to death, after we had bin foure and fiue dayes come in: and yet would they dare then to enter our Ports, and trucke with vs (as they counterfeited vnderhand) when indeede, they came but as Spies to discouer our strength, trucking with vs vpon such hard conditions, that our Gouernour might very well see their subtilty, and therefore neither could well indure, nor would

Powhatans policy.

Sauage Spies.

would continue it. And I may truely say beside, so had our men abased; and to such a contempt, had they brought the value of our Copper, that a peece which would haue bought a bushell of their Corne in former time, would not now buy a little Cade or Basket of a Pottle. And for this misgouernment, chiefely our Colony is much bound to the Mariners, who neuer yet in any Voyage hither, but haue made a prey of our poore people in want; insomuch, as vnlesse they might aduance foure or fiue for one (how assured soeuer of the payments of their Bils of Exchange) they would not spare them a dust of Corne, nor a pinte of Beere, to giue vnto them the least comfort or reliefe; although that Beere purloyned, and stolne perhaps, either from some particular supply, or from the generall store: so vncharitable a parcell of people they be, and ill conditioned. I my selfe haue heard the Master of a Shippe say (euen vpon the arriuall of this Fleete, with the Lord Gouernour and Captaine Generall, when the said Master was treated with for such Commodities as hee brought to sell) that vnlesse hee might haue an East *Indian* increase, foure for one, all charges cleered, hee would not part with a Can of Beere. Besides, to doe vs more villany and mischiefe, they would send of their long Boates still by night, and (well guarded) make out to the neighbour Villages, and Townes, and there (contrary to the Articles of the Fort, which now pronounce death for a trespasse of that qualitie) trucke with the *Indians*, giuing for their trifles Otter skinnes, Beuers, Rokoone Furres; Beares skinnes, &c. so large a quantity, and measure of Copper, as when the Trucke-Master for the Colony, in the day time offered trade, the *Indians* would laugh and scorne the same, telling what bargains they met withall by night, from our *Mangot Quintons* (so calling our great Shippes) by which meanes, the Market with them forestalled thus by these dishoneſt men, I may boldly say, they haue bin a consequent cause (this last yeare) to the death and staruing of many a worthy spirit; but I hope to see a true amendment and reformation, as well of those as of diuers other intollerable abuses, thrust vpon the Colony by these shameleſſe people, as also for the transportation of such prouisions and supplies as are sent hither, and come vnder the charge of pursers (a parcell, fragment, and odde ends of fellowes dependancies to the others) a better course thought vpon: of which supplies, neuer yet came into the Store, or to the Parties, vnto whom such supplies were sent, by relation hitherto, a moitie or third part; for the speedy redresse of this, being so soueraigne a point, I vnderstand how the Lord Gouernour and Captaine Generall, hath aduised vnto the Counsell, that there may be no more prouisions at all deliuered vnto Pursers, but hath intreated to haue the prouision thus ordered. He would haue a Commissary Generall of the Victuals to be appointed, who (receiuing the store for the Colony, by Indenture from the Treasurer, and Victuallers in *England*) may keepe a iust accompt, what the grosse amounteth vnto, and what is transported euery Voyage, in seuerall kindes, as of Bread, Meate, Beere, Wine, &c. which said Commissary shall deliuer ouer the same, to the Master of euery Ship, and take an Indenture from the said Master, of what he hath in charge, and what he is to deliuer to the Treasurer of the store in *Virginia*: of which, if any be wanting, he the said Master shall make it good, out of his owne intertainment, otherwise the Pursers, Stewards, Coopers, and quarter Masters, will be sure still, not onely to giue themselues and their friends double allowances, but thinke it all well gotten that they can purloine and steale away.

Baseneſſe of our people.

Mischiefes of Mariners.

Purſers fraud.

Remedy.

Besides that the *Indian* thus euill intreated vs, the Riuer (which were wont before this time of the yeare to be plentifull of Sturgion) had not now a Fish to be seene in it, and albeit we laboured, and hold our Net twenty times day and night, yet we tooke not so much as would content halfe the Fishermen. Our Gouernour therefore sent away his long Boate to coast the Riuer downward, as farre as Point *Comfort*, and from thence to Cape *Henry*, and Cape *Charles*, and all within the Bay: which after a seuen nights triall and trauaile, returned without any fruites of their labours, scarse getting so much Fish as serued their owne Company.

And to take any thing from the *Indian* by force, we neuer vsed, nor willingly euer will: and though they had well deserued it, yet it was not now time, for they did (as I said before) but then set their Corne, and at their best, they had but from hand to mouth; so as what now remained? such as we found in the Fort, had wee staid but foure dayes, had doubtleſſe bin the most part of them starued, for their best reliefe was onely Mushrums, and some hearbes, which sod together, made but a thin and vnsauory broath, and swelled them much. The pitty hereof moued our Gouernour to draw forth such prouision as he had brought, proportioning a measure equally to euery one a like. But then our Gouernor began to examine how long this his store would hold out, and found it (husbanded to the best aduantage) not possible to serue longer then sixteene dayes: after which, nothing was to be possibly supposed out of the Countrey (as before remembred) nor remained there then any meanes to transport him elsewhere. Whereupon hee then entred into the consultation with Sir *George Summers*, and Captaine *Newport*, calling vnto the same the Gentlemen and Counsell of the former Gouernment, intreating both the one and the other to aduise with him what was best to be done. The prouision which they both had aboord himselfe and Sir *George Summers*, was examined, and deliuered, how it, being rackt to the vttermost, extended not aboue, as I said, sixteene dayes, after two Cakes a day. The Gentlemen of the Town, who knew better of the Country, could not giue him any hope, or wayes, how

The Colony when they came within foure dayes of staruing.

to improue it from the *Indian*. It soone then appeared most fit, by a generall approbation, that to preserue and saue all from staruing, there could be no readier course thought on, then to abandon the Country, and accommodating themselues the best that they might, in the present Pinnaces then in the road, namely in the *Discouery* and the *Virginia*, and in the two, brought from, and builded at the *Bermudas*, the *Deliuerance*, and the *Patience*, with all speede conuenient to make for the *New found Land*, where (being the fishing time) they might meete with many *English* Ships into which happily they might disperse most of the Company.

Purpose to leaue the Country.

This Consultation taking effect, our Gouernor hauing caused to be carried aboord all the Armes, and all the best things in the store, which might to the Aduenturers make some commodity vpon the sale thereof at home, and burying our Ordnances before the Fort gate, which looked into the Riuer. The seuenth of Iune hauing appointed to euery Pinnace likewise his complement and number, also deliuered thereunto a proportionable rate of prouision, hee commanded euery man at the beating of the Drum to repaire aboord. And because hee would preserue the Towne (albeit now to be quitted) vnburned, which some intemperate and malicious people threatned, his owne Company he caused to be last ashoare, and was himselfe the last of them, when about noone giuing a farewell, with a peale of small shot, wee set saile, and that night, with the tide, fell downe to an Iland in the Riuer, which our people haue called *Hogge Iland*; and the morning tide brought vs to another Iland, which we haue called *Mulberry Iland*; where lying at an ancor, in the afternoone stemming the tide, wee discouered a long Boate making towards vs, from Point *Comfort*: much descant we made thereof, about an houre it came vp; by which, to our no little ioyes, we had intelligence of the honorable my Lord *La Warr* his arriuall before *Algernoone* Fort the sixt of Iune, at what time, true it is, his Lordship hauing vnderstood of our Gouernours resolution to depart the Country, with all expedition caused his Skiffe to be manned, and in it dispatched his letters by Captain *Edward Bruster* (who commandeth his Lordships Company) to our Gouernour, which preuenting vs before the aforesaid *Mulberry Iland*, the eight of Iune aforesaid) vpon the receipt of his honours letters, our Gouernour bore vp the helme, with the winde comming Easterly, and that night (the winde so fauourable) relanded all his men at the Fort againe: before which (the tenth of Iune, being Sunday) his Lordship had likewise brought his Ships, and in the afternoone, came a shoare with Sir *Ferdinando Weinman*, and all his Lordships followers.

The highest pitch & lowest depth of the Colonies miseries scarsly escaping the iawes of deuouring desperation.

Hopes morning.

L. *La Warr* arriuall.

Here (worthy Lady) let mee haue a little your pardon, for hauing now a better heart, then when I first landed, I will briefely describe vnto you, the situation and forme of our Fort. When Captain *Newport* in his first Voyage, did not like to inhabit vpon so open a roade, as Cape *Henry*, nor Point *Comfort* he plied it vp to the Riuer, still looking out for the most apt and securest place, as well for his Company to sit downe in, as which might giue the least cause of offence, or distast in his iudgement, to the Inhabitants. At length, after much and weary search (with their Barge coasting still before, as *Virgil* writeth *Æneas* did, arriuing in the region of *Italy* called *Latium*, vpon the bankes of the Riuer *Tyber*) in the Country of a *Werowance* called *Wowinchapuncke* (a ditionary to *Powhatan*) within this faire Riuer of *Paspiheigh*, which wee haue called *the Kings* Riuer, a Country least inhabited by the *Indian*, as they all the way obserued, and threescore miles & better vp the fresh Channell, from Cape *Henry* they had sight of an extended plaine & spot of earth, which thrust out into the depth, & middest of the channell, making a kinde of *Cherſonesus* or *Peninsula*, for it was fastened onely to the Land with a slender necke, no broader then a man may well quaite a tile shard, & no inhabitants by seuen or six miles neere it. The Trumpets sounding, the Admirall strooke saile, and before the same, the rest of the Fleete came to an ancor, and here (as the best yet offered vnto their view, supposed so much the more conuenient, by how much with their small Company, they were like inough the better to assure it) to loose no further time, the Colony disimbarked, and euery man brought his particular store and furniture, together with the generall prouision ashoare: for the safety of which, as likewise for their owne security, ease, and better accommodating, a certaine Canton and quantity, of that little halfe Iland of ground, was measured, which they began to fortifie, and thereon in the name of God, to raise a Fortresse, with the ablest and speedyest meanes they could: which Fort, growing since to more perfection, is now at this present in this manner.

Description of the state and site of *Iames* Towne.

The Fort, &c. described.

A low leuell of ground about halfe an Acre, or (so much as Queene *Dido* might buy of King *Hyarbas*, which she compassed about with the thongs cut out of one Bull hide, and therein built her Castle of *Byrza*) on the North side of the Riuer, is cast almost into the forme of a Triangle, and so Pallizadoed. The South side next the Riuer (howbeit extended in a line, or Curtaine six score foote more in length, then the other two, by reason the aduantage of the ground doth so require) containes one hundred and forty yards: the West and East sides a hundred onely. At euery Angle, or corner, where the lines meete, a Bulwarke or Watchtower is raised, and in each Bulwarke a peece of Ordnance or two well mounted. To euery side, a proportioned distance from the Pallisado) is a setled streete of houses, that runs along, so as each line of the Angle hath his streete. In the middest is a market place, a Store house, and a Corps du guard, as likewise a pretty Chappell, though (at this time when wee came in, as ruined and vnfrequented: but the

Lord

Lord Gouernour, and Captaine Generall, hath giuen order for the repairing of it, and at this instant, many hands are about it. It is in length threescore foote, in breadth twenty foure, and shall haue a Chancell in it of Cedar, and a Communion Table of the Blake Walnut, and all the Pewes of Cedar, with faire broad windowes, to shut and open, as the weather shall occasion, of the same wood, a Pulpet of the same, with a Font hewen hollow, like a Canoa, with two Bels at the West end. It is so cast, as it be very light within, and the Lord Gouernour and Captaine Generall doth cause it to be kept passing sweete, and trimmed vp with diuers flowers, with a Sexton belonging to it, and in it euery Sonday wee haue Sermons twice a day, and euery Thursday a Sermon, hauing true preachers, which take their weekely turnes, and euery morning at the ringing of a Bell, about ten of the clocke, each man addresseth himselfe to prayers, and so at foure of the clocke before Supper. Euery Sunday, when the Lord Gouernour, and Captaine Generall goeth to Church, hee is accompanied with all the Counsailers, Captaines, other Officers, and all the Gentlemen, and with a Guard of Holberdiers, in his Lordships Liuery, faire red cloakes, to the number of fifty both on each side, and behinde him: and being in the Church, his Lordship hath his seate in the Quier, in a greene Veluet Chaire, with a Cloath, with a Veluet Cushion spread on a Table before him, on which he kneeleth, and on each side sit the Counsell, Captaines, and Officers, each in their place, and when he returneth home againe, he is waited on to his house in the same manner.

And thus inclosed, as I said, round with a Pallizado of Planckes and strong Posts, foure foote deepe in the ground, of yong Oakes, Walnuts, &c. The Fort is called in honour of his Maiesties name, *Iames Towne*; the principall Gate from the Towne, through the Pallizado, opens to the Riuer, as at each Bulwarke there is a Gate likewise to goe forth, and at euery Gate a Demi-Culuerin, and so in the Market Place. The houses first raised, were all burnt, by a casualty of fire, the beginning of the second yeare of their seate, and in the second Voyage of Captain *Newport*, which since haue bin better rebuilded, though as yet in no great vniformity, either for the fashion, or beauty of the streete. A delicate wrought fine kinde of Mat the *Indians* make, with which (as they can be trucked for, or snatched vp) our people do dresse their chambers, and inward roomes, which make their houses so much the more handsome. The houses haue wide and large Country Chimnies in the which is to be supposed (in such plenty of wood) what fires are maintained; and they haue found the way to couer their houses: now (as the *Indians*) with barkes of Trees, as durable, and as good proofe against stormes, and winter weather, as the best Tyle defending likewise the piercing Sunbeames of Summer, and keeping the inner lodgings coole enough, which before in sultry weather would be like Stoues, whilest they were, as at first, pargetted and plaistered with Bitumen or tough Clay: and thus armed for the iniury of changing times, and seasons of the yeare, we hold our selues well apaid, though wanting Arras Hangings, Tapistry, and guilded Venetian Cordouan; or more spruse houshold garniture, and wanton City ornaments, remembring the old Epigraph:

The Houses.

Barke Roofes.

We dwell not here to build vs Bowers,
And Hals for pleasure and good cheere:
But Hals we build for vs and ours,
To dwell in them whilst we liue here.

True it is, I may not excuse this our Fort, or *Iames* Towne, as yet seated in some what an vnwholesome and sickly ayre, by reason it is in a marish ground, low, flat to the Riuer, and hath no fresh water Springs seruing the Towne, but what wee drew from a Well sixe or seuen fathom deepe, fed by the brackish Riuer owzing into it, from whence I verily beleeue, the chiefe causes haue proceeded of many diseases and sicknesses which haue happened to our people, who are indeede strangely afflicted with Fluxes and Agues; and euery particular season (by the relation of the old inhabitants) hath his particular infirmity too, all which (if it had bin our fortunes, to haue seated vpon some hill, accommodated with fresh Springs and cleere ayre, as doe the Natiues of the Country) we might haue, I beleeue, well escaped: and some experience we haue to perswade our selues that it may be so, for of foure hundred and odde men, which were seated at the Fals, the last yeere when the Fleete came in with fresh and yong able spirits, vnder the gouernment of Captain *Francis West*, and of one hundred to the Seawards (on the South side of our Riuer) in the Country of the *Nansamundes*, vnder the charge of Captaine *Iohn Martin*, there did not so much as one man miscarry, and but very few or none fall sicke, whereas at *Iames* Towne, the same time, and the same moneths, one hundred sickned, & halfe the number died: howbeit, as we condemne not *Kent* in *England*, for a small Towne called *Plumsted*, continually assaulting the dwellers there (especially new commers) with Agues and Feuers; no more let vs lay scandall, and imputation vpon the Country of *Virginia*, because the little Quarter wherein we are set dowee (vnaduisedly so chosed) appeares to be vnwholesome, and subiect to many ill ayres, which accompany the like marish places.

Vnhealthfulnesse of *Iames* Towne.

Ch. IIII.

The Lord LA WARRES *beginnings and proceedings in* Iames *Towne. Sir* THOMAS GATES *ſent into* England; *his and the Companies teſtimony of* Virginia, *and cauſe of the late miſeries.*

VPon his Lordſhips landing at the South gate of the *Palliſado* (which lookes into the Riuer) our Gouernour cauſed his Company in armes to ſtand in order, and make a Guard: It pleaſed him, that I ſhould beare his Colours for that time: his Lordſhip landing, fell vpon his knees, and before vs all, made a long and ſilent Prayer to himſelfe, and after, marched vp into the Towne, where at the Gate, I bowed with the Colours, and let them fall at his Lordſhips feete, who paſſed on into the Chappell, where he heard a Sermon by Maſter *Bucke*, our Gouernours Preacher; and after that, cauſed a Gentleman, one of his owne followers, Maſter *Anthony Scot* his Ancient, to reade his Commiſſion, which intituled him Lord Gouernour, and Captaine Generall during his life, of the Colony and Plantation in *Virginia* (Sir *Thomas Gates* our Gouernour hitherto, being now ſtiled therein Lieutenant Generall.)

Commiſſion red.

Lord *La Warrs* title.

Sir *T. Gates* Lieutenant Generall.

After the reading of his Lordſhips Commiſſion, Sir *Thomas Gates* rendred vp vnto his Lordſhip his owne Commiſſion, both Patents, and the Counſell Seale: after which, the Lord Gouernour, and Captaine Generall, deliuered ſome few words vnto the Company, laying many blames vpon them for many vanities, and their Idleneſſe, earneſtly wiſhing, that he might no more finde it ſo, leaſt he ſhould be compelled to draw the ſword of Iuſtice, to cut off ſuch delinquents, which he had much rather, he proteſted, draw in their defence, to protect them from iniuries; hartening them with the knowledge of what ſtore of prouiſions he had brought for them, *viz.* ſufficient to ſerue foure-hundred men for one whole yeare.

His ſpeech.

Prouiſions brought.

The twelfth of Iune, being Tueſday, the Lord Gouernour and Captaine Generall, did conſtitute, and giue places of Office, and charge to diuers Captaines and Gentlemen, and elected vnto him a Counſell, vnto whom he did adminiſter an Oath, mixed with the oath of Allegiance, and Supremacy to his Maieſtie: which oath likewiſe he cauſed to be adminiſtred the next day after to euery particular member of the Colony, of Faith, Aſſiſtance, and Secrecy. The Counſaile which he elected were. Sir *Thomas Gates* Kinght, Lieutenant Generall. Sir *George Summers* Knight, Admirall. Captaine *George Percy* Eſquire, and in the Fort Captaine of fifty. Sir *Ferdinando Weinman* Knight, Maſter of the Ordnance. Captaine *Chriſtopher Newport*, Vice-admirall. *William Strachei* Eſquire, Secretary, and Recorder.

Counſell choſen & ſworne.

Colony ſworn.

Officers appointed.

As likewiſe the Lord Gouernour and Captaine Generall, nominated Captaine *Iohn Martin*, Maſter of the Battery workes for Steele and Iron: and Captaine *George Webb* Sergeant Maior of the Fort: and eſpeciall Captaines ouer Companies, were theſe appointed; Captaine *Edward Bruſter*, who hath the command of his Honours owne Company. Captaine *Thomas Lawſon*. Captain *Thomas Holecroft*. Captaine *Samuell Argoll*. Captaine *George Yardley*, who commandeth the Lieutenant Generals Company. Diuers other Officers were likewiſe made, as Maſter *Ralph Hamor*, and Maſter *Browne*, Clarkes of the Counſell, and Maſter *Daniell Tucker*, and Maſter *Robert Wilde*, Clarkes of the Store, &c.

The firſt buſineſſe which the Lord Gouernour and Captaine Generall (after the ſetling of theſe Officers) thought vpon, was to aduiſe with his Counſell, for the obtaining of ſuch prouiſions of victuals for ſtore, and quality, as the Countrey afforded. It did not appeare, that any kinde of Fleſh, Deere, or what elſe, of that kinde, could be recouered from the *Indian*, or to be ſought in the Countrey, by the trauaile or ſearch of his people, and the old dwellers in the Fort (together with the *Indians* not to friend) who had the laſt winter, deſtroyed and killed vp all the Hogges, inſomuch, as of fiue or ſixe hundred (as it is ſuppoſed) there was not one left aliue; nor an Henne, nor Chicke in the Fort; and our Horſes and Mares, they had eaten with the firſt, and the prouiſion which the Lord Gouernour, and Captaine Generall had brought, concerning any kinde of fleſh, was little or nothing; in reſpect it was not dreampt of by the Aduenturers in *England*, that the Swine were deſtroyed.

Sir *G. Summers* vndertaketh to bring prouiſions from *Bermudas*.

In Counſell therefore the thirteenth of Iune, it pleaſed Sir *George Summers* Knight, Admirall, to propoſe a Voyage, which for the better reliefe, and good of the Colony, he would performe into the *Bermudas*, from whence he would fetch ſix moneths prouiſion of Fleſh and Fiſh, and ſome liue Hogges to ſtore our Colony againe: and had a Commiſſion giuen vnto him the fifteenth of Iune, 1610. who in his owne *Bermuda* Pinnace, the *Patience*, conſorted with Captaine *Samuell Argoll*, in the Diſcouery (whom the Lord Gouernour, and Captaine Generall, made of the counſell before his departure) the nineteenth of Iune, fell with the Tyde from before our Towne, and the twenty two left the Bay, or Cape *Henry* a ſterne.

And likewiſe, becauſe at the Lord Gouernous, and Captaine Generals firſt comming, there was found in our owne Riuer no ſtore of Fiſh; after many trials, the Lord Gouernour, and Captaine Generall,

Generall, diſpatched in the *Virginia*, with inſtructions, the ſeuenteenth of Iune, 1610. *Robert Tyndall*, Maſter of the *De la Warre*, to fiſh vnto, all along, and betweene Cape *Henry*, and Cape *Charles*, within the Bay; who the laſt of the ſaid moneth returned vnto vs againe, but as ill ſpeeding as the former, whom our Gouernour (now Lieutenant Generall) had addreſſed thither before for the ſame purpoſe. Nor was the Lord Gouernour, and Captaine Generall in the meane while idle at the Fort, but euery day and night hee cauſed the Nets to be hawled, ſometimes a doſen times one after another. But it pleaſed not God ſo to bleſſe our labours, that we did at any time take one quarter ſo much, as would giue vnto our people one pound at a meale a peece, by which we might haue better husbanded our Peaſe and Oatemeale, notwithſtanding the great ſtore we now ſaw daily in our Riuer: but let the blame of this lye where it is, both vpon our Nets, and the vnskilfulneſſe of our men to lay them.

The ſixth of Iuly Sir *Thomas Gates* Lieutenant Generall, comming downe to *Point Comfort*, the North wind (blowing rough) he found had forced the long Boate belonging to *Algernoone* Fort, to the other ſhoare vpon *Nanſamund* ſide, ſomewhat ſhort of *Weroſcoick*: which to recouer againe, one of the Lieutenant Generals men *Humfrey Blunt*, in an old Canow made ouer, but the wind driuing him vpon the Strand, certaine *Indians* (watching the occaſion) ſeiſed the poore fellow, and led him vp into the Woods, and ſacrificed him. It did not a little trouble the Lieutenant Gouernour, who ſince his firſt landing in the Countrey (how iuſtly ſoeuer prouoked) would not by any meanes be wrought to a violent proceeding againſt them, for all the practiſes of villany, with which they daily indangered our men, thinking it poſſible, * by a more tractable courſe, to winne them to a better condition: but now being ſtartled by this, he well perceiued, how little a faire and noble intreatie, workes vpon a barbarous diſpoſition, and therefore in ſome meaſure purpoſed to be reuenged.

The ninth of Iuly, he prepared his forces, and early in the morning ſet vpon a Towne of theirs, ſome foure miles from *Algernoone* Fort, called *Kecoughtan*, and had ſoone taken it, without loſſe or hurt of any of his men. The Gouernour and his women fled (the young King *Powhatans* Sonne not being there) but left his poore baggage, and treaſure to the ſpoyle of our Souldiers, which was only a few Baskets of old Wheate, and ſome other of Peaſe and Beanes, a little Tobacco, and ſome few womens Girdles of Silke, of the Graſſe-ſilke, not without art, and much neatneſſe finely wrought; of which I haue ſent diuers into *England*, (beeing at the taking of the Towne) and would haue ſent your Ladiſhip ſome of them, had they beene a Preſent ſo worthy.

We purpoſed to ſet a *Frenchman* heere a worke to plant Vines, which grew naturally in great plentie. Some few Corne fields it hath, and the Corne in good forwardneſſe, and wee deſpaire not but to bee (able if our men ſtand in health) to make it good againſt the *Indian*.

The continuall practiſes of the ſubtle King *Powhatan*, doth not meanely awaken all the powers and workings of vertue and knowledge, in our Lord Gouernour and Captaine Generall, how to preuent not only his miſchiefes, but to draw him vpon ſome better termes, and acknowledgemen of our forces and ſpirits, both able and daring to quit him in any valiant and martiall courſe whatſoeuer, he ſhall dare to runne with vs, which hee doth yet ſcarſly beleeue. For this therfore, ſince firſt, and that ſo lately, he hath ſet on his people, to attempt vs with priuate Conſpiracies and actuall violence, into the one drawing his Neighbour Confederates and vnder Princes, and by the other working the loſſe and death of diuers of our men, and by ſuch their loſſe ſeiſing their Armes, Swords, Peeces, &c. of which he hath gathered into his ſtore a great quantitie and number by Intelligence aboue two hundred Swords, beſides Axes, and Pollaxes, Chiſſels, Howes, to paire and cleanſe their ground, with an infinite treaſure of Copper) our Lord Gouernour and Captaine Generall ſent two Gentlemen with an Ambaſſie vnto him, letting him to vnderſtand of his practiſes and outrage, hitherto vſed toward our people, not only abroad but at our Fort alſo: yet flattering him withall how the Lord Gouernour and Captaine Generall did not ſuppoſe, that theſe miſchiefes were contriued by him, or with his knowledge, but conceiued them rather to be the acts of his worſt and vnruly people, his Lordſhip therefore now complaying vnto him required, that hee (being ſo great and wiſe a King) would giue an vniuerſall order to his Subiects, that it might bee no more ſo, leſt the Lord Gouernour and Captaine Generall ſhould be compelled (by defending him and his) to offend him, which he would be loath to do: withall he willed the Meſſengers to demand of him the ſaid *Powhatan*, that he would either puniſh or ſend vnto his Lordſhip ſuch of his people whom *Powhatan* knew well not long before, had aſſaulted our men at the Block-houſe, and but newly killed foure of them, as alſo to demaund of *Powhatan*, willing him to returne vnto the *Engliſh* Fort, both ſuch men as hee detayned of ours, and ſuch Armes as he had of theirs in his poſſeſſion, and thoſe conditions performed, hee willed them to aſſure vnto *Powhatan* that then their great *Werowance*, the Lord Gouernour and Captaine Generall would hold faire quarter, and enter friendſhip with him, as a friend to King *Iames* and his Subiects. But refuſing to ſubmit to theſe demands, the Lord Gouernour and Captaine Generall gaue in charge to the Meſſengers, ſo ſent to ſignifie vnto *Powhatan* that his Lordſhip would by all meanes publike and priuate, ſeeke to recouer from him ſuch of the *Engliſh* as he had, being

* *Ad Græcas Calendas.* Can a Leopard change his ſpots? Can a Sauage remayning a Sauage be ciuill? Were not wee our ſelues made and not borne ciuill in our Progenitors dayes? and were not *Cæſars Britaines* as brutiſh as *Virginians*? The *Romane* ſwords were beſt teachers of ciuilitie to this & other Countries neere vs. Graſſeſilke.

Engliſh Armes treaſured by *Powhatan.* Meſſage to *Powhatan.*

Subiects to his King and Master, vnto whom euen *Powhatan* himselfe had formerly vowed, not only friendship but homage, receiuing from his Maiestie therefore many gifts, and vpon his knees a Crowne and Scepter with other Ornaments, the Symbols of Ciuill State and Christian Soueraignetie, thereby obliging himselfe to Offices of dutie to his Maiestie. Vnto all which *Powhatan* returned no other answere, but that either we should depart his Country, or confine our selues to *Iames* Towne only, without searching further vp into his Land, or Riuers, or otherwise, hee would giue in command to his people to kill vs, and doe vnto vs all the mischiefe, which they at their pleasure could and we feared: withall forewarning the said Messengers, not to returne any more vnto him, vnlesse they brought him a Coach and three Horses, for hee had vnderstood by the *Indians* which were in *England*, how such was the state of great *Werowances*, and Lords in *England*, to ride and visit other great men.

Powhatans homage.

After this diuers times, and daily hee sent sometimes two, sometimes three, vnto our Fort, to vnderstand our strength, and to obserue our Watch & Guard, and how our people stood in health, and what numbers were arriued with this new *Werowance*: which being soone perceiued our Lord Gouernour and Captaine Generall forewarned such his Spies, vpon their owne perill, to resort no more vnto our Fort. Howbeit, they would daily presse into our Block-house, and come vp to our Pallizado gates, supposing the gouernment as well now; as fantasticall and negligent in the former times, the whilest some quarter of a mile short of the Block-house, the greatest number of them would make assault, and lye in ambush about our Glasse-house, whether. Diuers times indeed our men would make out either to gather Strawberries, or to fetch fresh water, any one of which so straggled, if they could with conueniencie, they would assault and charge with their Bowes and Arrowes, in which manner they killed many of our men: two of which being *Paspaheans*, who were euer our deadliest enemies, and not to be reconciled; at length being apprehended (and one of them a notable villaine, who had attempted vpon many in our Fort) the Lord Gouernour caused them to be manacled, and conuented before him and his Counsell, where it was determined that hee that had done so much mischiefe should haue his right hand strooke off, sending him away withall, with a message to *Powhatan*, that vnlesse hee would yet returne such *Englishmen* as he detayned, together with all such their Armes (as before spoken of) that not only the other (now Prisoner) should die, but all such of his Sauages (as the Lord Gouernour and Captaine Generall, could by any meanes surprize) should runne the same course: as likewise the Lord Gouernour and Captaine Generall would fire all his Neighbour Corne Fields, Townes, and Villages, and that suddenly, if *Powhatan* sent not to contract with him the sooner

What this will worke with him, wee know not as yet, for this was but the day before our ships were now falling to *Point Comfort*, and so to set sayle for *England*: which ships riding before *Weroscoick* to take in their fraight of Cedar, Clap-boord, Blacke Wal-nut, and Iron Oare, tooke Prisoners likewise the chiefe King of *Weroscoick*, called *Sasenticum*, with his Sonne *Kainta*, and one of his chiefe men. And the fifteenth day of July, in the *Blessing* Captaine *Adams* brought them to *Point Comfort*, where at that time (as well to take his leaue of the Lieutenant Generall Sir *Thomas Gates*, now bound for *England*, as to dispatch the ships) the Lord Gouernour and Captaine Generall had pitched his Tent in *Algernoone* Fort.

King of *Weroscoick* taken Prisoner.

Sir *T. Gates* bound for *England*.

The Kings Sonne *Kainta* the Lord Gouernour and Captaine Generall, hath sent now into *England*, vntill the ships arriue here againe the next Spring, dismissing the old *Werowance*, and the other with all tearmes of kindnesse, and friendship, promising further designes to bee effected by him, to which hee hath bound himselfe, by diuers Sauage Ceremonies, and admirations.

And thus (right Noble Ladie) once more this famous businesse, as recreated, and dipped a new into life and spirit, hath raysed it (I hope) from infamy, and shall redeeme the staines and losses vnder which she hath suffered, since her first Conception: your Graces still accompany the least appearance of her, and vouchsafe her to bee limmed out, with the beautie which wee will begge, and borrow from the faire lips: nor feare you, that shee will returne blushes to your cheekes for prayising her, since (more then most excellent Ladie) like your selfe (were all tongues dumbe and enuious) shee will prayse her selfe in her most silence: may shee once bee but seene, or but her shadow liuely by a skilfull Workman set out indeed, which heere (hungerly as I am) I haue presumed (though defacing it) in these Papers to present vnto your Ladiship.

After Sir *Thomas Gates* his arriuall, a Booke called *A true Declaration of Virginia*, was published by the Company, out of which I haue heere inserted this their publike testimonie of the causes of the former euils, and Sir *Thomas Gates* his Report vpon Oath of *Virginia*.

THe ground of all those miseries, was the permissiue Prouidence of God, who, in the fore-mentioned violent storme, seperated the head from the bodie, all the vnall powers of Regiment being exiled with Sir Thomas Gates *in those infortunate (yet fortunate) Ilands. The broken remainder of those supplyes made a greater shipwracke in the Continent of* Virginia, *by the tempest of Dissention: euery man ouer-valuing his owne worth, would be a Commander: euery man vnderprizing anothers value, denied to be commanded.*

The

The next Fountaine of woes was secure negligence, and improuidence, when euery man sharked for his present bootie, but was altogether careleſſe of ſucceeding penurie. Now, I demand whether Sicilia, *or* Sardinia *(ſometimes the Barnes of* Rome*) could hope for increaſe without manuring? A Colony is therefore denominated, becauſe they ſhould be* Coloni, *the Tillers of the Earth, and Stewards of fertilitie: our mutinous Loyterers would not ſow with prouidence, and therefore they reaped the fruits of too deere bought Repentance. An incredible example of their idleneſſe, is the report of Sir* Thomas Gates, *who affirmeth, that after his firſt comming thither, he hath ſeene ſome of them eat their fiſh raw, rather then they would goe a ſtones caſt to fetch wood and dreſſe it.* Dijs laboribus omnia vendunt, *God ſels vs all things for our labour, when* Adam *himſelfe might not liue in Paradice without dreſſing the Garden.*

Vnto idleneſſe, you may ioyne Treaſons, wrought by thoſe vnhallowed creatures that forſooke the Colonie, and expoſed their deſolate Brethren to extreame miſerie, Ten ſhall know that eight and twentie or thirtie of the Company, were appointed (in the ſhip called the Swallow*) to tracke for Corne with the* Indians, *and hauing obtained a great quantitie by trading, the moſt ſeditious of them, conſpired together, perſwaded ſome, and enforced others, to this barbarous proiect. They ſtole away the ſhip, they made a league amongſt themſelues to be profeſſed Pirats, with dreames of Mountaines of Gold, and happie Robberies: thus at one inſtant, they wronged the hopes, and ſubuerted the cares of the Colonie, who depending vpon their returue, fore-ſlowed to looke out for further prouiſion; they created the* Indians *our implacable enemies by ſome violence they had offered: they carried away the beſt ſhip (which ſhould haue beene a refuge in extremities:) they weakened our forces, by ſubſtraction of their armes and ſuccours. Theſe are that ſcumme of men that ſayling in their Piracie, that being pinched with famine and penurie, after their wilde rouing vpon the Sea, when all their lawleſſe hopes failed, ſome remayned with other Pirates, they men vpon the Sea, the others reſolued to returne for* England, *bound themſelues by mutuall Oath, to agree all in one report to diſcredit the Land, to deplore the famine, and to proteſt that this their comming away, proceeded from deſperate neceſſitie: Theſe are they, that roared out the Tragicall Hiſtorie of the man eating of his dead Wife in* Virginia; *when the Maſter of this ſhip willingly confeſſed before for tie witneſſes, that at their comming away, they left three monethes victuals, and all the Cattell liuing in the Fort: ſometimes they reported that they ſaw this horrible action, ſometimes that Captaine* Dauies *ſaid ſo, ſometimes that one* Beadle *the Lieutenant of Captaine* Dauies *did relate it, varying this report vnto diuerſitie of falſe colours, which bold no likeneſſe and proportion: But to cleere all doubts, Sir* Thomas Gates *thus relateth the Tragedie.*

There was one of the Company who mortally hated his Wife, and therefore ſecretly killed her, then cut her in pieces and hid her in diuers parts of his Houſe: when the woman was miſſing, the man ſuſpected, his Houſe ſearched, and parts of her mangled bodie were diſcouered, to excuſe himſelfe he ſaid that his Wife died, that he hid her to ſatisfie his hunger, and that hee fed daily vpon her. Vpon this, his Houſe was againe ſearched, where they found a good quantitie of Meale, Oat-meale, Beanes and Peaſe. He thereupon was arraigned, confeſſed the Murder, and was burned for his horrible villany.

Now ſhall the ſcandalous reports of a viperous generation, preponderate the teſtimonies of ſo worthy Leaders? Shall their venemous tongues, blaſt the reputation of an ancient and worthy Peere, who vpon the ocular certainty of future bleſſings, hath proteſted in his Letters, that he will ſacrifice himſelfe for his Countrie in this ſeruice, if he may be ſeconded; and if the Company doe giue it ouer, hee will yet lay all his fortunes vpon the proſecution of the Plantation? Lord Lawarre.

Vnto Treaſons, you may ioyne couetouſneſſe in the Mariners, who for their priuate lucre partly imbezeled the prouiſions, partly preuented our Trade with the Indians *making the Matches in the night, and foreſtalling our Market in the day: whereby the* Virginians *were glutted with our Triſles, and inhaunced the prices of their Corne and Victuall. That Copper which before would haue prouided a buſhell, would not now obtaine ſo much as a Pottle.*

Ioyne vnto theſe another euill: there is great ſtore of Fiſh in the Riuer, eſpecially of Sturgeon; but our men prouided no more of them then for preſent neceſſitie, not barrelling vp any ſtore againſt that ſeaſon the Sturgeon returned to the Sea. And not to diſſemble their folly, they ſuffered fourteene nets (which was all they had) to rot and ſpoyle, which by orderly drying and mending might haue beene preſerued: but being loſt, all helpe of fiſhing periſhed.

The ſtate of the Colony, by theſe accidents began to finde a ſenſible declining: which Powhatan *(as a greedy Vulture) obſerving, and boyling with deſire of reuenge, hee inuited Captaine* Ratcliffe, *and about thirty others to trade for Corne, and vnder the colour of faireſt friendſhip, hee brought them within the compaſſe of his ambuſh, whereby they were cruelly murthered and maſſacred. For vpon confidence of his fidelitie, they went one and one into ſeuerall houſes, which cauſed their ſeuerall deſtructions, when if but any ſixe had remained together, they would haue beene a Bulwarke for the generall preſeruation. After this,* Powhatan *in the night cut off ſome of our Boats, he drane away all the Deere into the farther part of the Countrey, hee and his people deſtroyed our Hogs (to the number of about ſixe hundred) hee ſent one of his* Indians *to trade with vs, but layed ſecret ambuſhes in the Woods, that if one or two dropped out of the Fort alone, they were indangered.*

Caſt vp the reckoning together: want of gouernment, ſtore of idleneſſe, their expectations fruſtrated

by

by the Traytos, their market spoyled by the Mariners, our Nets broken, the Deere chased, our Boats lost, our Hogs killed, our trade with the Indians *forbidden, some of our men fled, some murthered, and most by drinking of the brackish water of* Iames *Fort weakened and indangered, famine and sickneſſe by all theſe meanes increaſed; here at home the monyes came in ſo ſlowly, that the Lord* Laware *could not bee diſpatched till the Colony was worne and ſpent with difficulties: Aboue all, hauing neither Ruler, nor Preacher, they neither feared God, nor man, which prouoked the wrath of the Lord of Hoſts, and pulled downe his iudgements vpon them.* Diſcite iuſtitiam moniti.

The Councell of Virginia *(finding the ſmalneſſe of that returne, which they hoped ſhould haue defrayed the charge of a new ſupply) entred into a deepe conſultation, and propounded amongſt themſelues, whether it were fit to enter into a new contribution, or in time to ſend for home the Lord* La-ware, *and to abandon the action. They reſolued to ſend for Sir* Thomas Gates, *who being come, they adiured him to deale plainly with them, and to make a true relation of thoſe things which were preſently to be had, or hereafter to be hoped for in* Virginia. *Sir* Thomas Gates *with a ſolemne and ſacred oath replied, that all things before reported were true: that the Countrey yeelded abundance of Wood, as Oake, Wainſcot, Walnut Trees, Bay Trees, Aſhe, Sarſafraſe, liue Oake, greene all the yeere, Cedar and Fir; which are the materialls, of Soape aſhes, and Pot aſhes, of Oyles of Walnuts, and Bayes, of Pitch and Tar, of Clapboards, Pipe-ſtaues, Maſts and excellent boards of fortie, fiftie, and ſixtie length, and three foot breadth, when one Firre tree is able to make the maine Maſt of the greateſt Ship in* England. *He auouched that there are incredible varietie of ſweet woods, eſpecially of the Balſamum tree, which diſtilleth a precious Gumme; that there are innumerable white Mulberry trees, which in ſo warme a climate may cheriſh and feede millions of Silke-wormes, and returne vs in a very ſhort time, as great a plenty of Silke as is vented into the whole world from all the parts of* Italy: *that there are diuers ſorts of Minerals, eſpecially of Iron oare lying vpon the ground for ten Miles circuite; of which wee haue made a triall at home, that it maketh as good Iron as any is in* Europe:) *that a kinde of Hempe or Flaxe, and Silke Graſſe doe grow there naturally, which will affoord ſtuffe for all manner of excellent Cordage: That the Riuer ſwarmeth with all manner of Sturgeon: the Land aboundeth with Vines; the Woods doe harbour exceeding ſtore of Beauers, Foxes, and Squirrels; the Waters doe nouriſh a great encreaſe of Otters, all which are couered with precious Furres: that there are in preſent diſcouered Dyes and Drugges of ſundry qualities; that the Orenges which haue beene planted, did proſper in the winter, which is an infallible argument, that Lemmons, Sugar Canes, Almonds, Rice, Anniſeede, and all other commodities which wee haue from the Straights, may be ſupplied to vs in our owne Countrey, and by our owne induſtry: that the Corne yeeldeth a terrible encreaſe more then ours: and laſtly, that it is one of the goodlieſt Countries vnder the Sunne; entertained with fine maine Riuers, and promiſing as rich entrals as any Kingdome of the earth, to whom the Sunne is no neerer a neighbour.*

CHAP. VII.

The Voyage of Captaine SAMVEL ARGAL, *from* Iames *Towne in* Virginia, *to ſeeke the Ile of* Bermuda, *and miſſing the ſame, his putting ouer toward* Sagadahoc *and Cape* Cod, *and ſo backe againe to* Iames *Towne, begun the nineteenth of Iune,* 1610.

SIr *George Summers*, being bound for the Ile of *Bermuda* with two Pinnaces, the one called the *Patience*, wherein he ſailed himſelfe, ſet ſaile from *Iames* Towne in *Virginia*, the ninteenth of Iune, 1610. The two and twentieth at noone we came to an anchor at Cape *Henry*, to take more balaſt. The weather proued very wet: ſo wee road vnder the Cape till two of the clocke, the three and twentieth in the morning. Then we weighed and ſtood off to Sea, the wind at South-weſt. And till eight of the clocke at night it was all Southerly, and then that ſhifted to South-weſt. The Cape then bearing Weſt, about eight leagues off. Then wee ſtirred away South-eaſt. The foure and twentieth, at noone I obſerued the Sunne, and found my ſelfe to bee in thirtie ſixe degrees, fortie ſeuen minutes, about twentie leagues off from the Land. From the foure and twentieth at noone, to the fiue and twentieth at noone, ſixe leagues Eaſt, the wind Southerly, but for the moſt part it was calme. From the fiue and twentieth at noone, to the ſixe and twentieth about ſixe of the clocke in the morning, the winde was all Southerly, and but little. And then it beganne to blow a freſh gale at Weſt South-weſt. So by noone I had ſailed fourteene leagues Eaſt, South-eaſt pricked. From the ſixe and twentieth at noone, to the ſeuen and twentieth at noone, twentie leagues Eaſt, South-eaſt. The wind ſhifting from the Weſt, South-weſt Southerly, and ſo to the Eaſt, and the weather faire, but cloſe. From the ſeuen and twentieth at noone, to the eight and twentieth at noone, ſixe and twentie leagues Eaſt, South-eaſt, the wind ſhifting backe againe from the Eaſt to the Weſt. Then by mine obſeruation I found the ſhip to be in thirtie fiue degrees fiftie foure minutes. From the eight and twentieth at noone, to the nine and twentieth at noone, thirtie

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thirtie ſixe leagues East b y South, the wind at West, North-weſt. Then by my obſeruation I found the ſhip to be in thirtie fiue degrees, thirtie minutes pricked. From the nine and twentieth at noone, to the thirtieth at noone, thirtie fiue leagues East, South-east. The winde ſhifting betweene West, North-weſt, and West, South-weſt, blowing a good freſh gale. Then by my obſeruation I found the ſhip to be in thirtie foure degrees, fortie nine minutes pricked. From the thirtieth of Iune at noone, to the firſt of Iuly at noone, thirtie leagues South-east by East, the winde at weſt, then I found the ſhip in thirtie foure degrees pricked.

From the firſt of Iuly at noone, to the ſecond at noon, twentie leagues East, South-east ſoutherly, the wind West, then I found the ſhip to bee in thirtie three degrees, thirtie minutes pricked, the weather very faire. From the ſecond at noone, to the third at foure of the clocke in the afternoone it was calme, then it beganne to blow a reſonable freſh gale at South-east: ſo I made account that the ſhip had driuen about ſixe leagues in that time East. The Sea did ſet all about the West. From that time to the fourth at noone, ſeuenteene leagues East by North, the wind ſhifting betweene South-east and South South-weſt, then I found the ſhip to bee in thirtie three degrees, fortie minutes, the weather continued very faire. From the fourth at noone, to the fifth at noone, ten leagues South-east, the wind and weather as before, then I found the ſhip to be in thirtie three degrees, ſeuenteene minutes pricked. From the fift at noone, to the ſixt at noone, eight leagues South-weſt, then I found the ſhip to be in thirtie two degrees, fiftie ſeuen minutes pricked; the wind and weather continued as before, only we had a ſmall ſhowre of two or three raine. From the ſixt at noone, to the ſeuenth at noone, ſeuenteene leagues East by North, then I found the ſhip to be in thirtie three degrees, the wind and weather as before. From the ſeuenth at noon, to the eight at noone, fourteene leagues North-east, then I found the ſhip to be in thirtie three degrees, thirtie two minutes, the wind and weather continued as before. From the eight at noon to the ninth at noone, fiue leagues South-east, there I found the ſhip to be in thirtie three degrees, twentie one minutes, the wind at South-weſt, the weather very faire. From the ninth at noone, to the tenth at noone, fiue leagues South, the wind weſterly; but for the moſt part it was calme, and the weather very faire. From the tenth at noone, to the eleuenth at noone it was calme, and ſo continued vntill nine of the clocke the ſame night, then it began to blow a reaſonable freſh gale at South-east, and continued all that night betweene South-east and South, and vntill the twelfth day at noone: by which time I had ſailed fifteene leagues West ſoutherly: then I found the ſhip in thirtie three degrees, thirtie minutes. From that time to foure of the clock the twelfth day in the morning twelue leagues West by North, the wind all ſoutherly, and then it ſhifted betweene South and South-weſt, then wee tacked about and ſtood South-east, and South-east by South: ſo by noone I had ſayled fiue leagues South-east by East; then I found the ſhip in thirtie three degrees ten minutes. From the thirteenth at noone, to the fourteenth at noone, twenty leagues South-east by East, the wind ſhifting betweene the South-weſt, and West South-weſt, then I found the ſhip to be in thirtie two degrees, thirtie fiue minutes. From the fourteenth at noone, to the fifteenth at noone, twentie leagues South-east, then I found the ſhip to be in thirty two degrees, the wind as before: then we tacked about, and lay North-weſt by West. From the fifteenth at noone, to the ſixteenth at noone, twelue leagues North by West, the wind ſhifting betweene South-weſt and West, and the weather very ſtormy, with many ſudden guſts of wind and rayne.

33. degrees, 21. minutes.

Calme.

33. degrees, 30. minutes.

32. degrees.

And about ſixe of the clocke in the afternoone, being to windward of our Admirall I bare vp vnder his lee: who when I hayled him, told me that he would tack it vp no longer, becauſe hee was not able to keepe the ſea any longer, for lacke of a road and water: but that hee would preſently ſteere away North North-weſt, to ſee if he could fetch Cape *Cod*. Which without delay he put in execution. His directions I followed: ſo from the ſixteenth day at noone, to the ſeuenteenth at noone I had ſailed thirtie eight leagues North North-weſt: then I found my ſhip to be in thirtie foure degrees, ten minutes. The ſeuenteenth and eighteenth dayes were very wet and ſtormy, and the winds ſhifting all points of the Compaſſe. The nineteenth day, about foure of the clocke in the morning it began to cleere vp, and then we had a very ſtiffe gale betweene East and North-east. From the ſeuenteenth at noone, to the nineteenth at noone, I had ſayled fiftie fiue leagues North North-weſt, then I found the ſhip to be thirtie ſixe degrees, thirty minutes. From the nineteenth at noone, to the twentieth at noone, thirty fiue leagues North-weſt: then I was in thirty ſeuen degrees, fifty two minutes, the weather now was fairer and the wind all eaſterly. From the twentieth at noone, to the twentie one at noone, we ſayled twenty leagues North by West, the wind betweene East and South-east, and the weather very faire: At the ſunne ſetting I obſerued, and found thirteene degrees; and an halfe of weſterly variation, and vntill midnight we had a reaſonable freſh gale of wind all ſoutherly, and then it fell calme and rained, and ſo continued very little wind vntill the two and twentieth at noone, and ſhifting all the points of the Compaſſe: yet by mine obſeruation that I made then, I found that the ſhip had run twentie fiue leagues North, for I found her to be in forty degrees, one minute, which maketh me thinke that there was ſome tide or current that did ſet Northward. Againe, thoſe that had the ſecond watch did ſay, That in their watch they did ſee a race, and that ſhip did drift apace to the Northward, when ſhe had not a breath of wind.

He ſpeakes with the Admirall.

They ſaile toward Cape *Cod*

Weſterly variation 13. degrees & a half.

40. degrees, 1. minute.

A current ſetting to the Northward.

From

A great fog.

40.deg. 56.mi.

47. fathoms water.

Water like vnto a greene graſſe

They take fiſh.

A great fog.

Sounding.

Great fog and raine.

100. Cods taken.

The Ship driueth.

They ſtand for the Riuer of *Sagadahoc*.

Verie foggie weather.

The thick fog continueth.

The fog continueth.

The fog continueth.

From the two and twentieth at noone, vntill ten of the clocke at night, we had a freſh gale of wind, betweene Eaſt and South-eaſt, and then it ſhifted all weſterly, and ſo continued vntill two of the clocke the twenty three in the morning: and then it began to be very foggy and but little wind, yet ſhifting all the points of the Compaſſe, and ſo continued vntill ten of the clocke, and then it began to cleere vp. At twelue of the clocke I obſerued, and then I found the ſhip to be in fortie degrees fiftie minutes: ſo from the twenty two at noone, to the twenty three at noone I had ſayled twenty leagues Northward. From the twenty three at noone, to the twenty foure, at three of the clocke in the morning it was calme, and then we had a reaſonable freſh gale of wind all ſoutherly, and ſo it continued vntill noon ſoutherly, in which time I had ſailed twelue leagues North. And about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, we had forty ſeuen fathoms of water, which water we did find to be changed into a graſſe green in the morning, yet we would not heaue a lead, becauſe our Admirall was ſo farre on head of vs: who about three of the clocke in the afternoone lay by the lee, and fiſhed till I came vp to him: and then I fitted my ſelfe and my boat, and fiſhed vntill ſixe of the clocke. And then the Admirall fitted his ſailes, and ſtirred away North, whom I followed with all the ſpeed I could. But before ſeuen of the clocke there fell ſuch a myſt, that I was faine to ſhoot off a Peece, which he anſwered with a Cornet that he had aboord. So with hallowing and making a noyſe one to another all the night we kept company. About two of the clocke, the twenty fiue day in the morning we tooke in all our ſailes, and lay at Hull vntill fiue of the clocke: and then finding but ſmall ſtore of fiſh, we ſet ſaile and ſtirred away North-weſt, to fetch the mayne land to relieue our ſelues with wood and water, which we ſtood in great need of. About two of the clocke in the afternoone we tooke in all our ſailes and lay at Hull, at which time I heaued the lead three times together, and had three ſundry kindes of ſoundings. The firſt a blacke peppery ſand, full of peble ſtones. The ſecond blacke peppery, and no ſtones: The third, blacke peppery, and two or three ſtones.

From the fourth at noone, to the twentie fiue, at two of the clocke in the afternoone, I ſayled thirteene leagues Weſt North-weſt: and the weather continuing very foggy, thicke, and rainy, about fiue of the clocke it began to ceaſe, and then we began to fiſh, and ſo continued vntill ſeuen of the clocke in betweene thirty and forty fathoms, and then we could fiſh no longer. So hauing gotten betweene twentie and thirty Cods, we left for that night: and at fiue of the clocke, the twenty ſixe in the morning we began to fiſh againe, and ſo continued vntill ten of the clocke, and then it would fiſh no longer: in which time we had taken neere one hundred Cods, and a couple of Hollybuts. All this while wee had betweene thirty and forty fathoms water: before one of the clocke in the afternoone we found the ſhip driuen into one hundred and twenty fathoms, and ſoft blacke Oſe. Then Sir *George Somers* ſent me word, that he would ſet ſaile, and ſtand in for the Riuer of *Sagadahoc*; whoſe directions I followed.

Before two of the clocke we ſet ſaile, and ſtirred away North-weſt by North, the wind South South-weſt, and the weather continued very foggy. About eight of the clocke wee tooke in all our ſailes, and lay at Hull at that night. The ſeuen and twentieth, about ſeuen of the clocke in the morning we heaued the lead, and had no ground in one hundred and twentie fathoms. Then I ſhot off a Peece, but could not heare none anſwere from our Admirall: and the weather was ſo thicke, that we could not ſee a Cables length from our ſhip. Betweene nine and ten of the clock we did thinke that we did heare a Peece of Ordnance to windward: which made me ſuppoſe our Admirall had ſet ſaile, and that it was a warning piece from him. So I ſet ſayle and ſtood cloſe by the wind, and kept an hollowing and a noiſe to try whether I could find him againe: the wind was at South-weſt, and I ſtood away Weſt North-weſt. From the ſixe and twentieth, at two of the clocke in the afternoone, to eight of the clocke at night I had ſayled nine leagues North-weſt. The ſeuen and twentieth at noone I heaued the Lead, in one hundred and twenty fathoms, and had no ground. Then I ſtirred away North-weſt, till foure of the clocke at night: then I heaued the Lead againe one hundred and twenty fathoms, and had no ground. Then I tooke all my ſailes and lay at Hull, and I had ſayled ſeuen leagues North-weſt. The eight and twentieth, at ſeuen of the clocke in the morning I did ſound in one hundred and twenty fathoms, and had no ground. Then I ſet ſayle againe, and ſteered away North, and North by Weſt. At noone I heaued in one hundred and twenty fathoms againe, and had no ground. So I ſteered on my courſe ſtill, the wind ſhifted betweene South and South-weſt, and the fog continued. At foure of the clocke in the afternoone, I heaued one hundred twenty fathoms againe, and had no ground: ſo I ſtood on vntill eight of the clocke, by which time I had ſailed twelue leagues: then I heaued the Lead againe, and had blacke Oſe, and one hundred thirty fiue fathoms water. Then I tooke in all my ſayles and lay at hull vntill the nine and twentieth, at fiue of the clocke in the morning. Then I ſet ſaile againe, and ſteered away North, and North by Weſt. At eight of the clocke I heaued the Lead againe, and had blacke Oſe in one hundred and thirty fathoms water. Betweene eleuen and twelue of the clocke it began to thunder, but the fogge continued not ſtill. About two of the clocke in the afternoone, I went out with my Boat my ſelfe and heaued the Lead, and had blacke Oſe in ninety fathoms water: by which time I had ſailed ſix leagues North by Weſt more. Then I tooke in all my ſayles ſauing my Fore-courſe and Bonnet, and ſtood in with thoſe ſailes onely.

About

About sixe of the clocke I sounded againe, and then I had sixty fiue fathoms water. Assoone as I came aboord it cleered vp, and then I saw a small Iland, which bare North about two leagues off; whereupon I stood in vntill eight of the clocke: And then I stood off againe vntill two of the clocke in the morning the thirtieth day. Then I stood in againe, and about eight of the clocke I was faire aboord the Iland. Then I manned my Boat and went on shoare, where I found great store of Seales: And I killed three Seales with my hanger. This Iland is not halfe a mile about, and nothing but a Rocke, which seemed to be very rich Marble stone. And a South South-west Moon maketh a full Sea. About ten of the clocke I came aboord againe, with some Wood that I had found vpon the Iland, for there had beene some folkes that had made fiers there. Then I stood ouer to another Iland that did beare North off me about three leagues; this small rockie Iland lyeth in forty foure degrees. About seuen of the clocke that night I came to an anchor among many Ilands in eight fathoms water: and vpon one of these Ilands I fitted my selfe with Wood and Water, and Balast.

A Rocke of Marble halfe a mile about full of Seales. The final rocky Iland lieth in 44. degrees. Many Ilands in eight fathoms water. August 3.

The third day of August, being fitted to put to Sea againe, I caused the Master of the ship to open the boxe wherein my Commission was, to see what directions I had, and for what place I was bound to shape my course. Then I tried whether there were any fish there or not, and I found reasonable good store there; so I stayed there fishing till the twelfth of August: and then finding that the fishing did faile, I thought good to returne to the Iland where I had killed the Seales, to see whether I could get any store of them or not; for I did find that they were very nourishing meate, and a great reliefe to my men, and that they would be very well saued with salt to keepe a long time. But when I came thither I could not by any meanes catch any. The fourteenth day at noone I obserued the Sun, and found the Iland to lie in forty three degrees, forty minutes. Then I shaped my course for Cape *Cod*, to see whether I could get any fish there or not: so by the fifteenth that noone, I had sailed thirty two leagues South-west, the wind for the most part was betweene North-west and North. From the fifteenth at noone, to the sixteenth at noone I ran twenty leagues South, the wind shifting betweene West and South-west. And then I sounded and had ground in eighteene fathoms water, full of shels and peble stones of diuers colours, some greene, and some blewish, some like diamants, and some speckled. Then I tooke in all my sayles, and set all my company to fishing, and fished till eight of the clocke that night: and finding but little fish there, I set sayle againe, and by the euenteenth at noone I had sayled ten leagues West by North, the wind shifting betweene South and South-west. From noone, till sixe of the clocke at night, foure leagues North-west, the wind shifting betweene West and South-west. Then it did blow so hard that I tooke in all my sayles, and lay at hull all that night, vntill fiue of the clock the eighteenth day in the morning: and then I set saile againe, and by noone I had sailed foure leagues North-west, the wind betweene West and South-west. From the eighteenth at noone, to the nineteenth at noone ten leagues West by West, the wind shifting betweene South and South-west, and the weather very thick and foggy.

Reasonable store of fish. Seale Rocke, in 43. deg. 40. mi. He returneth home. Thick and foggie weather.

About seuen of the clocke at night the fogge began to breake away, and the wind did shift westerly, and by midnight it was shifted to the North, and there it did blow very hard vntill the twenty at noone: but the weather was very cleere, and then by my obseruation I found the ship to bee in the latitude of forty one degrees, forty foure minutes, and I had sailed twenty leagues South-west by West. From the nineteenth at noone, to the twentieth at noone: about two of the clocke in the afternoone I did see an Hed-land, which did beare off me South-west, about foure leagues: so I steered with it, taking it to bee Cape *Cod*; and by foure of the clocke I was fallen among so many shoales, that it was fiue of the clocke the next day in the morning before I could get cleere of them, it is a very dangerous place to fall withall: for the shoales lie at the least ten leagues off from the Land; and I had vpon one of them but one fathom and an halfe water, and my Barke did draw seuen foot. This Land lyeth South-west, and North-east, and the shoales lie off from it South and South by West, and so along toward the North. At the North-west by West Guards I obserued the North-starre, and found the ship to be in the latitude of fortie one degrees, fiftie minutes, being then in the middle of the Sholdes: and I did finde thirteene degrees of westerly variation then likewise. Thus finding the place not to be for my turne, assoon as I was cleere of these dangers, I thought it fit to returne to *Iames* Towne in *Virginia*, to the Lord *De-lawarre*, my Lord Gouernour, and there to attend his command: so I shaped my course for that place. And the one and twentieth day by noone I had brought my selfe South South-west thirtie three leagues from this Cape: and I had the wind shifting all this while betweene North and North-west, and the weather very faire and cleere. From the one and twentieth at noone, to the two and twentieth at noone, I ran thirtie leagues South-West by West, and then by mine obseruation I found the ship to be in thirtie nine degrees, thirtie sixe minutes; and I had twelue degrees westerly variation, and the wind shifting betweene North and North-east, and the weather very faire and cleere. From the two and twentieth at noone, to the three and twentieth at noone, nine leagues South-west by West; and then by obseruation I did find the ship in thirtie nine degrees, twentie foure minutes, and I had eleuen degrees of westerly variation: and there did blow but very little wind, and shifting betweene West and North, and the

4t. deg. 44. mi. Cape *Cod*. The sholdes of Cape Cod. The middle of the sholdes in 41. deg. 50. mi. 15. degrees of westerly Variation. 12. degrees of westerly Variation. 11. degrees of westerly Variation.

weather

weather very faire and cleere. From the three and twentieth at noone to the foure and twentieth at noone eighteene leagues South-west, and then I found the shippe to be in thirtie eight degrees fortie two minutes: and I had twelue degrees of Westerly Variation, and the wind shifting betweene North and West, and the weather very faire.

12 degrees of Westerly variation.

From the foure and twentieth at noone, to the fiue and twentieth, at noone two and twentie leagues West by South, the wind shifting betweene North and East. And then I found the ship to bee in thirtie eight degrees fiue and twentie minutes, and the same Variation that I had before, and the weather very faire.

From the fiue and twentieth at noone, to the six and twentieth at noone, fiue and twentie leagues Westerly, the wind all shifting betweene South and South-west. And I had thirteene degrees fiue and twentie minutes of Westerly Variation. About sixe of the clocke at night the water was changed, and then I sounded and had red sandie ground in twelue fathomes water about twelue leagues from the shore.

13. deg. 25. mi. of Westerly variation.

The seuen and twentieth by day in the morning, I was faire aboord the shore, and by nine of the clocke I came to an Anchor in nine fathomes in a very great Bay, where I found great store of people which were very kind, and promised me that the next day in the morning they would bring me great store of Corne. But about nine of the clocke that night the winde shifted from South-west to East North-east. So I weighed presently, and shaped my course to Cape *Charles*. This Bay lyeth in Westerly thirtie leagues. And the Souther Cape of it lyeth South South-east and North North-west, and in thirtie eight degrees twentie minutes of Northerly Latitude.

The eight and twentieth day, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone I fell among a great many of shoales, about twelue leagues to the Southward of Cape *La Warre*. So there I came to an Anchor in three fathomes water, the winde beeing then all Easterly, and rode there all that Night.

Many shoales 12. leagues to the South of Cape *La Warre*

The nine and twentieth in the morning I weighed againe, the wind being all Southerly, and turned vntill night, and then I came to an Anchor in seuen fathomes water in the offing to Sea.

How the tyde did set there, or whether that there did run any current or not, I cannot say; but I could find neither current nor tyde.

The thirtieth in the morning I weighed againe, the wind still Southerly, and turned all that day, but got very little, so at Euening I stood off to Sea vntill midnight, and then stood in againe.

The one and thirtieth, about seuen of the clocke at night I came to an Anchor vnder Cape *Charles* in foure fathomes, and one third part water, and rode there all that night.

Cape *Charles*.

CHAP. VIII.

A short Relation made by the Lord De-La-Warre, *to the Lords and others of the Counsell of* Virginia, *touching his vnexpected returne home, and afterwards deliuered to the generall Assembly of the said Company, at a Court holden the twentie fiue of Iune*, 1611. *Published by authoritie of the said Counsell.*

MY LORDS, &c.

BEeing now by accident returned from my Charge at *Virginia*, contrary either to my owne desire or other mens expectations, who spare not to censure mee, in point of dutie, and to discourse and question the reason, though they apprehend not the true cause of my returne, I am forced (out of a willingnesse to satisfie euery man) to deliuer vnto your Lordships, and the rest of this Assembly, briefly (but truly) in what state I haue liued, euer since my arriuall to the Colonies; what hath beene the iust occasion of my sudden departure thence; and in what termes I haue left the same: The rather because I perceiue, that since my comming into *England*, such a coldnesse and irresolution is bred, in many of the Aduenturers, that some of them seeke to withdraw those payments, which they haue subscribed towards the Charge of the Plantation, and by which that Action must be supported and mayntained, making this my returne, the colour of their needlesse backwardnesse and vniust protraction. Which, that you may the better vnderstand, I must informe your Lordships, that presently after my arriuall in *Iames* Towne, I was welcommed by a hot and violent Ague, which held me a time, till by the aduice of my Physition, Doctour *Lawrence Bohun* (by bloud letting) I was recouered as in my first Letters by Sir *Thomas Gates*, I haue informed you. That Disease had not long left me, till (within three weekes after I had gotten a little strength) I began to be distempered with other grieuous sicknesses, which successiuely and seuerally assailed mee: for besides a relapse into the former Disease, which with much more violence held me more then a moneth, and brought me to great weakenesse, the Flux surprized mee, and

Lord *La Warre* many sicknesses.

and kept me many dayes; then the Crampe assaulted my weake bodie, with strong paines; and afterwards the Gout (with which I had heeretofore beene sometime troubled) afflicted me in such sort, that making my bodie through weaknesse vnable to stirre, or to vse any manner of exercise, drew vpon me the Disease called the *Scurvy*; which though in others it be a sicknesse of slothfulnesse, yet was in me an effect of weaknesse, which neuer left mee, till I was vpon the point to leaue the World.

These seuerall Maladies and Calamities, I am the more desirous to particularise vnto your Lordshippes (although they were too notorious to the whole Colonie) lest any man should mildeeme that vnder the generall name and common excuse of sickenesse, I went about to cloke either sloth, or feare, or any other base apprehension, vnworthy the high and Honorable Charge, which you had entrusted to my Fidelitie.

In these extremities I resolued to consult my friends, Who finding Nature spent in mee, and my body almost consumed, my paines likewise daily encreasing) gaue me aduise to prefer a hopefull recouery, before an assured ruine, which must necessarily haue ensued, had I liued, but twentie dayes longer in *Virginia*: wanting at that instant, both food and Physicke, fit to remedy such extraordinary Diseases, and restore that strength so desperately decayed.

Whereupon, after a long consultation held, I resolued by generall consent and perswasion, to ship my selfe for *Mevis*, an Iland in the West *Indies*, famous for wholesome Bathes, there to try what helpe the Heauenly Prouidence would afford mee, by the benefit of the hot Bath: But God, who guideth all things, according to his good will and pleasure, so prouided, that after we had sayled an hundred Leagues, we met with Southerly windes which forced mee to change my purpose (my bodie being altogether vnable to endure the tediousnesse of a long Voyage) and so steere my course for the Westerne Ilands, which I no sooner recouered, then I found helpe for my health, and my sicknesse asswaged, by meanes of fresh Diet, and especially of Orenges and Lemons, an vndoubted remedy and medicine for that Disease, which lastly, and so long, had afflicted me: which ease as soone as I found, I resolued (although my body remayned still feeble and weake, to returne backe to my charge in *Virginia* againe, but I was aduised not to hazard my selfe before I had perfectly recouered my strength, which by counsell I was perswaded to seeke in the naturall Ayre of my Countrey, and so I came for *England*. In which Accident, I doubt not but men of reason, and of iudgement will imagine, there would more danger and preiudice haue happened by my death there, then I hope can doe by my returne.

Orenges and Lemons good remedie for the Scurvie.

In the next place, I am to giue account in what estate I left the Colonie for gouernment in my absence. It may please your Lordships therefore to vnderstand, that vpon my departure thence, I made choice of Captaine *George Percie* (a Gentleman of honour and resolution, and of no small experience in that place, to remayne Deputie Gouernour, vntill the comming of the Marshall Sir *Thomas Dale*, whose Commission was likewise to be determined, vpon the arriuall of Sir *Thomas Gates*, according to the intent and order of your Lordships, and the Councell here.

Master *George Percie* Deputie till the comming of Sir *T. Dale* Marshall.

The number of men I left there, were vpward of two hundred, the most in health, and prouided of at least ten moneths victuals, in their Store-house (which is daily issued vnto them) besides other helps in the Countrey, lately found out by Captaine *Argall* by trading with pettie Kings in those parts, who for a small returne of a piece of Iron, Copper, &c. haue consented to trucke great quantities of Corne, and willingly imbrace the intercourse of Traffique, shewing vnto our people certaine signes of amitie and affection.

200. left there.

Trade by Cap. *Argoll*.

And for the better strengthening and securing of the Colonie, in the time of my weaknesse there, I tooke order for the building of three seuerall Forts, two of which are seated neere *Point Comfort*, to which adioyneth a large circuit of ground, open, and fit for Corne: the third Fort is at the *Falls*, vpon an Iland inuironed also with Corne ground. These are not all manned, for I wanted the commoditie of Boats, hauing but two, and one Barge, in all the Countrey, which hath beene cause that our fishing hath beene (in some sort) hindered for want of those prouisions, which easily will be remedied when we can gaine sufficient men to bee imployed about those businesses, which in *Virginia* I found not: but since meeting with Sir *Thomas Gates* at the *Cowes* neere *Portsmouth*, (to whom I gaue a particular account of all my proceedings, and of the present estate of the Colonie as I left it) I vnderstood those wants are supplyed in his Fleet.

Three Forts.

Sir *T. Gates* his second voyage

The Country is wonderfull fertile and very rich, and makes good whatsoeuer heretofore hath beene reported of it, the Cattell alreadie there, are much encreased, and thriue exceedingly with the pasture of that Countrie: The Kine all this last Winter, though the ground was couered most with Snow, and the Season sharpe, liued without other feeding then the grasse they found, with which they prospered well, and many of them readie to fall with Calue: Milke beeing a great nourishment and refreshing to our people, seruing also (in occasion) as well for Physicke as for food, so that it is no way to be doubted, but when it shall please God that Sir *Thomas Dale*, and Sir *Thomas Gates*, shall arriue in *Virginia*, with their extraordinary supply of one hundred Kine, and two hundred Swine, besides store of all manner of other prouisions for the sustenance and maintenance of the Colonie, there will appeare that successe in the Action as shall giue no man cause of distrust that hath alreadie aduentured, but encourage euery good minde to further so

100. Kine and 200. Swine sent.

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worthy a worke, as will redound both to the glory of God, to the credit of our Nation, and to the comfort of all those that haue beene Instruments in the furthering of it.

The last Discouery, during my continuall sickneſſe, was by Captaine *Argoll*, who hath found a Trade with *Patanzack* (a King as great as *Powhatan*, who ſtill remaynes our Enemie, though not able to doe vs hurt.) This is in a goodly Riuer called *Patowack*, vpon the borders whereof there are growne the goodlieſt Trees for Maſts, that may bee found elſe-where in the World: Hempe better then *Engliſh*: growing wild in abundance: Mynes of Antimonie and Lead.

K. and R. *Patanzack.*

There is alſo found without our Bay to the Northward an excellent fiſhing Banke for Cod and Ling, as good as can be eaten, and of a kind that will keepe a whole yeere in ſhips hold, with little care; a triall whereof I now haue brought ouer with me. Other Ilands there are vpon our Coaſts, that doe promiſe rich Merchandize, and will further exceedingly the eſtabliſhing of the Plantation, by ſupply of many helpes, and will ſpeedily affoord a returne of many worthy commodities.

I haue left much ground in part manured to receiue Corne, hauing cauſed it the laſt Winter to be ſowed for Roots, with which our people were greatly releeued. There are many Vines planted in diuers places, and doe proſper well, there is no want of any thing, if the action can be vpheld with conſtancie and reſolution.

Laſtly, concerning my ſelfe and my courſe, though the World may imagine that this Countrie and Climate, will (by that which I haue ſuffered beyond any other of that Plantation) ill agree with the ſtate of my bodie, yet I am ſo farre from ſhrinking or giuing ouer this honourable Enterprize, as that I am willing and readie to lay all that I am worth vpon the aduenture of the Action, rather then ſo Honourable a Worke ſhould faile, and to returne with all the conuenient expedition I may, beſeeching your Lordſhips and the reſt, not onely to excuſe my former wants, happened by the Almightie Hand: but to ſecond my Reſolutions with your friendly indeuours: that both the State may receiue Honour, your ſelues Profit, and I future Comfort, by beeing imployed (though but as a weake Inſtrument) in ſo great an Action.

And thus hauing plainly, truly, and briefly deliuered the cauſe of my returne, with the ſtate of our affaires, as we now ſtand, I hope euery worthy and indifferent hearer, will by comparing my preſent reſolution of returne, with the neceſſitie of my comming home, reſt ſatisfied with this true and ſhort Declaration.

CHAP. IX.

A Letter of Sir *Samuell Argoll* touching his Voyage to *Virginia*, and Actions there: Written to Maſter *Nicholas Hawes*. Iune 1613.

MAſter Hawes, *within ſeuen weekes after my departure from the Coaſt of* England, *being the three and twentieth of Iuly*, 1612. *I fell with the Coaſt of* Virginia, *in the Latitude of fortie degrees. The twelfth of September, with all my men in good health, the number being ſixtie two, and all my victuals very well conditioned: my courſe being fiftie leagues to the Northward of the* Azores. *The ſeuenteenth, I arriued at* Point Comfort, *where by the diſcreet and prouident gouernment of Sir* Thomas Gates, *and great paines and hazard of Sir* Thomas Dale, *I found both the Countrey and people in farre better eſtate there, then the report was by ſuch as came home in Sir* Robert Mansfields *ſhip. From my arriuall vntill the firſt of Nouember, I ſpent my time in helping to repaire ſuch ſhips and Boats, as I found heere decayed for lacke of Pitch and Tarre: and in purſuing the* Indians *with Sir* Thomas Dale, *for their Corne, of which we got ſome quantitie, which we were like to haue bought very deerely: for by the Prouidence of God, Sir* Thomas Dale *eſcaped killing very narrowly. Then about the beginning of Nouember, by the aduice of Sir* Thomas Gates, *I carried Sir* Thomas Dale *to Sir* Thomas Smiths *Iland, to haue his opinion of the inhabiting of it: who, after three dayes march in diſcouering it, approued very well of the place: and ſo much the better, becauſe we found abundance of fiſh there, and very great Cod, which we caught in fiue fathome water, of which we are in hope to get a great quantitie this Summer, for the reliefe of our men, as alſo to find ſafe paſſage for Boats and Barges thither, by a cut out of the bottome of our Bay, into the* De la Warre *Bay. For which fiſhing and better Diſcouery, I haue my ſhip readie, with my Company in as good health, as at my arriuall, and as they haue continued euer ſince: for which, God be glorified, to whom we giue daily thankes, for the continuance of his mercy.*

Sir *T. Gates.*
Sir *T. Dale.*
The *Deliuerance.*
This was in the Riuer of *Nanſamund.*
His Voyage to Sir *T. Smiths* Iland.
De la War Bay.

After my returne from Sir Thomas Smiths *Iland, I fitted my ſhip to fetch Corne from* Patowomeck, *by trading with the* Indians, *and ſo ſet ſayle from* Point Comfort *the firſt of December: and being entred into* Penbrooke *Riuer, I met with the King of* Paſtancie *a hunting, who went preſently aboord with me, ſeeming to be very glad of my comming, and told me that all the* Indians *there were my very great friends, and that they had good ſtore of Corne for mee, which they had prouided the yeere before, which we found to be true. Then I carried my ſhip preſently before his Towne, and there built me a ſtout ſhal-*

His firſt Voyage to *Patowomec* and *Penbrooke* Riuer.
Appaſus the *Werowance* of *Paſtancie.*

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shallop, to get the Corne aboord withall, which being done, and having concluded a peace with diuers other Indian *Lords, and likewise giuen and taken* * *Hostages: I hasted to* Iames *Towne, beeing the first of* * Cap. *Web, Ensigne Swift & Reb. Sparkes, & two Boyes.*

Ianuary, and arriued at Point Comfort *the first of February.*

In this Voyage I got 1100. *bushels of Corne, which I deliuered into the seuerall Store-houses, according vnto the direction of Sir* T. Gates: *besides the quantitie of* 300. *bushels, reserued for mine Company. As soone I had vnladen this Corne, I set my men to the felling of Timber, for the building of a Frigat, which I left halfe finished in the hands of the Carpenters at* Point Comfort, *the* 19. *of March: and returned my selfe with the ship into* Pembrook *Riuer, and so discouered to the head of it, which is about* 65. *leagues into the Land, and nauigable for any ship. And then marching into the Countrie, I found great store of Cattle as big as Kine, of which, the* Indians *that were my guides, killed a couple which wee found to be very good and wholsome meate, and are very easie to be killed, in regard they are heauy, slow, and not so wild as other beasts of the Wildernesse. In this iourney I likewise found a Myne, of which I haue sent a triall into* England: *and likewise a strange kind of Earth, the vertue whereof I know not; but the* Indians *eate it for Physicke, alleaging that it cureth the sickenesse and paine of the belly. I likewise found a kind of water issuing out of the Earth, which hath a tart taste much like vnto Allum-water, it is good and wholsome: for my men did drinke much of it, and neuer found it otherwise. I also found an earth like a Gumme, white and cleere; another sort red, like* Terra sigillata; *another very white, and of so light a substance, that being cast into the water, it swimmeth.*

1100. bushels of Corne.
The second voyage to Pembroke Riuer.
Note.
Great store of Oxen in Pembroke Riuer.
A Myne.
A medicinable Earth.
A water that hath the taste of Allum.
An Earth like Gumme.
A red Earth like *Terra sigillata.*

Whilst I was in this businesse, I was told by certaine Indians, *my friends, that the Great* Powhatans *Daughter* Pokahuntis *was with the great King* Patowomeck, *whether I presently repaired, resoluing to possesse my selfe of her by any stratagem that I could vse, for the ransoming of so many* Englishmen *as were prisoners with* Powhatan: *as also to get such armes and tooles, as hee, and other* Indians *had got by murther and stealing from others of our Nation, with some quantitie of Corne, for the Colonies reliefe. So soone as I came to an anchor before the Towne, I manned my Boate and sent on shoare, for the King of* Pastancy *and* Ensigne Swift *(whom I had left as a pledge of our loue and truce, the Voyage before) who presently came and brought my pledge with him: whom after I had receiued, I brake the matter to this King, and told him, that if he did not betray* Pokohuntis *into my hands; wee would be no longer brothers nor friends. Hee alleaged, that if hee should vndertake this businesse, then* Powhatan *would make warres vpon him and his people; but vpon my promise, that I would ioyne with him against him, hee repaired presently to his brother, the great King of* Patowomeck, *who being made acquainted with the matter, called his Counsell together: and after some few houres deliberation, concluded rather to deliuer her into my hands, then lose my friendship: so presently, he betrayed her into my Boat, wherein I carried her aboord my ship. This done, an* Indian *was dispatched to* Powhatan, *to let him know, that I had taken his Daughter: and if he would send home the* Englishmen *(whom he deteined in slauerie, with such armes and tooles, as the* Indians *had gotten, and stolne) and also a great quantitie of Corne, that then, he should haue his daughter restored, otherwise not. This newes much grieued this great King, yet, without delay, he returned the messenger with this answer. That he desired me to vse his Daughter well, and bring my ship into his Riuer, and there he would giue mee my demands; which being performed, I should deliuer him his Daughter, and we should be friends.*

The great King *Patowomeck.*
Ensigne Swift.
Pocahuntis taken.

Hauing receiued this answere, I presently departed from Patowomeck, *being the* 13. *of Aprill, and repayred with all speed to Sir* T. Gates, *to know of him vpon what condition he would conclude this peace, and what he would demand: to whom I also deliuered my prisoner, towards whose ransome within few dayes, this King sent home seuen of our men, who seemed to be very ioyfull for that they were freed from the slauery and feare of cruell murther, which they daily before liued in. They brought also three pieces, one broad Axe, and a long Whip-saw, and one Canow of Corne. I beeing quit of my prisoner, went forward with the Frigat which I had left at* Point Comfort, *and finished her.*

7. men freed.

Thus hauing put my ship in hand to be fitted for an intended fishing Voyage, I left that businesse to be followed by my Master with a ginge of men, and my Lieutenant fortified on shoare with another ginge to fell timber, and cleane plankes to build a fishing Boat; my Ensigne *with another ginge was imployed in the Frigat, for getting of fish at Cape* Charles, *and transporting it to* Henries *Towne for the reliefe of such men as were there: and my selfe with a fourth ginge departed out of the Riuer in my shallop, the first of May, for to discouer the East side of our Bay, which I found to haue many small Riuers in it, and very good harbours for Boats and Barges, but not for ships of any great burthen: and also great store of Inhabitants, who seemed very desirous of our loue, and so much the rather, because they had receiued good reports from the* Indians *of* Pembrock *Riuer, of our courteous vsage of them, whom I found trading with me for Corne, whereof they had great store. We also discouered a multitude of Ilands bearing good Medow ground, and as I thinke, Salt might easily be made there, if there were any ponds digged, for that I found Salt kerned where the water had ouer-flowne in certaine places. Here is also great store of fish, both shel-fish and other. So hauing discouered along the shore some fortie leagues Northward, I returned againe to my ship, the twelfth of May, and hasted forward my businesse left in hand at my departure: and fitted vp my ship, and built my fishing Boate, and made readie to take the first opportunitie of the wind for my fishing Voyage, of which I beseech God of his mercy to blesse vs.*

His third Discouery.
Kerned Salt found.
May 12. 1613.

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CHAP. X.

Notes of Virginian *Affaires in the gouernment of Sir* THOMAS DALE *and of Sir* THOMAS GATES *till* Anno 1614. *Taken out of Maſter* RALPH HAMOR *(Secretary to the Colonie) his Booke.*

WE found the Colonie at our arriuall there, from the *Bermudas*, not liuing aboue threeſcore perſons therein, and thoſe ſcarce able to go e alone, of wel-nigh ſix hundred, not full ten monethes before. The reaſon hereof is at hand, for formerly, when our people were fed out of the common ſtore, and laboured ioyntly in the manuring of the ground, and planting Corne, glad was that man that could ſlip from his labour; nay, the moſt honeſt of them in a generall buſineſſe, would not take ſo much faithfull and true paines, in a weeke, as now hee will doe in a day, neither cared they for the increaſe, preſuming that howſoeuer their harueſt proſpered, the generall ſtore muſt maintayne them. By which meanes we reaped not ſo much Corne from the labours of thirtie men, as three men haue done for themſelues. To preuent which miſchiefe hereafter *Sir Thomas Dale* hath taken a new courſe, throughout the whole Colonie, by which meanes, the generall ſtore (apparell onely excepted) ſhall not bee charged with any thing: and this it is, hee hath allotted to euery man in the Colonie, three *Engliſh* Acres of cleere Corne ground, which euery man is to mature and tend, being in the nature of Farmers (the *Bermuda* vndertakers onely excepted) and they are not called vnto any ſeruice or labour belonging to the Colonie, more then one moneth in the yeere, which ſhall neither be in Seed time, or in Harueſt, for which, doing no other dutie to the Colonie, they are yeerely to pay into the ſtore two barrels and a halfe of Corne: there to bee reſerued to keepe new men, which ſhall bee ſent ouer, the firſt yeere after their arriuall: and euen by this meanes I dare ſay, our ſtore will bee bountifully furniſhed, to maintayne three or foure hundred men, whenſoeuer they ſhall be ſent thither to vs.

Euery mans care is no mans. Proprietie is a proper paineſtaker.

Sir Thom. Dales good gouernment.

Bermuda Citie.

Concerning the vndertaking of the *Bermuda* Citie, a buſineſſe of greateſt hope, euer begunne in our Territories there, their Patent, doth apparantly demonſtrate, vpon what termes and conditions they voluntarily haue vndertaken that imployment. The Land is ſtored with plentie and varietie of wild Beaſts, Lions, Beares, Deere of all ſorts, onely differing from ours in their increaſe, hauing vſuall, three or foure Fawnes at a time, none that I haue ſeene or heard off vnder two: the reaſon whereof ſome of our people aſcribe to the vertue of ſome graſſe or herbe which they eate, becauſe our Goates oftentimes bring forth three, and moſt of them two: for my part I rather impute their fecundire to the Prouidence of God, who for euery mouth prouideth meate, and if this increaſe were not, the Naturals would aſſuredly ſtarue: for of the Deere (they kill as doe we Beefes in *England*) all the yeere long, neither ſparing young nor olde, no not the Does readie to fawne, nor the young Fawnes, if but two dayes olde) Beauers, Otters, Foxes, Racounes, almoſt as bigge as a Foxe, as good meate as a Lambe, Hares, wild Cats, Muske Rats, Squirrels flying, and other of three or foue ſorts, Apoſſumes of the bigneſſe and likeneſſe of a Pigge of a moneth old, a beaſt of as ſtrange incredible nature, ſhe hath commonly ſeuen young ones, ſometimes more and ſometimes leſſe, which at her pleaſure till they be a moneth old or more ſhee tateth vp into her belly, and putteth forth againe without hurt to her ſelfe or them. Of each of theſe beaſts, the Lion excepted, my ſelfe haue many times eaten, and can teſtifie that they are not onely taſtefull, but alſo wholſome and nouriſhing food.

Deere haue 3. or 4. Fawnes at a time.

Apoſſumes.

There are fowle of diuers ſorts, Eagles wild Turkeyes much bigger then our *Engliſh* Cranes, Herons white and ruſſet Hawkes, wilde Pidgeons (in Winter beyond number or imagination, my ſelfe haue ſeene three or foure houres together flockes in the Aire, ſo thicke that euen they haue ſhadowed the Skie from vs) Turkeyes, Buzzards, Partridge, Snipes, Owles, Swannes, Geeſe, Brants, Ducke and Mallard, Droeis, Shel-drakes, Cormorants, Teale, Widgeon, Curlewes, Puits, beſides other ſmall birds, as Black-birds, Hedge-Sparrowes, Oxe-eyes, Wood-peckers, and in Winter about Chriſtmaſſe many flockes of Parakertoths.

Strange ſtore of fowle, as before in Ouiedo.

For fiſh, the Riuers are plentifully ſtored, with Sturgeon, Porpaſſe, Baſe, Rockfiſh, Carpe, Shad, Herring, Ele, Catfiſh, Perch, Flat-fiſh, Trout, Sheepes-head, Drummers, Iarfiſh, Creuiſes, Crabbes, Oyſters and diuers other kindes, of all which my ſelfe hath ſeene great quantitie taken, eſpecially the laſt Summer at *Smiths* Iland, at one hale a Frigots lading of Sturgion, Baſe and other great fiſh in Captaine *Argals* Saine: and euen at the very place which is not aboue fifteene miles from *Point-Comfort*, if we had beene furniſhed with ſalt, to haue ſaued it, wee might haue taken as much fiſh as would haue ſerued vs that whole yeere.

A Frigats lading taken at one draught.

To goe yet a little further, I my ſelfe know no one Countrey yeelding without Art or induſtry ſo many fruits; Grapes, Strawberries, Mulberries, Maricocks, of faſhion of a Lemmon, whoſe bloſſome may admit compariſon with our moſt delightſome and beautifull Flowers, and the fruit exceed

Faire flowres.

exceeding pleasant and tastfull: Chesnut-trees towardes the Falls as many as Oakes, and as fertill, many goodly Groues of Chincomen-trees, with a huske like vnto a Chesnut, raw or boiled, luscious and heartie meat: Walnuts of three or foure sorts, whereof there might bee yeerely made great quantitie of Oyles, as vsefull and good as that of Oliues: Some Filberds haue I seene, Crabs great store, lesse, but not so sower as ours, which grafted with the Siens of *English* Apple-trees, without question would beare very good fruit. Crabs.

In *May*, 1611. Sir *Thomas Dale*, with a prosperous passage, not full eight weekes arriued there with him about three hundred people, such as for the present speed and dispatch could then bee prouided, of worse condition then those formerly there, who I sorrow to speake it, were not so prouident, though once before bitten with hunger and penury; as to put Corne into the ground for their Winters bread, but trusted to the store, then furnished but with eight months prouision. His first care therefore was to imploy all hands about setting of Corne at the two Forts, seated vpon *Kecoughtan*, *Henry* and *Charles*, whereby the season then not fully past, though about the end of May, we had there an indifferent Crop of good Corne. Sir *Tho. Dales* going to *Virginia*, *A.* 1611. in eight weekes. Retchlesse wretches. His care and imploiment.

This businesse taken order for, and the care and trust of it committed to his vnder Officers; to *Iames* Towne hee hastened, where the most company were, and their daily and vsuall workes, bowling in the streets, these he imployed about necessary workes, as felling of Timber, repairing their houses ready to fall vpon their heads, and prouiding Pales, Posts and Raile, to impaile his purposed new Towne, which by reason of his ignorance in those parts, but newly arriued there, he had not resolued where to seat. For his better knowledge therefore of those parts, himselfe with an hundreth men spent some time in the discouery, first of *Nansamund* Riuer, which in despight of the *Indians*, then our enemies, hee discouered to the Head, after that, our owne Riuer to the Falls, where vpon a high Land, inuironed with the maine Riuer, some sixteene or twentie miles from the Head or the Falls, neere to an *Indian* Towne called *Arsahattocke*, hee resolued to plant his new Towne, and so did, whereof in his due place I shall make a briefe relation. R. *Nansamund*. Wise securitie remedie to slothfull securitie.

It was no meane trouble to him, to reduce his people so timely to good order, being of so ill a condition as may well witnesse his seuere and strict imprinted booke of Articles, then needfull with all seueritie and extremitie to bee executed, now much mitigated; for more deserued death in those dayes, then doe now the least punishment, so as if the law should not haue restrained by execution, I see not how the vtter subuersion and ruine of the Colony should haue beene preuented, witnesse *Webbes* and *Prises* designe in the first yeere, since that *Abbots*, and others more dangerous then the former, and euen in this Summer, *Coles* and *Kitchins* Plot, with three more, bending their course towards the Southward, to a *Spanish* plantation reported to be there, who had trauelled (it being now a time of peace) some fiue daies iourney to *Ocanahoen*, there cut off by certaine *Indians*, hired by vs to hunt them home to receiue their deserts.

Thus much obiously I proceed in his indeuours, vntill Sir *Thomas Gates* his happy arriuall, which was onely in preparing Timber, Pales, Posts, and Raile for the present impailing this new Towne to secure himselfe, and men from the malice and treacherie of the *Indians*, in the midst and heart of whom he was resolued to set downe. But before he could make himselfe readie for that businesse, Sir *Thomas Gates* happily arriued about the second of August, with sixe good Ships, men, prouisions and cattle. Arriuall of Sir *Tho. Gates*, with sixe ships.

The worthies being met, after salutation and welcome giuen and receiued, Sir *Thomas Dale* acquainted Sir *Thomas Gates*, both with such businesses as he had affected since his arriuall, and also of his resolution to build a new Towne at the *Fales:* which designe and purpose of his, Sir *Thomas Gates*, then principall Gouernour in *Virginia*, well approuing, furnished him with three hundred ond fiftie men, such as himselfe made choice of, and in the beginning of September, 1611, hee set from *Iames* Towne, and in a day and a halfe landed at a place where hee purposed to seat and build, where hee had beene ten daies before hee had verie strongly impaled seuen *English* Acres of ground for a Towne, which in honour of the Noble Prince *Henry* (of euer happy and blessed memory, whose Royall heart was strongly affected to that action) hee called by the name of *Henrico*. In foure moneths space, he had made *Henrico* much better, and of more worth then all the worke euer since the Colony began, therein done. I should bee too tedious if I should giue vp the account of euery daies labour, which therefore I purposely omit, and will onely describe the Towne, in the very state and perfection which I left it, and first for the situation, it stands vpon a necke of a very high Land, three parts thereof inuironed with the maine Riuer, and cut out between two Riuers with a strong Pale, which maketh the neck of Land an Iland. There are in this Town three streets of well framed houses, a handsome Church, & the foundation of a more stately one laid of Brick, in length an hundred foot, and fiftie foot wide, besides Store-houses, Watch-houses, and such like: there are also, as ornaments belonging to this Towne, vpon the Verge of this Riuer, fiue faire Block-houses, or Commanders, wherein liue the honester sort of people, as in Farmes in *England*, and there keepe continuall centinell for the Townes securitie, and about two miles from the Towne into the Main, a Pale of two miles in length cut ouer from Riuer to Riuer, guarded likewise with seuerall Commanders, with great quantitie of Corne ground impaled, sufficient if there were no more in the Colony secured, to maintaine with but easie manuring, *Henrico* built by Sir *T. Dale*.

and husbandry, more men, then I ſuppoſe will be addreſſed thither (the more is the pittie) theſe three yeeres.

For the further enlargement yet of this Towne, on the other ſide of the Riuer, by impaling likewiſe: for we make no other fence, is ſecured to our vſe, eſpecially for our hogges to feed in, about twelue *Engliſh* miles of ground, by name, *Hope in Faith, Coxen-Dale*, ſecured by fiue Forts, called *Charity Fort, Mount Malado*, a Retreat or Gueſt-houſe for ſicke people, a high ſeate, and wholſome ayre, *Elizabeth Fort*, and *Fort Patience*: and here hath Maſter *Whitacres* choſen his Parſonage, or Church-land, ſome hundred Acres impaled, and a faire framed Parſonage houſe built thereupon, called *Rocke Hall*. Of this Towne, and all the Forts thereunto belonging, hath Captaine *Iames Davis* the principall Command and Gouernment.

Bermuda a city.

I proceed to our next and moſt hopefull habitation, whether wee reſpect commoditie or ſecuritie (which we principally ayme at) againſt forraine deſignes and inuaſion, I meane the *Bermuda* Citie, begun about Chriſtmaſſe laſt, which becauſe it is the neereſt adioyning to *Henrico*, though the laſt vndertaken, I hold it pertinent to handle in the next place. This Towne, or Plantation is ſeated by Land, ſome fiue miles from *Henrico*, by water fourteene, being the yeere before the habitation of the *Appamatucks*, to reuenge the treacherous iniurie of thoſe people done vnto vs, taken from them, beſides all their Corne, the former before without the loſſe of any, ſaue onely ſome few of thoſe *Indians* (pretending our hurt) at what time Sir *Thomas Dale*, being himſelfe vpon that ſeruice, and duely conſidering how commodious a habitation and ſeate it might be for vs, tooke reſolution to poſſeſſe and plant it, and at that very inſtant, gaue it the name of the new *Bermudas*, whereunto he hath laid out, and annexed to bee belonging to the Freedome, and Corporation for euer, many miles of Champion, and Wood-land, in ſeuerall Hundreds, as the vpper and nether Hundreds, *Rock-dale* Hundred, *Weſts Sherly* Hundred, and *Digges* his Hundred.

Hundreds ſet out and diſtinguiſhed.

French diſplanted.

Long diſcourſes followed in the Author; but *Virginia* is brought to ſuch an abridgement, that I haue no heart to follow him or others in that kind.

Captaine *Argalls* Northward diſcoueries towardes *Sacaddoc*, and beyond to *Port Royall*, *Sancta Crux*, and thereabout may not bee concealed: In which his aduentures, if he had brought home no commoditie to the Colony (which yet he did very much, both of apparell, victualls, and many other neceſſaries) the honour which he hath done vnto our Nation, by diſplanting the *French*, there beginning to ſeat and fortifie within our limits, and taking of their Ship & Pinnace, which he brought to *Iames* Towne, would haue been reward enough for his paines, and will euer ſpeake loud his honour, and approued valour.

CHAP. XI.

A Letter of Sir THOMAS DALE, *and another of Maſter* WHITAKERS, *from* Iames *Towne in* Virginia, *Iune* 18. 1614. *And a piece of a Tractate, written by the ſaid Maſter* WHITAKERS *from* Virginia *the yeere before.*

To the R. and my moſt eſteemed friend, M. D. M. at his houſe at F. Ch. in *London.*

RIght Reuerend Sir, by Sir Thomas Gates *I wrote vnto you, of ſuch occaſions as then preſented themſelues, and now againe by this worthy Gentleman Captaine* Argall *I ſalute you: for ſuch is the reuerend regard I haue of you, as I cannot omit any occaſion to expreſſe the ſincere affection I beare you. You haue euer giuen mee encouragements to perſeuere in this Religious* Warfare, *vntill your laſt Letters; not for that you are now leſſe well affected thereunto: but becauſe you ſee the* Action *to be in danger of their non-performances who vndertooke the buſineſſe. I haue vndertaken, and haue as faithfully, and with all my might indeauoured the proſecution with all alacritie, as God that knoweth the heart can beare me record, what recompence, or what rewards, by whom, or when I know not where to expect; but from him in whoſe* Vineward *I labour, whoſe* Church *with greedy appetite I deſire to erect. My glorious Maſter is gone, that would haue enamelled with his fauours the labours I vndertake, for* Gods cauſe, *and his* immortall *honour. Hee was the Great* Captaine *of our* Iſrael, *the hope to haue builded vp this heauenly new* Ieruſalem *be interred (I thinke) the whole frame of this buſineſſe, fell into his graue: for moſt mens forward (at leaſt ſeeming ſo) deſires are quenched, and* Virginia *ſtands in deſperate hazard. You there doe your duties, I will no way omit mine, the time I promiſed to labour, is expired: it is not a yoke of Oxen hath drawne mee from this feaſt: it is not the marriage of a wife makes me haſt home, though that ſallat gaue mee an appetite to cauſe me returne. But I haue more care of the* Stock, *then to ſet vpon a Dye, and rather put my ſelfe to the curteſie of noble and worthy cenſures, then ruine this Worke; and haue a* Iury (*nay a million*) *of foule mouthed detracters, ſcan vpon my endeauours, the ends whereof they cannot diue into. You ſhall briefly vnderſtand what hath betide ſince my laſt, and how we now ſtand, and are likely*

Prince Henry.

likely to grow to perfection, if wee be not altogether neglected, my stay grounded vpon such reason, as had I now returned, it would haue hazarded the ruine of all.

Sir Thomas Gates hauing imbarked himselfe for England, I put my selfe into Captaine Argalls ship, with a hundred and fiftie men in my frigot, and other boats went vnto Pamaunkie Riuer, where Powhatan hath his residence, and can in two or three dayes, draw a thousand men together; with me I carried his daughter, who had beene long prisoner with vs, it was a day or two before wee heard of them: At length they demanded why wee came; I gaue for answere, that I came to bring him his daughter, conditionally he would (as hath beene agreed vpon for her ransome) render all the Armes, Tooles, Swords, and men that had run away, and to giue me a ship full of Corne, for the wrong hee had done vnto vs: if they would doe this, wee would be friends, if not burne all. They demanded time to send to their King; I assented, I taking, they receiuing two pledges, to carry my message to Powhatan. All night my two men lay not farre from the water side, about noone the next day they told them the great King was three daies iourney off, that Opochankano was hard by, to whom they would haue had them deliuer their message, saying, That what hee agreed vpon and did, the great King would confirme. This Opocankano is brother to Powhatan, and is his and their chiefe Captaine: and one that can as soone (if not sooner) as Powhatan command the men. But my men refused to doe my message vnto any saue Powhatan, so they were brought backe, and I sent theirs to them; they told me that they would fetch Simons to me, who had thrice plaid the runnagate, whose lyes and villany much hindred our trade for Corne: But they delayed vs, so as we went ashore they shot at vs, we were not behinde hand with them, killed some, hurt others, marched into the Land, burnt their houses, tooke their Corne, and quartered all night ashoare.

Sir T. Dales iourny to Powhatans Country. This is more at large deliuered, with the particular circumstances (which I for breuitie haue omitted) by M. Hamor.

The next day we went further vp the Riuer, they dogged vs and called to know whither we went; wee answered, To burne all, if they would not doe as we demanded, and had beene agreed vpon. They would they said, bring all the next day so we forbare all hostilitie, went ashoare, their men in good numbers comming amongst vs, but we were very cautious, and stood to our Armes. The Kings daughter went ashoare, but would not talke to any of them, scarce to them of the best sort, and to them onely, that if her father had loued her, he would not value her lesse then old Swords, Peeces, or Axes: wherefore shee would still dwell with the English men, who loued her. At last came one from Powhatan, who told vs, that Simons was run away, to Nonsowhaicond, which was a truth, as afterwards appeared, but that the other English man was dead, that proued a lie (for since M. Hamor, whom I employed to Powhatan brought him to mee) our Peeces, Swords, and Tooles within fifteene dayes, should be sent to Iames Towne, with some Corne, and that his daughter should be my child, and euer dwell with mee, desiring to be euer friends, and named such of his people, and neighbour Kings, as hee desired to be included, and haue the benefit of the peace, promising if any of our men came to him, without leaue from mee, he would send them backe: and that if any of his men stale from vs, or killed our cattell, hee would send them to vs to bee punished as wee thought fit. With these conditions wee returned, and within the time limitted, part of our Armes were sent, and twentie men with Corne, and promised more, which he hath also sent. Opachankano desired I would call him friend, and that he might call me so, saying, Hee was a great Captaine, and did alwayes fight: that I was also a great Captaine, and therefore he loued mee; and that my friends should bee his friends. So the bargaine was made, and euery eight or ten dayes, I haue messages and presents from him, with many appearances that he much desireth to continue friendship.

Pocahuntas behauiour and report.

Opachankano now their king, & worker of the massacre

Now may you iudge Sir, if the God of Battailes had not a helping hand in this, that hauing our Swords drawne, killing their men, burning their houses, and taking their corne: yet they tendred vs peace, and striue with all alacritie to keepe vs in good opinion of them; by which many benefits arise vnto vs. First, part of our Armes, disgracefully lost long agoe (kept by the Sauages as Monuments and Trophies of our shames) redelinered, some repaire to our Honor. Our ease to increase, without danger of destroying, our men at libertie to hunt freely for Venison, to fish, to doe any thing else, or goe any whither without danger; to follow the husbanding of our corne securely, whereof wee haue aboue fiue hundred Acres set, and God be praised, in more forwardnesse then any of the Indians, that I haue seene or heard of this yeeres, Roots and Hearbs we haue abundance; all doubt of want is by Gods blessing quite vanished, and much plentie expected. And which is not the least materiall, wee may by this peace come to discouer the Countrey better, both by our owne trauells, and by the relation of the Sauages, as we grow in familiaritie with them.

Powhatans daughter I caused to be carefully instructed in Christian Religion, who after she had made some good progresse therein, renounced publikely her Countrey Idolatry, openly confessed her Christian Faith, was, as shee desired, baptised, and is since married to an English Gentleman of good vnderstanding (as by his Letter vnto me, containing the reasons of his marriage of her you may perceiue) another knot to binde this peace the stronger. Her Father and friends gaue approbation to it, and her Vncle gaue her to him in the Church: shee liues ciuilly and louingly with him, and I trust will increase in goodnesse, as the knowledge of God increaseth in her. Shee will goe into England with mee, and were it but the gaining of this one soule, I will thinke my time, toile, and present stay well spent.

Pocahuntas baptised: & of Rebecca (so I haue heard she was properly named) at first called Rebecca.

Since this accident, the Gouernours and people of Checkahomanies, who are fiue hundred Bow-men, and better, a stout and warlike Nation, haue made meanes to haue vs come vnto them, and conclude a peace, where all the Gouernours would meet me. They hauing thus three or foure times importuned me, I resolued to goe; so hauing Captaine Argall, with fiftie men in my Frigot and Barge I went thither: Captaine

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tasne Argall *with forty men landed, I kept aboord for some reasons. Vpon the meeting they told Captaine* Argall *they had longed to be friends, that they had no* King, *but eight great men, who gouerned them. He told them that we came to be friends, asked them if they would haue* King Iames *to be their* King, *and whether they would be his men? They after some conference betweene themselues, seemed willing of both, demanding if we would fight against their enemies; he told them that if any did them iniury, they should send me word, and I would agree them, or if their aduersaries would not, then I would let them haue as many men as they would to helpe them: they liked well of that, and told him that all their men should helpe vs. All this being agreed vpon, Captaine* Argall *gaue euery* Counsellour a Tamahawk, *and a peece of Copper, which was kindely taken: they requested further, that if their Boates should happen to meete with our Boates, and that they said they were the* Chikahominy Englishmen, *and* King Iames *his men, wee would let them passe: we agreed vnto it, so that they pronounced themselues* Englishmen, *and* King Iames *his men, promising within fifteene dayes to come vnto* Iames *Towne to see me, and conclude these conditions; euery Bowman being to giue me as a* Tribute *to* King Iames *two measures of Corne euery harueſt, the two measures containing two bushels and a halfe, and I to giue euery Bowman a small* Tamahawke, *and to euery* Counseller *a suit of red cloath, which did much please them. This people neuer acknowledged any* King *before, no nor euer would acknowledge* Powhatan *for their* King; *a stout people they be, and a delicate seate they haue.*

They called the *English Tossantessus*, and so would themselues be called. The particulars and articles of agreement are in M. *Hamors* Booke; here omitted.

Now Sir you see our conditions, you, and all worthy men may iudge, whether it would not be a griefe to see these faire hopes frostbitten, and these fresh budding plants to wither? which had I returned, had assuredly followed: for here is no one that the people would haue gouerne them, but my selfe: for I had now come away, had I not found a generall desire in the best sort to returne for England: *Letter vpon Letter, request vpon request from their friends to returne, so as I knew not vpon whom to conferre the care of this businesse in my absence: whom I thought fit was generally distasted, so as seeing the eminent ensuing danger, should I haue left this multitude, not yet fully refined, I am resolued to stay till harueſt be got in, and then settle things according to my poore vnderstanding, and returne: if in the interim there come no authorised Gouernour from* England.

Sir T. Dales report of *Virginia*. In another letter to the Committees he writeth that foure of the best Kingdoms of *Christendome* put all together, may no way compare with this country, either for commodities, or goodnesse of soile.

Consider I pray you, since things be brought to this passe, as you see, and that I should haue come away, if then through their factions, humors, mutinies, *or indiscretion of the* Chiefes *I had left behinde, this should fall to ruine: I then should receiue the imputation, and incurre the blame, for quitting the* Plantation, *although I might doe it, both with my honour, my promised stay of time being expired, and hauing warrant from my* Soueraigne, the Kings Maiesty; *but the precedent reasons moued mee and that this action of such price, such excellency and assured profit to mine owne knowledge should not dye to the scorne of our* Nation, *and to giue cause of laughter to the Papists, that desire our ruine. I can assure you, no Country of the world affords more assured hopes of infinite riches, which both by mine owne peoples discouery, and the relation of such* Sauages, *whose fidelity we haue often found, assureth me. Oh why should so many Princes and Noblemen ingage themselues, and thereby intermedling herein, haue caused a number of soules transport themselues, and be transported hither? Why should they (I say) relinquish this so glorious an* Action: *for if their ends be to build God a* Church, *they ought so perseuere: if otherwise, yet their honour ingageth them to be constant. Howsoeuer they stand affected, here is enough to content them, let their ends be either for* God, *or* Mammon.

These things hauing animated me to stay for a little season, to leaue those, I am tied in conscience to returne vnto, to leaue the assured benefits of my other fortunes, the sweete society of my friends and acquaintance, with all mundall delights, and reside here with much turmoile, which I will constantly doe, rather then see Gods glory diminished, my King *and Country dishonored, and these poore people, I haue the charge of, ruined. And so I beseech you to answer for me, if you heare me taxed for my staying, as some may iustly doe, and that these are my chiefe* motiues God *I take to witnesse. Remember me, and the cause I haue in hand, in your daily meditations, and reckon me in the number of those that doe sincerely loue you and yours, and will euer rest in all offices of a friend, to doe you seruice.*

Master *Alexander Whitaker* was son to that worthy of Polemicall Diuine Doctor *Whitaker* Master of S. *Iohns* Col. in Cambridge.

To my very deere and louing Cosen *M. G.* Minister of the *B. F.* in *London.*

What shadowes of men are the most in this age, that the best deseruing should neede apologies instead of panegyrikes? They which for doing ill, cry whore first, and by decrying iustice seek to be iust.

Sir, the Colony here is much better. Sir Thomas Dale. *our Religious and valiant Gouernour, hath now brought that to passe, which neuer before could be effected. For by warre vpon our enemies, and kinde vsage of our friends, he hath brought them to seeke for peace of vs, which is made, and they dare not breake. But that which is best, one* Pocahuntas *or* Matoa *the daughter of* Powhatan, *is married to an honest and discreete* English *Gentleman Master* Rolfe, *and that after she had openly renounced her Country Idolatry, professed the faith of Iesus Christ, and was baptised; which thing Sir* Thomas Dale *had laboured a long time to ground in her.*

Yet notwithstanding, are the vertuous deedes of this worthy Knight, much debased, by the Letters which some wicked men haue written from hence, and especially by one C. L. *If you heare any condemne this noble Knight, or doe feare to come hither, for those slanderous Letters, you may vpon my word boldly reprooue them. You know that no malefactors can abide the face of the Iudge, but themselues scorning to*

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be reproued, doe proſecute with all hatred, all thoſe that labour their amendment. I maruaile much that any men of honeſt life, ſhould feare the Sword of the Magiſtrate, which is vnſheathed onely in their defence.

But I much more muſe, that ſo few of our Engliſh *Miniſters that were ſo hot againſt the Surplis and ſubſcription: come hither where neither ſpoken of. Doe they not either wilfully hide their Tallents, or keepe themſelues at home for feare of looſing a few pleaſures? Be there not any amongſt them of* Moſes *his minde, and of the* Apoſtles, *that forſooke all to follow Chriſt? But I referre them to the Iudge of all hearts, and to the King that ſhall reward euery one according to the gaine of his Talent. But you my coſen, hold faſt that which you haue, and I, though my promiſe of three yeeres ſeruice to my Countrey be expired, will abide in my vocation here vntill I be lawfully called from hence. And ſo betaking vs all vnto the mercies of God in Chriſt Ieſus, I reſt for euer.*

Part of a Tractate written at Henrico *in* Virginia, *by Maſter* ALEX. WHITAKER, *Miniſter to the Colony there, which then gouerned by Sir* T. DALE, 1613.

THey acknowledge that there is a great good God, but know him not, hauing the eyes of their vnderſtanding as yet blinded: wherefore they ſerue the Diuell for feare, after a moſt baſe manner, ſacrificing ſometimes (as I haue here heard) their owne Children to him. I haue ſent one Image of their god to the Counſell in *England*, which is painted vpon one ſide of a toad-ſtoole, much like vnto a deformed monſter. Their Prieſts (whom they call *Quiokoſoughs*) are no other but ſuch as our *Engliſh* Witches are. They liue naked in body, as if their ſhame of their ſinne deſerued no couering: Their names are as naked as their body: they eſteeme it a vertue to lye, deceiue, and ſteale, as their Maſter the Diuell teacheth them. Much more might be ſaid of their miſerable condition, but I referre the particular narration of theſe things to ſome other ſeaſon. *Their Prieſts and maaner of liuing.*

Theſe men are not ſo ſimple as ſome haue ſuppoſed them: for they are of body luſty, ſtrong, and very nimble: they are a very vnderſtanding generation, quicke of apprehenſion, ſuddaine in their diſpatches, ſubtile in their dealings, exquiſite in their inuentions, and induſtrious in their labour. I ſuppoſe the world hath no better marke-men with their Bowes and Arrowes then they be; they will kill Birds flying, Fiſhes ſwimming, and Beaſts running: they ſhoote alſo with meruailous ſtrength, they ſhot one of our men being vnarmed quite through the body, and nailed both his armes to his body with one Arrow: one of their Children alſo, about the age of twelue or thirteene yeeres, killed a Bird with his Arrow in my ſight. The ſeruice of their God is anſwerable to their life, being performed with a great feare and attention, and many ſtrange dumbe ſhewes vſed in the ſame, ſtretching forth their limbes, and ſtraining their body, much like to the counterfeit women in *England*, who faine themſelues bewitched, or poſſeſſed of ſome euill ſpirit.

They ſtand in great awe of the *Quiokoſoughs* or Prieſts, which are a generation of Vipers, euen of Sathans owne brood. The manner of their life is much like to the Popiſh Hermits of our age; for they liue alone in the woods, in houſes ſequeſtred from the common courſe of men, neither may any man be ſuffered to come into their houſe or to ſpeake with them, but when this Prieſt doth call him. He taketh no care for his victuals, for all ſuch kinde of things both Bread and Water, &c. are brought vnto a place neere vnto his cottage, and there are left, which hee fetcheth for his proper neede. If they would haue raine, or haue loſt any thing, they haue their recourſe to him, who coniureth for them, and many times preuaileth. If they be ſicke, he is their Phyſician; if they be wounded, he ſucketh them. At his command they make warre and peace, neither doe they any thing of moment without him. I will not be tedious in theſe ſtrange Narrations, when I haue more perfectly entered into their ſecrets, you ſhall know all. Finally, there is a ciuill gouernment amongſt them which they ſtrictly obſerue, and ſhew thereby that the law of Nature dwelleth in them: for they haue a rude kinde of Common-wealth, and rough gouernment wherein they both honour and obey their Kings, Parents, and Gouernours, both greater and leſſe, they obſerue the limits of their owne poſſeſſions. Murther is ſcarſly heard of: Adultery and other offences ſeuerely puniſhed. *Yet Namontack in his returne was killed in Bermuda by another Sauage his fellow.*

The whole Continent of *Virginia* ſituate within the degrees of 34. and 47. is a place beautified by God, with all the ornaments of nature, and enriched with his earthly treaſures: that part of it, which we already poſſeſſe, beginning at the Bay of *Chaſapeac*, and ſtretching it ſelfe in Northerly latitude to the degrees of 39. and 40. is interlined with ſeuen moſt goodly Riuers, the leaſt whereof is equall to our Riuer of Thames: and all theſe Riuers are ſo neerely ioyned, as that there is not very much diſtance of dry ground betweene either of them, and thoſe ſeuerall maine lands are euery where watered with many veines or creekes of water, which ſundry waies doe ouerthwart the land, and make it almoſt nauigable from one Riuer to the other. The commodity *As 14. or 16. miles.*

whereof

whereof to those that shall inhabite this land is infinite, in respect of the speedy and easie transportance of goods from one Riuer to the other, I cannot better manifest it vnto you, but in aduising you to consider whether the water or land hath beene more beneficiall to the *Low-Countries*. To the Riuer which we inhabit (commonly called *Powhatans* Riuer) ebbeth and floweth one hundred and forty miles into the maine; at the mouth whereof are the two Forts of *Henrico* and *Charles*: two and forty miles vpward is the first and Mother-Christian Towne seated, called *Iames-Towne*; and seuenty miles beyond that vpward, is the new Towne of *Henrico* built, and so named in the memory of Noble Prince *Henry* of lasting and blessed memory: tenne miles beyond this is a place called the *Fals*, because the Riuer hath there a great descent falling downe between many minerall Rockes which be there: twelue miles farther beyond this place is there a Christall Rocke wherewith the *Indians* doe head many of their Arrowes: three dayes iourney from thence is there a Rock or stony hill found, which is in the top couered all ouer with a perfect and most rich Siluer oare. Our men that went to discouer those parts had but two Iron Pickaxes with them, and those so ill tempered, that the points of them turned againe, and bowed at euery stroake, so that we could not search the entrailes of the place, yet some triall was made of that oare with good successe, and argument of much hope. Six dayes iourney beyond this Mine a great ridge of high hils doe runne along the maine land, not farre from whom the *Indians* report a great Sea doth runne, which we commonly call a *South Sea*, but in respect of our habitation is a *West Sea*, for there the Sun setteth from vs. The higher ground is much like vnto the molde of *France*, clay and sand being proportionably mixed together at the top; but if we digge any depth (as we haue done for out Bricks) we finde it to be red clay, full of glistering spangles. There be many rockie places in all quarters; & more then probable likelihoods of rich Mines of all sorts: though I knew all, yet it were not conuenient at this time that I should vtter all, neither haue wee had meanes to search for any thing as we ought, thorough present want of men, and former wants of prouision for the belly. As for Iron, Steele, Antimonium, and *Terra figillata*, they haue rather offered themselues to our eyes and hands, then bin sought for of vs. The Ayre of the Countrey (especially about *Henrico* and vpward) is very temperate and agreeth well with our bodies. The extremity of Summer is not so hot as *Spaine*, nor the cold of Winter so sharpe as the frosts of *England*. The Spring and Harueſt are the two longest seasons and most pleasant, the Summer and Winter are both but short. The Winter is for the most part dry and faire, but the Summer watered often with many great and sodaine showers of raine; whereby the cold of Winter is warmed, and the heate of Summer cooled. Many haue died with vs heretofore thorough their owne filthinesse and want of bodily comforts for sicke men; but now very few are sicke among vs: not aboue three persons amongst all the inhabitants of *Henrico*; I would to God our soules were no sicker then our bodies.

Christall Rock

Ayre and Seasons.

The naturall people of the Land are generally such as you heard of before. A people to be feared of those that come vpon them without defensiue Armor, but otherwise faint-hearted (if they see their Arrowes cannot pierce) and easie to be subdued. Shirts of Male, or quilted cotten coates are the best defence against them. There is but one or two of their petty Kings, that for feare of vs haue desired our friendship; and those keepe good quarter with vs, being very pleasant amongst vs, and (if occasion be) seruiceable vnto vs. Our eldest friends be *Pipisco* and *Choapoke*, who are our ouerthwart neighbours at *Iames-Towne*, and haue beene friendly to vs in our great want. The other is the *Werowance* of *Chescheak*, who but lately traded with vs peaceably. If we were once the masters of their Country, and they stood in feare of vs (which might with few hands imployed about nothing else, be in short time brought to passe) it were an easie matter to make them willingly to forsake the Diuell, to embrace the faith of Iesus Christ, and to be baptized. Besides, you cannot easily iudge how much they would be auaileable to vs in our Discoueries of the Countrey, in our Buildings and Plantings, and quiet prouision for our selues, when we may peaceably passe from place to place without neede of Armes or Guard.

Note well.

Feare is the beginning of piety & ciuility

What vse may be made of the Natiues.

The meanes for our people to liue and subsist here of themselues are many and most certaine both for Beasts, Birds, and Hearbes. The Beasts of the Countrey are for the most part wilde: as Lyons, Beares, Wolues and Deere: Foxes blacke and red, Rakowns, Beuers, Possowns, Squerrels, Wilde-Cats, whose skins are of great price, and Muske-Rats which yeelde Muske as the Muske-Cats doe. There be two kindes of Beasts amongst these most strange; one of them is the female Possowne, which will let forth her yong out of her belly, and take them vp into her belly againe at her pleasure without hurt to her selfe; neither thinke this to be a Trauellers tale, but the very truth; for nature hath framed her fit for that seruice, my eyes haue beene witnesse vnto it, and we haue sent of them and their yong ones into *England*. The other strange conditioned creature is the flying Squirrell, which thorough the helpe of certaine broad flaps of skin growing on each side of her forelegs, will flye from tree to tree twenty or thirty paces at one flight and more, if she haue the benefit of a small breath of winde. Besides these, since our comming hither, we haue brought both Kine, Goates, and Hogges, which prosper well, and would multiply exceedingly, if they might be prouided for. This Countrey besides is repleniſhed with Birds of all sorts, which haue bin the best sustenance of flesh, which our men haue had since they came

Possown a strange beast.

Flying Squirrels.

also

also Eagels and Haukes of all sorts, amongst whom are Auspreys, fishing Hauke, and the Cormorant. The woods be euery where full of wilde Turkies, which abound, and will runne as swift as a Greyhound. In winter our fields be full of Cranes, Herons, Pigeons, Partridges and Blackbirds: the Riuers and creekes be ouer-spread euery where with water foule of the greatest and least sort, as Swans, flockes of Geese and Brants, Ducke and Mallard, Sheldrakes, Dyuers, &c. besides many other kindes of rare and delectable Birds, whose names and natures I cannot yet recite, but we want the meanes to take them. The Riuers abound with Fish both small and great; the Sea-fish come into our Riuers in March, & continue vntill the end of September: great sculls of Herings come in first: Shads of a great bigneſſe, and Rock-fish follow them. Trouts, Base, Flounders, and other dainty fish come in before the other be gone: then come multitudes of great Sturgeons, whereof we catch many, and should do more, but that we want good Nets answerable to the breadth and deapth of our Riuers: besides, our channels are so foule in the bottome with great logges and trees, that we often breake our Nets vpon them: I cannot reckon nor giue proper names to the diuers kindes of fresh fish in our Riuers; I haue caught with mine Angle, Pike, Karpe, Eele, Perches of six seuerall kindes, Crea-fish, and the Torope or little Turtle, besides many smaller kindes, &c.

Fowle.

Fish.

Nets.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Lottery: Sir THOMAS DALES *returne: the* Spaniards *in* Virginia. *Of* POCAHVNTAS *and* TOMOCOMO: *Captaine* YERDLEY *and Captaine* ARGOLL *(both since Knighted) their Gouernment; the Lord* LA-WARRS *death, and other occurrents till Anno* 1619.

HItherto you haue heard the Authors themselues speak of their owne affaires: Now we must for continuation and consummation of our Story, borrow a few Collections from others, where the Authors themselues haue not comne to our hands. Wherein that industrious Gentleman Captaine *Iohn Smith* still breathing *Virginia*, and diligent enquiry and writing, as sometime by discouery and doing to shew his zeale to this action (for seeing he cannot there be employed to performe *Virginian* exploits worthy the writing, here he employeth himselfe to write *Virginian* affaires worthy the reading) hauing compiled a long History of that and the *Summer Iland* plantation, and of *New England* in six Bookes, hath gently communicated the same to mine, that is to thine, as intended to the Worlds vse. Out of his rich fields I haue gleaned these handfuls, adding thereto the crop also of mine owne industry.

Sir Thomas Gates *returned from* Virginia *in March, and Captaine* Argall *in Iune following* 1614. *and so animated by their hopefull reports the Aduenturers, that the great standing Lottery was drawne Anno* 1615. *in the West end of* Pauls *Churchyard (where before, as in many other places after, a running Lottery of smaller aduentures had beene vsed) in which the Prizes were proportioned from two crownes (which was the least) to diuers thousands, arising in ordinary assents and degrees*, casually accruing as the lot fell, and paid in money or in Plate there set forth to view, prouided that if any chose money rather then Plate or goods for paiment, in summes aboue ten crownes, he was to abate the tenth part. The orders of this Lottery were published, and courses taken to preuent frauds.*

The Lottery.

*To 100. 200. 300. & 1000. 2000. and the highest 4500. crownes.

Whiles Sir Thomas Dale *was in* Virginia, *it chanced that a* Spanish *Ship beate vp and downe before Point* Comfort, *and sent ashoare for a Pilot. Captaine* Iames Dauies *sent them one, with whom they presently sailed away, leauing three of their company behinde. These, vpon examination, confessed that hauing lost their Admirall, accident had forced them into those parts; two of them said they were Captaines of chiefe command in the Fleete. They receiued good vsage there, till one of them was found to be an* Englishman, *which in the great Fleete* 1588. *had bin a Pilot to the* Spaniards, *and now exercised his wonted trechery, hauing induced some malecontents to runne away with a small Barke. This darknesse being brought to light, some of them were executed, and he expecting no better, confessed that two or three* Spanish *Ships were at Sea, on purpose to discouer the state of the Colony: but their Commission was not to be opened till they arriued in the Bay, so that he knew no further. One of the* Spaniards *died, the other was sent for* England, *and this fellow was now reprieued, but (as became such a Pilot) was hanged at Sea as Sir* Thomas Dales *returne. The* English *Pilot which they had carried away to* Spaine, *after long imprisonment by much suite recouered his liberty and Country.*

Spanish Ships at Virginia.

English Pilate or Iudas rather, suspended and exalted together according to his merit.

Sir *Thomas Dale* hauing thus established things as you haue heard, returned thence, appointing Captaine *George Yardly* his deputy Gouernour in his absence, and arriued at *Plimmouth* in May or Iune 4. 1616. to aduance the good of the Plantation, Master *Rolfe* also with *Rebecca* his new conuert and consort, and *Vttamatamakin* (commonly called *Temocomo*) one of *Pohatans*

Capt. Yardly Deputy Gouernour.

Coun-

Hitherto from Capt. *Smith.*

Counsellours came ouer at the same time. With this Sauage I haue often conuersed at my good friends Master Doctor *Goldstone*, where he was a frequent guest; and where I haue both seen him sing and dance his diabolicall measures, and heard him discourse of his Countrey and Religion, Sir *Tho. Dales* man being the Interpretour, as I haue elsewhere shewed. Master *Ralfe* lent mee a discourse which he had written of the estate of *Virginia* at that time, out of which I collected those things which I haue in my *Pilgrimage* deliuered. And his wife did not onely accustome her selfe to ciuilitie, but still carried her selfe as the Daughter of a King, and was accordingly respected, not onely by the Company, which allowed prouision for her selfe and her sonne, but of diuers particular persons of Honor, in their hopefull zeale by her to aduance Christianitie. I was present, when my Honorable & Reuerend Patron, the L. Bishop of *London*, Doctor *King* entertained her with festiuall state and pompe, beyond what I haue seene in his great hospitalitie afforded to other Ladies. At her returne towards *Virginia* she came at *Graues-end* to her end and graue, hauing giuen great demonstration of her Christian sinceritie, as the first fruits of *Virginian* conuersion, leauing here a godly memory, and the hopes of her resurrection, her soule aspiring to see and enioy presently in heauen, what here shee had ioyed to heare and beleeue of her beloued Sauiour. Not such was *Tomocomo*, but a blasphemer of what he knew not, and preferring his God to ours, because he taught them (by his owne so appearing) to weare their Deuill-lock at the left eare; hee acquainted mee with the manner of that his appearance, and beleeued that this *Okee* or Deuil had taught them their husbandry, &c. *Powhatan* was at this time of their comming gone Southwards, for feare (as some thought) least *Opachancanough* his brother should ioyne with the *English* against him. His age was not so great as some haue reported, they reckoning euery Spring and Autumne for distinct yeeres. *Tomocomo* was as wise in computation of his sailing, reckoning each night (when hee expected they should haue anchored by the shoare) as another day. Hee is said also to haue set vp with notches on a stick the numbers of men, being sent to see and signifie the truth of the multitudes reported to his Master. But his arithmetike soone failed, and wonder did no lesse amaze him at the sight of so much Corne and Trees in his comming from *Plimmouth* to *London*, the *Virginians* imagining that defect thereof here had brought vs thither.

See my *Pil. l. 8. c. 5.*

See my *Pilg. vbi sup.*

Powhatans remoue.

Virginian yeers which perhaps occasioned the conceits of their longevity

But let vs returne to Captaine *Smiths* Relations. The new Gouernour applied himselfe to the readiest way of gaine in planting Tobacco; and though Sir *Tho. Dale* had caused much Corne to be planted, yet the new supplies easing them of that superfluitie, hee sent to the *Chickahaminies* for the tribute Corne which Sir *Thomas Dale* and Captaine *Argall* had conditioned with them, but receiued a bad answere. Whereupon hee gathered a hundred men, and twelue of them were slaine, twelue others captiued, and returned to *Iames* Towne with three Boats laden with corne, of which one hasting to bring the newes was ouerset, and eleuen men, together with the goods drowned. Captaine *Spelman* by his language did them good seruice. This, together with the league which they had with *Opachankanough* enemy to the former, put them so in feare, that ours followed their labours quietly, and other Nations also brought them prouisions and would hunt for them. Captaine *Yeardly* is taxed for suffering two of his Sauages to vse the Peece in their game and therein to grow expert; a thing reported to haue beene practised by some others. Yet whiles hee staied in the gouernment they liued quietly with the Sauages, but grudges grew amongst themselues.

A. 1617. Captaine *Yeardly* returned for *England*, after the arriuall of Captaine *Argall*, sent thither to be deputie Gouernour.

A. 1617. Cap. *Argalls* gouernment.

Captaine Argall *was sent in the* George, *and with Capt.* Hamor *his Vice-Admirall, in May*, 1617. *arriued at* Iames *Towne, where hee found things in much disorder, which hee sought to redresse. Their cattell were now well encreased, and both of their owne growing, and from the Sauages they had store of*

1618. Great drought

Corne, A. 1618. *happened a great drought, and such a cruell storme of haile, that it did much hurt to their Corne and Tobacco. The* Magazine *that came in the* George, *being fiue moneths in her passage proued badly conditioned.*

L. De-la-Wars last voyages and death.

To supply them, the Company furnished and set forth in Aprill a Ship of two hundred and fiftie tunnes, with two hundred people. The Lord De-la-war *went therein, and at the Iland of Saint* Michael *was honourably feasted. Departing from thence, they were long troubled with contrary windes, in which time many fell sicke, thirtie died, one of which was that honourable Lord of noble memory. The rest refreshed themselues on that Coast of* New England, *with Fish, Fowle, Wood, and Water, and after sixteene weekes spent at Sea, arriued in* Virginia.

Plowing and Corne in *Virginia.*

The Ship called the Treasurer *not long after came thither with fortie Passengers, before the other Ship was gone. They now had vsed the Plow, and reaped good Corne, and they writ for more Plow-harnesse to be sent them.*

Richard Killingbeck *with foure others, going to trade secretly with the people of* Chickahaminias, *either for reuenge of some before slaine in Captaine* Yerdlyes *expedition, or for couetousnesse of their goods were assaulted by the Sauages, one of which had a Peece furnished and therewith shot* Killingbeck *dead; the rest also were all slaine, stripped, and spoyled. Other murthers also were done by other Sauages, which* Opachankanough *excused by ignorance, and for the former, hee sent a basket of earth, in token of the gift and possession of that Towne where they dwelt, to Captaine* Argal, *desiring him not to reuenge the faule*

Killingbeck slain

of

of a few, which for feare of reuenge were fled to the Woods, on their innocent neighbours. Sam. Arg. Io. Rolfe.

Maſter Rolfe *writ, Iune* 15. 1618. *that* Powhatan *died in Aprill before,* Itopatan *his ſecond brother ſucceeded, who with* Opachanckanough *had confirmed the league with the Colony. May* 11. *happened at* Iames *Towne in the night, a terrible ſtorme which laſted about halfe an houre, and powred downe haileſtones eight or nine inches about.* Powhatans death.

A. 1619. *Sir* Edwin Sands *being choſen Treaſurer, Captaine* Yerdley *was knighted and ſent Gouernour into* Virginia. *A little Pinnace had arriued ſome twelue dayes before him, in which Captaine* Argall *returned, leauing in his place Captaine* Nathaniel Powel. *As for their diguſts giuen the Company (in their apprehenſion) by Captaine* Argall, *I am not fully informed, or luſt to bee the Informer.* Sir Edwin Sands Treaſurer.

Sir George Yerdly *arriuing Aprill* 18. *filled the Colony with ioyfull hopes of better ſucceſſe at his arriuall, and I freely acknowledge the Treaſurers great ſtudy and care was worthy (had God ſo pleaſed) of better euents, then by vnexpected accidents haue ſince happened.* Sir George Yerdley Gouernour.

Captaine Weſt, *Captaine* Powel, *Maſter* Pory, *Maſter* Rolfe, *Maſter* Wickam, *Maſter* Macock, *were added to the Councell. A Pinnace of Captaine* Bargraue, *another of Captaine* Lawnes, *and a third of Maſter* Euans, *and the* Marget *of* Briſtol *arriued. Some ſcandalous Letters, which laid a falſe imputation on the Countrey, cauſed enquiry to bee made, where by men of beſt experience was found, that an induſtrious man not otherwiſe imployed, may well husband foure Acres of Corne, and one thouſand Plants of Tobacco, of which many to haue much, neglect the goodneſſe (in ſuffering too many leaues to grow on one ſtalke) and many Tobaccomongers in* England *are ſaid to ſell the beſt of it in other names, calling all their traſh* Virginian, *and ſo at once rob both* England *and* Virginia. *Iune* 25. *the* Triall *came in with Corne and Cattell. The Gouernour and Counſell cauſed Burgeſſes to be choſen in all places, and a generall aſſembly was held for conſultation about the Colonies good. The ancient Planters being ſet free choſe places to their content, and ſweetneſſe of proprietie made them emulous to exceed each other in building and planting. Many good inſtructions were ſent from the Company, to amend the* Virginian *abuſes and competencie of proviſion was appointed for Officers.* Profit to be made in *Virginia.*

But leaue we awhile our Captaines Notes, and let vs liſten to that which the Company publiſhed, *A.* 1620.

CHAP. XIII.

The eſtate of the Colony, A. 1620. *and Maſter* Dermers *Letter to mee from* Virginia, *touching his Voyage for the South Sea.*

NOw touching the preſent eſtate of our Colony in that Countrey, We haue thought it not vnfit thus much briefly to declare. There haue beene ſent thither this laſt yeere, and are now preſently in going, twelue hundred perſons and vpward, as particularly appeareth in the note aboue ſpecified: and there are neere one thouſand more remaining of thoſe that were gone before. The men lately ſent, haue beene moſt of them choice men, borne and bred vp to labour and induſtry. Out of *Deuonſhire*, about an hundred men, brought vp to Husbandry. Out of *Warwickſhire* and *Staffordſhire*, about one hundred and ten; and out of *Suſſex*, about fortie; all framed to Iron-woskes: the reſt diſperſedly out of diuers Shires of the Realme. There haue beene alſo ſundry perſons of good qualitie, much commended for ſufficiency, induſtry and honeſtie, prouided and ſent to take charge and gouernment of thoſe people. The care likewiſe that hath beene taken by directions, inſtructions, Charters and Commiſſions to reduce the people and affaires in *Virginia* into a regular courſe, hath been ſuch and ſo great, that the Colony beginneth now to haue the face and faſhion of an orderly State, and ſuch as is likely to grow and proſper. The people are all diuided into ſeuerall Burroughes; each man hauing the ſhares of Land due to him ſet out, to hold and enioy to him and his Heires. The publike Lands for the Company here, for the Gouernour there, for the Colledge, and for each particular Burrough, for the Miniſters alſo, and for diuers other neceſſary Officers, are likewiſe laid out by order and bounded. The particular Plantations for diuers priuate Societies, are ſetled in their Seates, being allotted to their content, and each in conuenient diſtance. The rigour of Martiall Law, wherewith before they were gouerned, is reduced within the limits preſcribed by his Maieſty; and the laudable forme of Iuſtice and gouernment vſed in this Realme, eſtabliſhed, and followed as neere as may be. The Gouernour is ſo reſtrained to a Counſell ioyned with him, that he can doe wrong to no man, who may not haue ſpeedy remedy. Each Burrough, and each particular Plantation, partly hath, partly is bound to haue in ſhort time a ſufficient Miniſter: for whom maintenance is ordained, to each of two hundred pounds a yeere value. Which orderly proceeding there, by direction from hence, hath cauſed the Colony now at length to ſettle themſelues in a firme reſolution to perpetuate the Plantation. Seuerall Burroughs.

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on. They fall to building of Houſes, each for his owne priuate; and the Generality to the rearing of publike Gueſt-houſes, for entertaining of new men vpon their firſt arriuall. They fall to ſet vp their Ploughes, to the planting of Vineyards; to the purſuing of the Staple Commodities furniſhed and commended from hence. In ſumme, they are now ſo full of alacrity and cheerefulneſſe, that in a late generall Aſſembly, they haue in the name of the Colony preſented their greateſt poſſible thankes to the Company, for the care that hath beene taken for the ſetling of the Plantation. Neither is it to be omitted, the care which hath beene had here lately at home, for the reducing of all the proceedings and affaires of the Company, to an orderly courſe of good gouernment and Iuſtice. Wherein to begin with the Fountaine thereof, his Maieſties authoritie and pleaſure, there hath beene a collection made of all the branches of the ſame, diſperſed in his Letters Patents, now three times renewed: as alſo out of other inſtructions proceeding from his Maieſtie. Out of both which, together with ſuch other Orders as (authorized by his Maieſtie) the Companie themſelues haue thought neceſſary to make, hath beene compiled a booke of ſtanding Orders and Conſtitutions, approued by the generall conſent of all the Companie: whereby both the Company here, and the Colony in *Virginia*, haue their buſineſſe carried regularly, induſtrioully, and iuſtly, euery man knowing both his right and dutie, to their generall great content, and the great aduancement of the Action. And whereas the Colony likewiſe haue beene often Sutors in effect, to reduce into a compendious and orderly forme of writing, the Lawes of *England* proper for the vſe of that Plantation, with addition of ſuch other, as the nature of the place, the nouelty of the Colony, and other important circumſtances ſhould neceſſarily require: A courſe is likewiſe taken for the effecting of this worke; yet ſo as to ſubmit it firſt to his Maieſties view and approbation; it being not fit that his Maieſties Subiects ſhould bee gouerned by any other Lawes, then ſuch as receiue the influence of their life from him.

Patent three times renewed

And now to come to that which concerneth the Aduenturors in particular, by whoſe charges, care, and labour (next vnto his Maieſties eſpeciall grace) this famous Plantation hath not onely beene vndertaken, but through ſo many difficulties vpheld and continued: wee ſhould bee very greatly iniurious to them, if we ſhould not acquaint them with this ſeaſonable time, for the reaping of that benefit and reward which is due vnto them. Wee therefore let them know, that in this laſt yeere now ended, there haue beene granted by the Company vnder their legall Seale, eleuen ſeuerall Patents for particular Plantations; and more are in hand to bee paſſed this next Quarter-Court. It is not vnprobable that vpon each of theſe Patents, diuers hundreds of perſons will ſoone Plant in *Virginia*: there haue beene already tranſported vpon the firſt, aboue three hundred men. Theſe and other like Planters, hauing priority of time, will haue priority alſo in choice of the Seat of their Plantations. Seeing therefore the onely matter of retribution to the Aduenturors, is by a faire proportion of Land to them and their heires, namely, of one hundred Acres for euery ſhare of twelue pounds and ten ſhillings, vpon a firſt diuiſion; and as much more vpon a ſecond, the firſt being peopled; with fiftie Acres for euery perſon (to bee doubled in like manner) which at their own charges they ſhall tranſport to inhabite in *Virginia* before the foure and twentieth of Iune, 1625. if hee continue there three yeeres, either at one or ſeuerall times, or die after he is ſhipped for that voyage: It ſtandeth them vpon, who are not willing to be the leaſt in the benefit to be partaked, not to be the laſt in ſetting forth to the choice and peopling of their Land. Wherein what fauour or aſſiſtance may by vs bee giuen them, they ſhall bee well aſſured of it, in equall proportion with our ſelues, as their charges and long expectance haue well deſerued. And to the end that not onely the Aduenturors now liuing, but the Heires alſo of the deceaſed, may take certaine notice of the ſeuerall proportion of Land, which ratably to their Aduentures in money are due and belonging to them.

A Note of the Shipping, Men, and Proviſions ſent to Virginia, *by the Treaſurer and Company, in the yeere* 1619.

Ships.

THe *Bona Nona* of two hundred Tun, ſent in Auguſt 1619. with one hundred and twenty perſons. The *Duty*, of ſeuenty Tun, ſent in Ianuary 1619. with fiftie one perſons. The *Ionathan* of three hundred and fiftie Tun, ſent in February 1619. with two hundred perſons. The *Triall*, of two hundred Tun, ſent in February 1619. with fortie perſons, and ſixtie Kine. The *Faulcon*, of one hundred and fiftie Tun, ſent in February 1619. with thirtie ſixe perſons, fiftie two Kine, and foure Mares. The *London Merchant*, of three hundred Tun, ſent in March 1619. with two hun- perſons. The *Swan of Barnſtable*, of one hundred Tunne, ſent in March, 1619. with ſeuentie one perſons. The *Bonauenture* of two hundred and fortie Tun, ſent in April, 1620. with one hundred and fiftie three perſons. Beſides theſe, ſet out by the Treaſurer and Company, there hath beene ſet out by particular Aduenturers for priuate Plantations. The *Garland* of two hundred and fiftie Tun, ſent in Iune, 1619. for M. *Iohn Ferrars* Plantation, with fortie fiue perſons. Who are yet detained in the *Summer* Ilands. A Ship of *Briſtoll*, of eightie Tun, ſent in September, 1619. for M. *Barkleys*

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Barkleys Plantation, with fortie fiue persons. There are also two Ships in prouiding to be shortly gone, for about three hundred persons more, to bee sent by priuate Aduenturers to *Virginia*. The summe of the persons one thousand two hundred sixtie one. Whereof in the eight Ships set out by the Treasurer and Company, eight hundred seuentie one.

Of these persons there are sent for publike and other pious vses, these ensuing: Tenants for the Gouernours Land, besides fiftie sent the former Spring, eightie. Tenants for the Companies Land, one hundred and thirtie. Tenants for the Colledges Land, one hundred. Tenants for the Ministers glebe-Lands, fiftie. Young Maids to make Wiues for so many of the former Tenants, ninetie. Boyes to make Apprentices for those Tenants, one hundred. Seruants for the publike, fiftie. Men sent by their labours, to beare vp the charge of bringing vp thirtie of the Infidels children in true Religion and Ciuilitie. The sum of persons for publike vse, &c. six hundred and fiftie. The six hundred and eleuen remaining, are sent for priuate Plantations. People.

The Commodities which these people are directed principally to apply (next to their own necessary maintenance) are these ensuing: Iron, for which are sent one hundred and fiftie persons, to set vp three Iron-workes; proofe hauing beene made of the extraordinary goodnesse of that Iron. Commodities.

Cordage: for which (besides Hempe) direction is giuen for the planting of Silke-grasse (naturally growing in those parts) in great abundance: which is approued to make the best Cordage and Linnen in the world. Of this, euery housholder is bound to set one hundred Plants: and the Gouernour himselfe hath set fiue thousand.

Pot-ashes and Sope-ashes, Pitch and Tarre: for the making whereof the *Polacres* are returned to their workes.

Timber of all sorts, with Masts, Planks and Boords for prouision of Shipping, &c. there being not so good Timber for all vses, in any one knowne Countrey whatsoeuer. And for the ease and encrease of diuers of these workes, prouision is sent of men and materialls, for the setting vp of sundry Sawing Mills.

Silke: for which that Countrey is exceeding proper, hauing innumerable store of Mulbery Trees of the best, and some-Silk-wormes naturally found vpon them, producing excellent Silke: some whereof is to be seene. For the setting vp of which Commoditie, his Maiesty hath beene graciously pleased now the second time (the former hauing miscarried) to bestow vpon the Company plenty of Silke-wormes-seed of his owne store, being the best.

Vines: whereof the Countrey yeeldeth naturally great store, and of sundry sorts: which by culture will be brought to excellent perfection. For the effecting whereof, diuers skilfull *Vignerons* are sent, with store also from hence of Vine-plants of the best sort.

Salt: which workes hauing beene lately suffered to decay, are now ordered to bee set vp in so great plentie, as not onely to serue the Colony for the present; but as is hoped in short time also the great Fishings on those Coasts.

For the following, working, and perfecting of these Commodities, all prouisions necessary for the present are sent in good abundance. As likewise the people that goe are plentifully furnished with apparell, bedding, victuall for sixe moneths: Implements both for the House and Labour, Armour, Weapons, Tooles, and sundry other necessaries. And a supply of Armour, Powder, and many necessary prouisions is made for those of the Colony which were there before; yet without any preiudice to the former *Magazin*.

There haue beene giuen to the Colony this yeere by deuout persons, these Gifts ensuing: Two persons vnknowne, haue giuen faire Plate, and other rich Ornaments for two Communion Tables; whereof one for the Colledge, and the other for the Church of Mistresse *Mary Robinsons* founding: who in the former yeere by her Will, gaue two hundred pounds towards the founding of a Church in *Virginia*. Gifts.

Another vnknowne person (together with a godly Letter) hath lately sent to the Treasurer, fiue hundred and fiftie pounds in gold, for the bringing vp of children of the Infidels: first in the Knowledge of God and true Religion; and next, in fit Trades whereby honestly to liue.

Master *Nicolas Ferrar* deceased, hath by his Will giuen three hundred pounds to the Colledge in *Virginia*, to bee paid, when there shall be ten of the Infidels children placed in it. And in the meane time foure and twentie pounds by yeere, to bee distributed vnto three discreet and godly men in the Colony, which shall honestly bring vp three of the Infidels children in Christian Religion, and some good course to liue by.

An vnnamed person lent to the Treasurer the summe of ten pounds, for aduancing of the Plantation.

There haue beene Patents granted this yeere for particular Plantations, as here ensueth: To the Societie of *Southamton* Hundred. To Master *Heath*, Recorder of *London*. To Master *Wincop*. To Master *Tracie*. To Doctor *Bohun*. To Master *Pierce*. To Master *Delbridge*. To Master *Pointz*. To Master *Barkley*. To Captaine *Bargraue*. To Captaine *Ward*. Who haue vndertaken to transport to *Virginia* great multitudes of people, with store of cattell. Patents.

It is to be knowne, that touching the Colledge for the Infidels children, it hath beene thought more expedient to begin first with the planting and peopling of the Lands (which hath beene

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done this yeere) and afterwards to proceed to the erecting of the Fabricke, which is to be performed out of the reuenues of the Lands.

To his Worshipfull Friend M. SAMVEL PVRCHAS, Preacher of the Word, at the Church a little within *Ludgate, London.*

SIR,

IT was the nineteenth of *May*, before I was fitted for my discouery, when from Monahiggan I set sayle in an open Pinnace of fiue tun, for the Iland I told you of. I passed alongst the Coast where I found some antient Plantations, not long since populous now vtterly void; in other places a remnant remaines, but not free of sickneſſe. Their diſeaſe the Plague, for wee might perceiue the ſores of ſome that had eſcaped, who deſcribed the ſpots of ſuch as vſually die. When I arriued at my Sauages native Country (finding all dead) I trauelled alongst adaies iourney Westward, to a place called Nummaſtaquyt, where finding Inhabitants, I diſpatched a Meſſenger a dayes iourney further Weſt, to Poconaokit which bordereth on the Sea; whence came to ſee me two Kings, attended with a guard of fiftie armed men, who being well ſatisfied with that my Sauage and I diſcourſed vnto them (being deſirous of noueltie) gaue mee content in whaſoeuer I demanded, where I found that former relations were true. Here I redeemed a Frenchman, and afterwards another at Maſtachuſit, who three yeeres ſince eſcaped ſhipwracke at the North-eaſt of Cape Cod. I muſt (amongſt many things worthy obſeruation) for want of leiſure, therefore hence I paſſe (not mentioning any place where we touched in the way) to the Iland, which wee diſcouered the twelfth of Iune. Here we had good quarter with the Sauages, who likewiſe confirmed former reports. I found ſeuen ſeuerall places digged, ſent home of the earth, with ſamples of other commodities elſewhere found, ſounded the Coaſt, and the time being farre ſpent bare vp for Monahiggan, arriuing the three and tieth of Iune, where wee found our Ship ready to depart. To this Ile are two other neere adioyning, all which I called by the name of King Iames his Iles, becauſe from thence I had the firſt motiues to ſearch. For that (now probable paſſage) which may hereafter be both honourable and profitable to his Maieſtie. When I had diſpatched with the ſhips ready to depart, I thus concluded for the accompliſhing my buſineſſe. In regard of the fewneſſe of my men, not being able to leaue behind mee a competent number for defence, and yet ſufficiently furniſh my ſelfe, I put moſt of my prouiſions aboord the Sampſon of Cape Ward ready bound for Virginia, from whence hee came, taking no more into the Pinnace then I thought might ſerue our turnes, determining with Gods helpe to ſearch the Coaſt along, and at Virginia to ſupply our ſelues for a ſecond diſcouery, if the firſt failed. But as the beſt actions are commonly hardeſt in effecting, and are ſeldome without their croſſes, ſo in this we had our ſhare, and met with many difficulties: for wee had not ſayled aboue forty leagues, but wee were taken with a Southerly ſterme, which draue vs to this ſtrait; eyther we muſt weather a rockie point of Land, or run into a broad Bay no leſſe dangerous; Incidit in Syllam, &c. the Rockes wee could not weather, though wee loſed till we receiued much water, but at laſt were forced to beare vp for the Bay, and run on ground a furlong off the ſhoare, where we had beene beaten to pieces, had wee not inſtantly throwne ouerboord our proviſions to haue our lines; by which meanes we eſcaped and brought off our Pinnace the next high water without hurt, hauing our Planke broken, and a ſmall leake or two which we eaſily mended. Being left in this miſery, hauing loſt much bread, all our Beefe and Sider, ſome Meale and Apparell, with other prouiſions and neceſſaries; hauing now little left beſides hope to encourage vs to perſiſt: Yet after a little deliberation we reſolued to proceed and departed with the next faire winde. We had not now that faire quarter amongſt the Sauages as before, which I take it was by reaſon of our Sauages abſence, who deſired (in regard of our long iourney) to ſtay with ſome of our Sauage friends at Sawahquatooke) for now almoſt euery where, where they were of any ſtrength they ſought to betray vs. At Manamock (the Southerne part of Cape Cod, now called Sutcliffe Inlets) I was vnawares taken priſoner, when they ſought to kill my men, which I left to man the Pinnace; but miſſing of their purpoſe, they demanded a ranſome, which had, I was as farre from libertie as before: yet it pleaſed God at laſt, after a ſtrange manner to deliuer me, with three of them into my hands, and a little after the chiefe Sacheum himſelfe; who ſeeing me weigh ancker, would haue leaped ouerboord, but intercepted, craued pardon, and ſent for the Hatchets giuen for ranſome, excuſing himſelfe by laying the fault on his neighbours; and to be friends ſent for a Canoas lading of Corne, which receiued we ſet him free. I am loth to omit the ſtory, wherein you would finde cauſe to admire the great mercy of God euen in our greateſt miſery, in giuing vs both freedome and reliefe at one time. Departing hence, the next place we arriued at was Capaock, an Iland formerly diſcouered by the Engliſh, where I met with Epinew a Sauage that had liued in England, and ſpeakes indifferent good Engliſh, who foure yeeres ſince being carried home, was reported to haue beene ſlaine, with diuers of his Countreymen, by Saylers, which was falſe. With him I had much conference, who gaue mee very good ſatisfaction in euery thing almoſt I could demand. Time not permitting mee to ſearch here, which I ſhould haue done for ſundry things of ſpeciall moment: the wind faire, I ſtood away ſhaping my courſe as the Coaſt led mee, till I came to the moſt Weſterly part where the Coaſt began to fall away Southerly. In my way I diſcouered Land about thirtie leagues in length, heretofore taken for Mayne, where I feared I had beene imbayed, but by the helpe of an Indian I got to the Sea againe, through many crooked and ſtreight paſſages. I let paſſe many accidents in this

this iourney occasioned by treacherie, where wee were compelled twice to goe together by the eares, once the Sauages had great aduantage of vs in a streight, not aboue a Bowe shot, and where a multitude of Indians *let flye at vs from the banke, but it pleased God to make vs victours: neere vnto this wee found a most dangerous Catwract amongst small rockie Ilands, occasioned by two vnequall tydes, the one ebbing and flowing two houres before the other: here wee lost an Anchor by the strength of the current, but found it deepe enough: from hence were wee carried to a short space by the tydes swiftnesse into a great Bay (to vs so appearing) but indeede is broken land, which gaue vs light of the Sea: here, as I said, the Land treadeth Southerly. In this place I talked with many Saluages, who told me of two sundry passages to the great Sea on the West, offered me Pilots, and one of them drew mee a Plot with Chalke vpon a Chest, whereby I found it a great Iland, parted the two Seas; they report the one scarce passable for shoalds, perillous currents, the other no question to be made of. Hauing receiued these directions, I hasten to the place of greatest hope, where I purposed to make triall of Gods goodnesse towards vs, and vse my best endeuour to bring the truth to light, but wee were but onely shewed the entrance, where in seeking to passe wee were forced backe with contrary and ouerblowing windes, hardly escaping both our liues. Being thus ouercharged with weather, I stood alongst the coast to seeke harbours, to attend a fauourable gale to recouer the streight, but being a harbourlesse Coast for ought we could then perceiue, wee found no succour till wee arriued betwixt Cape* Charles *and the Maine on the East side the Bay* Ghestapeak, *where in a wilde Roade wee anchored; and the next day (the eight of September) crossed the Bay to* Kecoughtan, *where the first newes stroke cold to our hearts, the generall sickenesse ouer the Land. Here I resolued with all possible speede to returne in pursuite of this businesse; so that after a little refreshing, wee recouered vp the Riuer to* Iames Citie, *and from thence to Cape* Warde *his* Plantacon, *where immediately wee fell to hewing of Boords for a close Decke, hauing found it a most desired course to attempt as before. As wee were thus laboring to effect our purposes, it pleased almighty God (who onely disposeth of the times and seasons, wherein all workes shall be accomplished) to visite vs with his heauie hand, so that at one time there were but two of vs able to helpe the rest, my selfe so sore shaken with a burning feauer, that I was brought euen vnto deaths doore, but at length by Gods assistance escaped, and haue now with the rest almost recouered my former strength. The Winter hauing ouertaken vs (a time on these Coasts especially) subiect to gusts and fearefull stormes, I haue now resolued to choose a more temperate season, both for the generall good and our owne safeties. And thus I haue sent you a broken discourse, though indeede very vnwilling to haue giuen any notice at all, till it had pleased God to haue blessed mee with a thorow search, that our eyes might haue witnessed the truth. I haue drawne a Plot of the Coast, which I dare not yet part with for feare of danger, let this therefore serue for confirmation of your hopes, till I can better performe my promise and your desire; for what I haue spoken I can produce at least* mille testes; *farre separate, of the Sea behinde them, and of Ships, which come many dayes iourney from the West, and of the great extent of this Sea to the North and South, not knowing any bounds thereof Westward. I cease to trouble you till a better opportunity offer it selfe, remembring my best loue, &c. I rest*

From Captaine MARTYN his Plantation. 27. Decemb. 1619.

Yours to command,

THO. DEANER.

To Sir *Edwin Sands* in the Treasurership succeeded the right Honorable *Henry* Earle of *Southampton*, whose industry together with that of those two brethren *Iohn* and *Nicolas Farrars* the successiue Deputies, haue giuen much content to many, but to diuers others matter of complaint; wherein I am an vnfit Iudge; onely as a reasonable man and Christian Minister (that I say not Historian) I am much grieued that *Virginias* prosperity cannot answer mens hopes; nor can any man meruaile if diuisions (minde-massacres) here, with the massacring Sauages and diseases there, haue hindred there the expected effects of honorable and carefull indeuours. Master *Stockam*, a Minister, writ thence, May the eight and twentieth, that which deserueth iust consideration, that he found no probability by faire meanes alone to draw the Sauages to goodnesse, and if *Mars* and *Minerua* went hand in hand, they would effect more good in one houre, then these verball *Mercurians* in their liues: and till their Priests and Ancients haue their throats cut, there is no hope to bring them to conuersion.

Cap. 1. Smith.

Sir Edw. Sands was Treasurer from Ap. 1619 till Iun. 1620.

Master Stockams Letter to Master Whitaker before.

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CHAP. XIIII.

A true Relation of a Sea Fight betweene two great and well appointed Spanish *Ships, or Men of Warre; and an* English *Ship, called the* Margaret *and* Iohn, *or the* Blacke Hodge, *going for* Virginia.

1620. HAuing taken our iourney toward *Virginia* in the beginning of February last past, in a Ship called the *Blacke Hodge*, her burthen one hundred and sixtie tunne, manned onely with eight Iron Peeces, and a poore Faulcon, we soone ouer-passed both the tedious endurances and fearefull dangers of such a Voyage, and came at last by the foureteenth of March vnder 19. and halfe Latitude, within twenty leagues of *Hispaniola*.

Falling with *Mona* by the twentieth of March, and compassing the furthest point to stand in the handsommer with the shore, wee perceiued two tall Ships at anchor right ouer against the watring place with their top sayles loose, and their Boates going ashoare for their men. At first we supposed them *Hollanders*, in respect of their building, and the *Hollanders* colours borne by their Admirall in the maine top, the vice Admirall hauing his fore top mast downe, and no colors displayed, which encreased our former opinion, adding withall that it must needes be prise, or some other Ship subiect to the misfortune of a fight.

Hollanders colours.

But driuing by necessity of water, and willing to refresh our selues a shoare, wee trimmed our Ship, and came to anchor fairely by them, sending our Boate in friendly manner to hale them both vnprouided and vnarmed, which returned with certificate, that they were *Spaniards*, wherein not fully satisfied, by reason of our former apprehension that it was otherwise; the better to be resolued, we sent out our Boate againe, as well to be assured what to trust vnto, as to gaine sometime to prepare our Shippe, and trim her more commodiously; being pestered with goods and fardels betweene the decckes, and altogether vnprouided for any fight, either offensiue or defensiue.

The Boate approached the hindmost Ship, which I call the vice-Admirall, and haled her, demanding who they were, but instead of resoluing vs, she commanded them to come aboord, and would else were no otherwise; whereupon the Boate rowed from them, as resoluing all was not well, and so made haste vnto vs againe; yet could not preuent a volley of small shot powred very dangerously amongst them, insomuch that they had their cloathes shot through, their Oares shiuered, and the sides battered with Bullets, yet thankes be to God, neither was a man hurt, nor any thing lost; which, as if they had had notice of the same escape, vexed their rage so much the more. For by that time the Boate was out of reach of their small shot, they followed it to the Ship with great Ordnance; and when they perceiued they were safely come aboord, they tooke it so ill, that they thundred against our Ship with the soarer rage, and most violent vollies, which we could not answer, hauing no Peece in our gunner roome, nor indeede any other well mounted for such a Sea fight.

The *Spaniards* shot at the boat

They shot at the Ship.

English vnprepared for fight.

Spanish aduantages.

By this time their vice Admirall heaued vp her anchor to her warpe, and laid her selfe to wind-ward, if either we should passe forward, or anchor short againe, so that we perceiued they meant to assault vs on all hands: for she let flye a whole broad-side vpon vs, and came furiously vp to our lee quarter without damage or resistance of our parts.

But when we were thus terrified and threatned by them, and thus encombred and disanimated amongst our selues, knowing withall (by reason of our ill prepared Ordnance) the disaduantage and hazard to be boorded at anchor by two good Ships well prepared for spoyle and ruine; we hoysed vp our sailes, and determined to set forward, had not the vice-Admirall come on our star-boord side, and beate vpon vs so hardly, that we fell to our businesse, and answered their vnkindenesse accordingly with many faire shot, which proued most effectuall, especially from a demy-culuering, which at last shot her betweene winde and water, so that shee was compelled from vs, and bare off to Sea, leauing her Admirall onely single with vs, who at last came fairely in our quarter to winde-ward, taking in her *Holland* flagge, and aduanced her *Spanish* colours, and so haled vs.

Spanish colors.

Their confesence.

We quietly and quickly answered, both what we were, and whither wee were bound, discouering the effect of our Commission, and relating the cause of our tarying there for water, neither purposing to annoy any subiect of the King of *Spaine*, nor by way of affront to braue either Merchant or man of Warre. Then she charged vs to strike our sailes for the King of *Spaine*, and vaile the bonnet according to the prerogatiue they had in those Seas: we replyed with enlarging the particulars of the league betweene the King our Master and their King, adding with all, that as we intended no ill, we would take no wrong; Whereupon the Master left the poope, and sequestred himselfe from such open conference, had they not called for the Captaine againe, who at last presented himselfe, till they commanded him to come aboord with his Commission, which

which he refused; yet wished them to send their Boat aboord, and then they should see it most willingly.

But instead either of answering vs further with kinde words, or accepting of our reply in good part, they made two great shot at vs, and poured among vs such a volley of small shot, before we could get off the poope, that we thanked God they did no more harme, yet we were much amazed they did so much: not thus content they waued vs with their bright swords, and reuiled vs with opprobrious tearmes, miscalling vs dogs, and inuenting more odious names against vs, then we could imagine that *Christians* durst vse one another withall: at last they laid vs aboord; which enforced vs to raise vp our maine sayle, and to giue the word to our small shot; which all this while lay close, well resolued and prepared: but sodainely breaking forth, wee plyed them in such sort that wee made them giue backe and shrinke from their former forwardnesse. Insolence of the *Spaniards.* The *English* fight.

The fight continued some halfe houre in our quarter, and according to the fortune of such encounters, wee were compast as it were in fire and smoake, vntill they discouered the waste of our Ship naked, and were encouraged with the hope of reciprocall damage, whereupon they bravely ranne vpon our side, and laid vs aboord loose vpon loose, hastning with Pikes and Swords to enter, to which was added such fury, that if they had not beene preuented, we should haue shrunke vnder the rage of a barbarous slaughter: but it pleased God so to direct our Master with aduice, and encourage our men with valour, that our Pikes being formerly placed vnder our halfe decke, and certaine shot lying close for that purpose vnder the portels of the Shippe, encountred them so bravely, that their fury was not onely rebated, but their hastinesse intercepted, and the whole Company beaten backe, especially vpon the wind-ward side, where the charge was hottest, and the fight bloodiest; for there the throng was great, and men had worke enough to make proofe of their courages and fortunes. Diuers of our men were hurt, and many fell on their side. *Spaniards* seeke to enter. Their repulse.

In the end they were violently repulsed by vs, enforced to retreat, vntill they were reinforced backe againe by their Commanders, who standing vpon tearmes of honor, as being men of Warre, and designed for that purpose, thought it an indignity to be so affronted and countermanded; which caused a second charge, and that was answered with a second bearing backe, till the Captaine himselfe grew enraged, as not brooking to be so much ouermated, and constrained them to come on a fresh, which they did so effectually, that questionlesse it had wrought an alteration, if the God that setteth Monarchies, and teareth the Mountaines in his fury, had not taught vs to tosse our Pikes with prosperous euent, and poured out a sodaine volley of small shot vpon them, whereby that worthy Commander was slaine at the foote of a Pike, and many of his Souldiers dropped downe on the top of the hatches. Presently our Master tooke aduantage of their discomfiture (though with some commiseration for their valiant Captaine so slaine) that hee not onely plyed them a fresh with great Ordnance, but had more false shot vnder the Pikes, which were bestowed to good purpose, and amased our enemies with the sodainnesse. Second charge. Third charge. Their Captain slaine.

Amongst the rest one *Lucas* our Carpenters mate must not be forgotten, who perceiued a way how to annoy them, as they were thus pusled and in a confusion, drue out a minion which hee nobly set a worke vnder the halfe decke, till at the last hee brought it to the doxe of the halfe decke, and there bent it vpon them, but in such a manner, that when it was fiered the cases full of stones and peeces of Iron fell vpon them like haile, and cleared their decke in such a sort that it slue many, and in short time we saw few assailants, but onely such as crept from place to place very couertly, and seemed willing to obscure themselues from the fury of our shot, which now was thicker then theirs: For although (as farre as we may commend our enemies) they had done some things worthy of admiration: yet either wanting men, or ouertaken with the vnlooked for valour of our company, they now began to shrinke, and gaue vs leaue to be wanton with our aduantage. *Lucas* his braue act. The case altered. *Omnium rerum vicissitudo.*

Yet were our great Ordnance onely foure, that we could vse in this fight, but it should seeme they serued the turne as well as foure times foure: for they shot her diuers times betweene winde and water, and so preuailed, that at last we saw many signes of their willingnesse to leaue vs, but by reason she was fast in a flach of our cable, which in haste of weighing our anchor hung loose, she could not be diuided nor make that way shee purposed, vntill one of our men cut it with an Axe without direction, and was slaine for his labour. But when she perceiued she was loose, after she had beene a boord two houres and a halfe, good Lord what haste she made, and how quickly were we diuided, both great and small shot playing on both sides, which lasted vntill the remoteneſse was aboue a Caliuer shot, and we discouered the vice-Admirall comming to her assistance, who began a farre off to ply vs with great shot, and put vs in minde we had another worke in hand. The *English* could vse but foure Ordnance. *Spaniards* fall off.

Whereupon wee manned our Ship a new, separating the dead and hurt bodies by themselues from vs, and were so encouraged, that we waued her, and in a manner made toward her to fight a fresh: For when we perceiued, that the Admirall made not a shot more at vs, we verily imagined, that either she was preparing her selfe with a new supply, or wanted men to make her seruiceable Brauado turned *English.*

or

or resolued to goe away from vs, considering shee had lost her Captaine; yet loth to bee secure, and imagining the Vice-admirall might come and boord vs finding vs play, till the Admirall did make her selfe better readie, we prepared our selues, wondring yet that shee came no neerer vs then Falcon shot, wherewith she plyed vs still on the Lee side, vntill at last she receiued another payment from our Demie-culuering, which shot her through, and made her beare with the shore into smooth water, where shee remayned till two of the clocke after midnight, and so wee had time to reforme our disorders, and make our selues better readie for the next dayes varietie.

Next dayes fight.

By breake of day she came vp againe with the Admirall with her; as if they determined indeed to deuoure vs at once; but as it seemed it was but a Brauado, though for the time they forsooke not our quarter within Musket shot: for all that night and morning they were quiet Neighbours, and kept vs company without any great annoyance with their Top-sayles downe, not knowing, as it should seeme, what to doe with vs, or else suspecting their owne hurts and Leakes, they durst not trust themselues too farre from Land, nor to the furie of another encounter. All that night we had time and leisure to ouer-looke our losses, and prepare for them, the Admirall made shew of an encounter, and we after Prayers were ended prouided to fight with them, but suddenly wee perceiued the Vice-Admirall hang a sterne, cutting her mayne sayle to come vp, and stirring very ill.

The Vice-Admirall seeketh to recouer the Iland and the quiltie, *Sana.*

At length the Admirall shooke in the wind, and by apparant signes gaue vs notice of slacking her course, whereby we might runne a head and follow the Seas at her pleasure, so wee perceiued the Vice-Admirall with all her Sayles to make towardes an Iland called *Sana*, which the Admirall either tooke notice of, as knowing the danger she was in, or gaue directions accordingly, considering there was no good to bee done with vs: for presently she tacked about and lost vs, bearing toward that Iland also.

Doctor *Bohune* and seuen others slaine out-right.

Wee lost Doctor *Bohune*, and seuen other were slaine out-right: two died shortly after of their wounds, and sixteene were shot through in some part or other of the bodie, whose wounds Gods be thanked were recured and without mayme or further impeachment of health are now recouered and settled in *Virginia*, according to our first entended purpose and Commission: I reckon not such as are hurt with Pikes and other offensiue Weapons, because there was no danger in their cures, and the skilfull Surgeon shewed his art and good speed with facilitie. How

Spanish losse.

many they lost wee cannot tell, nor what men of name were entertayned amongst them, onely I am sure we saw many lie slaine on the Decke, and more cast ouer-boord in the fight, besides the Scuppers ran with bloud, and the very Sea in their quarter was coloured with a Scarlet hue, and looked fearfully vpon vs all.

Spanish ships described.

The burthen of their Admirall was three hundred tunnes, hauing two and twentie Peeces of Brasse, and all prouision of a man of Warre indeed: their Vice-Admirall three hundred tuns, and sixteene cast Peeces, nor much inferiour to her for trimming and correspondent Equipage, and both to outward shew ouer-masterfull and daring for one poore Merchant and Passenger, being but a hundred and sixtie tunnes, hauing eight Iron Peeces and one Falcon, ouer-loaden with Stuffe and Wares, encombred with Passengers, toyled with a storme, tyred with a long Voyage, affrighted with wants, and euery way insufficient to answere any such enemie: but as it in the Scripture, it is all one to thee, O God, whether there be few or many, and *Gedeons* three hundred shall slay many thousands of the *Midianites*; as for deliuerances, the people of *Israell* shall passe through the Red Sea dry foot: *Ionas* shall bee cast safe on shoare out of the Whales belly: and *Paul* shall escape shipwracke, sauing his life with all his Passengers in the Iland of *Malta*.

For to conclude with the purpose in hand, there is one thing most remarkable as an inducement to this our deliuerance, that Captaine *Chester* embraced Doctor *Bohune* beeing mortally wounded, and thus recomforted him, saying, *O Doctor* Bohune *what a disaster is this*; the Noble Doctor no whit exanimated, replyed; *Fight it out braue man, the cause is good, and Lord receiue my soule.*

A Sea Fight.

Slaine out right. Doctor *Bohune*. *Thomas Demeter* Gentleman. *Th. Read. William Garret. Th. Vernam. Gabriel Peres. Dauid Bathering. Raph. &c.* Died after. *Francis Annis* Gentleman. *Ed. Nerobery* Sayler. Wounded yet cured. *William Bird* Gentleman. *Alexander Bementine. William Bannington* Gentleman. *William Ioyce* Quarter Master. *Iohn Wakings. Iohn Wilson* Sayler. *George Tayler* Sayler. *William Lucas* Sayler. *Iohn Robbins* Steward. *Phillip Durwine.* Three *Frenchmen. Robert Letter. Anthony Browne* Gentleman.

CHAP. XV.

Virginian *affaires since the yeere* 1620. *till this present* 1624.

§. I.

A note of the shipping, men, and prouisions sent and prouided for Virginia, *by the Right Honourable* HENRY *Earle of* South-hampton, *and the Company, and other priuate Aduenturers, in the yeere* 1621. *&c. with other Occurrents then published by the Company.*

SHIPS AND PEOPLE.

1 THe *Elianor* 30. tun: in May 1621. with 10. persons.
2 The *George* 180. tun: in Iuly 120.
3 The *Charles* 120. tunne: in Iuly 80.
4 The *Marmaduke* 100. tun: in Iuly 80.
5 The *Temperance* 80. tun: in Iuly 50.
6 The *Warwicke* 160. tun: in August 100.
7 The *Tigre* 40. tun: in August 40.
8 The *Sea-flowre* 140. tun: in August 120.
9 The *Flying Hart* 200. tun: in August 60. Men, and 40. Cattell.
10 The *Discouerie* 60. tun: in Nouember 20.
11 The *Bona Nona* 200. tun: in Noumber 50.
12 The *Hope-well* 60. tun: in Nouember 20.
13 The *God-speed* 150. tun: in Aprill 1622. 100.
14 The *Gift of God* 140. tun: in Aprill 100.
15 The *Prime-Rose* 80. tun: in Aprill 60.
16 The *Charitie* 80. tun: in Aprill 30.
17 The *Bonauenture* 50. tun: in Aprill 10.
18 The *White Lion* 180. tun: in May 40 Men, 40. Cattell.
19 The *Furtherance* 180. tun: in May 80. men.
20 The *Margaret* and *Iohn* 160. tun: in May 80.
21 The *Iames* 120. tun: in May 80.

Summe of the persons, 1300. Cattell 80.

Sent also to the Summer Ilands *by that Company.*

22 The *Ioseph* 150. tun: in May 1621. 100. persons.
23 The *Iames* 120. tun: in Iuly 80.
24 The *Concord* 180. tun: in August 70.

Persons 250.

So there is foure and twentie Sayle of ships, with fiue hundred Mariners in them imployed to these Plantations in this yeere.

Besides, there are now prouiding seuerall ships in diuers parts of this Kingdome to transport to the Plantations aboue fiue hundred persons.

And for the benefit of the Plantations these things following haue beene here done this yeere.

Sixteene persons and others haue beene prouided and sent for the making of Beads for trade in the Countrie with the Natiues, and for making Glasse of all sorts. Beads.

Seuen and fiftie young Maides haue beene sent to make wiues for the Planters, diuers of which were well married before the comming away of the Ships. Maids.

A Magazine hath beene sent of all necessaries for the Colonie, to the value of two thousand pound, besides all priuate mens sending goods, which was very ample, Trade being set open for all his Maiesties Subiects. Magazine.

A ship called the *Discouerie*, hath beene set out for the rich Trade of Furres, which both the *French* and *Hollanders* haue yeerely within our Precincts, and within fiftie leagues of vs. Furre-trade.

Fiue and twentie persons for the building of Boats, Pinnasses and Ships, for the necessarie vse of the Colonie for fishing, Trade, and Discouerie, &c. Boat-builders.

Seuen persons sent for planting the thousand Acres of Land giuen to the East *Indie* Schoole. East *Indie* Schoole.

Other Occurents of Note.

The Gouernours arriuall in *Virginia*, at the end of the last Summer, with nine ships, and neere seuen hundred people, all safely, and in good health. The admirable deliuerance of diuers ships; and namely, of the *Tiger*, which beeing driuen strangely neere two hundred leagues out of her course, fell into the *Turkes* hands, and yet came saue to *Virginia*.

Master

Iron. Master *Berkleyes* Letters assure vs, that there is not a more fit place for Iron-workes then in *Virginia*, both for Wood, Water, Mynes, and Stone: and that by Whitsontide next, wee may relie vpon Iron made by him.

Cotton. The Plants of Cotton-wooll trees that came out of the West *Indies*, prosper exceeding well, and the Cotton-wooll-seeds from the *Mogols* Countrie come vp, and grow: Samples of it they haue sent; and this Commoditie they hope this yeere to bring to a good perfection and quantitie.

Indico. The Indico Seed thriues well, but they yet want knowledge how to cure it.

Vines. Our *Frenchmen* assure vs that no Countrie in the World is more proper for Vines, Silke, Oliues, Rice, &c. then *Virginia*, and that it excelleth their owne Countrey. The Vines beeing in abundance naturally ouer all the Countrey: a taste of which Wine they haue alreadie sent vs, with hope the next yeere to send vs a good quantitie.

Silke and Mulberies. There bee Mulberie trees in wonderfull abundance, and much excelling both in goodnesse and greatnesse those of their Countrey of *Languedocke*. To the full perfecting of both which rich Commodities of Wine and Silke, there wanteth nothing but hands. And of the Mulberies may bee made also good wholesome Wine for the people there.

Plum-drinke. And of a certaine Plumme in the Countrey, they haue made good drinke.

Salt-workes. Salt-workes are erecting (the proper place being now found, as the *Rochseller* doth certifie vs) whereby many ships will transport people at easier rates hereafter, finding Salt there to furnish them for the great and profitable fishings vpon that Coast, whither twentie sayle of ships went this last yeere out of the Westerne parts of *England*, besides the ships formerly mentioned.

New Discouerties by M. *Pory*. Master *John Porie* hath of late made a Discouerie into the great Bay Northward (yet at the bottome of it he was not, reserving it to a second Voyage) where are now setled neere one hundred *English* very happily, with hope of a good Trade of Furres there to bee had. And *Terra Lemnia* was sent vs from thence, which is found as good as that of *Turkey*, and is in great abundance to be had.

In February last he likewise discouered to the South Riuer, some sixtie miles ouer Land from vs, a very fruitfull and pleasant Countrey, full of Riuers, wherein are two Haruests in one yeere (the great King giuing him friendly entertainment, and desirous to make a league with vs) hee found also there in great quantitie of the same Silke-grasse (as appeareth by the samples sent vs) whereof Master *Heriot* in his Booke 1587. makes relation, who then brought home some of it, with which a piece of Grogeran was made, and giuen to Queene *Elizabeth*, and some heere who haue liued in the East *Indies* affirme, that they make all their *Cambaya* Stuffes of this, and Cotton-wooll. Also in his passage by Land, Master *Pory* discouered a Countrey full of Pine-trees, aboue twentie miles long, whereby a great abundance of Pitch and Tarre may bee made: and other sorts of woods there were, fit for Pot-ashes and Sope-ashes.

Copper Mine. The *Indians* haue made relation of a Copper Myne, that is not farre from thence, how they gather it, and the strange making of it: a piece whereof was sent home, being found (after trial) very excellent metall. Some of the *English* haue made relation of a *China* Boxe seene at one of the Kings Houses, who declared, that it was sent him from the West, by a King that dwels ouer the great Hils, whose Countrey is neere the Sea, he hauing that Boxe from a people as hee said, that come thither in ships, and weare clothes, and dwell in Houses, and are called *Acanack-china*. And he offered our people that he would send his Brother along with them to that King: which the Gouernour purposeth not to refuse, hoping thereby to discouer the *South Sea*, so long talked of.

Summer Iland Plants. A small ship comming in December last from the *Summer-Ilands*, to *Virginia*, brought thither from thence these Plants, *viz.* Vines of all sorts, Orange and Leman trees, Sugar Canes, Cassado Roots (that make bread) Pines, Plantans, Potatoes, and sundry other *Indian* fruits and plants, not formerly seene in *Virginia*, which begin to prosper very well.

Gifts.

The Gentlemen and Mariners that came in the Royall *Iames*, from the East *Indies* (beeing at Cape *Bona Speranza* homeward bound) gaue towards the building of a Free Schoole in *Virginia*, to be called the East *Indie* Schoole, the summe of seuentie pound eight shillings six pence.

Towards the furtherance of the said East *India* Schoole, an vnknowne person hath added the summe of thirtie pound.

A person refusing to be made knowne, hath giuen the summe of fortie shillings a yeere for euer, for a Sermon, before the *Virginia* Company thirtie pounds.

At a Quarter Court held the thirtieth of Ianuary 1621. by a person not willing as yet to bee knowne, was sent in Gold to helpe forward the East *Indie* Schoole, fiue and twentie pounds.

At the same Quarter Court, a small Bible, with a couer richly wrought; a great Church Bible; Bookes of Common Prayer; and other Books were presented to be sent to *Virginia*, in the name of a person who had the yeere before sent, for the vse of the Colledge at *Henrico*, diuers Bookes, and an exact Map of *America*; the Giuer is not knowne, but the Bookes are valued at tenne pound.

Giuen

Giuen by Master *Thomas Bargraue*, Preacher in *Virginia* deceassed, for the vse of the Colledge, a Library valued at a hundred Markes.

And there is a contribution made by the Inhabitants in *Virginia*, for the building of an house of entertainment for new commers at *Iames* Citie, amounting to the value of fifteene hundred pounds.

Patents granted this yeere.

1 To the Ladie *Dale*.
2 To Sir *Dudly Digges*.
3 To Sir *Iohn Bourchier*.
4 To Captaine *Ralph Hamer*.
5 To Master *Arthur Swayne*, &c.
6 To Master *Rowland Truelone*, &c.
7 To Master *Iohn Crowe*.
8 To Master *Edward Rider*.
9 To Captaine *Simon Leeke*.
10 To Master *Daniell Gookin*.
11 To Master *Edward Bennet*.
12 To Master *Ioseph Leming*.
13 To Sir *Charles North*.
14 To Sir *George Yeardly*.
15 To Master *Thomas Leueson*.
16 To Captaine *William Wilden*.
17 To Master *Henry Southey*.
18 To *Martins* Hundred.
19 To Master *Robert Mosson*.
20 To Master *Edmund Wynne*.
21 To Captaine *Henry Pelham*, &c.
22 To Captaine *Daniell Tucker*.
23 To Sir *Bowyer Worsly*.
24 To Master *Thomas Buckley*.
25 To Master *Francis Harwell*.
26 To Sir *Iohn Brooke*.

Who together with their Associates, haue vndertaken to transport great multitudes of people and cattle to *Virginia*.

§. II.

Newes from Virginia *in Letters sent thence* 1621. *partly published by the Company, partly transcribed from the Originals, with Letters of his Maiestie, and of the Company touching Silke-workes.*

IN the three last yeeres of 1619. 1620. and 1621. there hath beene prouided and sent for *Virginia* two and fortie Saile of ships, three thousand fiue hundred and seuentie men and women for Plantation, with requisite prouisions, besides store of Cattle, and in those ships haue beene aboue twelue hundred Mariners imployed: There hath also beene sent in those yeeres nine ships to the *Summer Ilands* with about nine hundred people to inhabit there, in which ships two hundred and fortie Mariners were imployed. In which space haue beene granted fifty Patents to particular persons, for Plantation in *Virginia*, who with their Associates haue vndertaken therein to transport great multitudes of people and cattell thither, which for the most part is since performed, and the residue now in preparing, as by the seuerall Declarations of each yeere in their particulars, (manifested and approoued in our generall and publike Quarter-Courts) and for the fuller satisfaction of all desireus to vnderstand the particularities of such proceedings, hath beene by printing commended to the vnderstanding of all.

3570. people sent to *Virginia* in the three last yeeres 42. Saile of ships, 1200. Mariners imployed. 1500. To the *Summer Ilands*. Nine ships, & 240. Mariners imployed.

Sir *Francis Wiat* was sent Gouernour into *Virginia*, who arriued there in Nouember 1621. with Master *George Sandys* Treasurer, Master *Danison* Secretarie, &c. In the nine ships sent in that Fleet died but one Passenger of seuen hundred, in whose roome there was another also borne at Sea. Their prouisions were not found so well conditioned as was expected. The Sailers are still blamed for imbezelling the goods sent to priuate persons, for killing of Swine, inordinate trucking &c. It was ordained that for euery head they should plant but a thousand plants of Tobacco (and for the better strength not to suffer aboue nine leaues to grow on each plant) which will make about a hundred weight.

Master *Gookin* arriued also out of *Ireland* with fiftie men of his owne, and thirtie Passengers well furnished. The present gaine by Tobacco, had made the planting of Corne to be neglected: and some thinke that if Corne might there be valued (not at two shillings sixe pence the bushell) as deere as that which is brought from hence, there would be lesse feare of famine, or dependance on Tobacco.

The Letters written from the Gouernour and Treasurer in *Virginia* in the beginning of March last, (which came hither in Aprill) gaue assurance of ouercomming and bringing to perfection in this yeere, the Iron-workes, Glasse-workes, Salt-workes, the plentifull sowing of all sorts of *English* graine with the Plough, hauing now cleered good quantitie of ground; setting of store of *Indian* Corne or Maiz, sufficient for our selues, and for trucke with the Natiues; restraint of the quantitie of Tobacco, and amendment of it in the qualitie, learned by time and experience; The planting of Vines and Mulberie trees neere to their Houses, Figge-trees, Pomegranates, Potatoes, and Cotton-wooll Seeds, Pocoon, Indico, Sugar Canes, Madder, Woade, Hempe, Flaxe, and

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and Silke-graſſe; and for the erecting of a faire Inne in *Iames* Citie for the better entertainment of new commers, whereto and to other publike workes, euery old Planter there offered freely and liberally to contribute. I write the words of their Letters. And how in a late Diſcouerie made, a few moneths before by ſome of them to the Southward, they had paſt thorow great Forreſts of Pines, fifteene or ſixteene miles broad, and aboue threeſcore miles long, very fit for Maſts for ſhipping, and for Pitch and Tarre, and of other ſorts of woods fit for Pot-aſhes and Sope-aſhes, and came vnto a moſt fruitfull Countrey, bleſſed with abundance of Corne, reaped twice a yeere (within the limits of *Virginia*) where alſo they vnderſtand of a Copper Myne, an eſſay whereof was ſent, and vpon triall here found to be very rich; and met with a great deale of Silke-graſſe there growing, which monethly may be cut, of which kinds, and Cotton-wooll, all the *Cambaya* and *Bengala* Stuffes are made in the Eaſt *Indies*: and of which kindes of Silke-graſſe was heretofore made a piece of Grogeram giuen to Queene *Elizabeth*. And how that in December laſt they had planted and cultiuated in *Virginia* Vines of all (as well thoſe naturally growing, as thoſe other Plants ſent them from theſe parts of *Europe*) Orenge and Lemon-trees, Fig-trees, Sugar Canes, Cotton-wooll, Caſſaui Roots (that make very good bread) Plantanes, Potatoes, and ſundry other *Indian* fruits and Plants not formerly ſeene in *Virginia*, which at the time of their ſaid Letters began to proſper very well: as alſo their Indico Seed, for the true cure whereof there is lately cauſed a Treatiſe to be written.

Forreſt of Pines.

M. *Hariot* in his Booke of *Virginia*, *A.* 1585.

Vines planted.

Furthermore, they write that in a Voyage made by Lieutenant *Marmaduke Parkinſon*, and other *Engliſh* Gentlemen, vp the Riuer of *Patomacke* they ſaw a *China* Boxe at one of the Kings Houſes where they were. This Boxe or Casket was made of braided Palmito, painted without, and lined in the inſide with blue Taffata after the *China* or Eaſt *India* faſhion. They enquiring whence it came, the King of *Patomecke* ſaid, it was preſented him by a certaine people of the Mountaines toward the South-weſt, who got it from another Nation beyond them ſome thirtie dayes iournie from *Patomacke*, called *Acana Echinac*, beeing of ſmall ſtature, who had Houſes, Apparell, and Houſhold ſtuffe like vs, and liuing within foure dayes iourney of the Sea, had ſhips come into their Riuer: and he his Brother along with them to that King, which offer the Gouernour purpoſed not to refuſe; and the rather, by reaſon of the continuall conſtant relations of all thoſe Sauages in *Virginia*, of a Sea, and the way to it Weſt, they affirming that the heads of all thoſe ſeuen goodly Riuers (the leaſt whereof is greater then the Riuer of *Thames*, and Nauigable aboue an hundred and fiftie miles, and not aboue ſixe or eight miles one from another) which fall all into one great Bay, haue their riſing out of a ridge of Hils, that runnes all along South and North: whereby they doubt not but to find a ſafe, eaſie, and good paſſage to the South Sea, part by water, and part by Land, eſteeming it not aboue an hundred and fiftie miles from the head of the *Falls*, where we are now planted; the Diſcouerie whereof will bring forth a moſt rich Trade to *Cathay*, *China*, *Iapan*, and thoſe other of the Eaſt *Indies*, to the ineſtimable benefit of this Kingdome.

Note. A *China* Boxe ſeene with the Sauages.

Moreouer, the Letters of Maſter *Iohn Berkley*, ſometimes of *Beuerſtone* Caſtle in the Countie of *Gloceſter*, (a Gentleman of an Honourable Family) likewiſe certifie, that a more fit place for Iron-workes (whereof he was made Maſter and Ouer-ſeer) then in *Virginia*, both for Wood, Water, Mynes, and Stone, was not to be found: And that by Whitſontide the Company might relye vpon good quantities of Iron made by him: which alſo by Letters from Maſter *George Sandys* the third of March laſt, was confirmed, with this farther deſcription of the place (called *The falling Creeke*) to be ſo fitting for that purpoſe, as if Nature had applyed her ſelfe to the wiſh and direction of the Workman: where alſo were great ſtones hardly ſeene elſe-where in *Virginia*, laying on the place, as though they had beene brought thither to aduance the erection of thoſe Workes.

M. *Berkley*.

M. *G. Sandys*.

The Letters of the *French* Vignerons or Vine-men, procured out of *France*, and ſent ouer into *Virginia*, did likewiſe aſſertaine, that no Countrey in the World was more proper for Vines, Silke, Rice, Oliues, and other fruits, then *Virginia* is: and that it far excelled their owne Countrie of *Languedocke*; the Vines of diuers ſorts being in abundance naturally ouer all the Countrey. They ſcarſly beleeued thoſe fruits to be Grapes till they had opened them and ſeene their kernels; ſuch was their bigneſſe. They are in loue with the Countrey, and hauing planted ſome cuttings of Vines at *Michaelmas* laſt, in their Letters affirme that theſe bare Grapes alreadie this Spring to their great wonder, as being a thing they ſuppoſe not heard off in any other Countrie. A taſte of Wine made of the wilde Grape, they laſt yeere ſent, with hope to ſend a good quantitie this next Vintage; and that the Mulbery trees, where they abode were in wonderfull abundance, and much excelling both in goodneſſe and greatneſſe thoſe of their owne Countrey of *Languedocke*: and that thoſe Silke-wormes they haue, proſper exceeding well, and ſome Silke they hope to ſend this yeere, there wanting nothing to ſet vp that rich Commoditie but ſtore of hands wherewith *England* doth abound. Of the fruit of which Mulbery trees (as of a Plumme there plentifully growing) they would make wholſome Drinkes for the Colonie and people there.

French Vignerons.

Mulberies.

Opechankanough doted on a houſe which the *Engliſh* had built for him of our faſhion: hee dwel-

dwelled therein, shewed it to his owne people and strangers with pride, keeping his Keyes charily, and busying himselfe with locking and vnlocking the doores, sometimes a hundred times in a day, admiring the strangenesse of that Engine, a Locke and Key. Hee gaue the *English* leaue to seate themselues any where on his Riuers where the Natiues are not actually seated, and entred into further couenants of amity, for reciprocall defence, mutuall transportation, discouery of mines, &c. They report also of Copper Peeces presented to *Opechank*: which Copper is gathered at the foote of the Mountaines, where they digge a hole in the ground, in which they put the oare, and make thereon a great fire; which causeth it to runne into a masse, and become malleable: neither haue they any tooles, but smooth stones for that purpose. This seemed strange to ours which heard the *English* Copper passeth eleuen fires.

His Maiesties gracious Letter to the Earle of *South-hampton*, Treasurer, and to the Counsell and Company of *Virginia* here: commanding the present setting vp of Silke workes, and planting of Vines in *Virginia*.

Right trusty and welbeloued, We greete you well: whereas We vnderstand, that the Soyle in Virginia *naturally yeeldeth store of excellent Mulberry trees, We haue taken into Our Princely consideration, the great benefit that may grow to the Aduenturers and Planters, by the breede of Silkewormes, and setting vp of Silkeworkes in those parts. And therefore of Our gracious Inclination to a designe of so much honour and aduantage to the publike, We haue thought good, as at sundry other times, so now more particularly to recommend it to your speciall care, hereby charging and requiring you to take speedy order, that our people there, vse all possible diligence in breeding Silkewormes, and erecting Silkeworkes, and that they rather bestow their trauell in compassing this rich and solid Commodity, then in that of Tobacco; which besides much vnnecessary expence, brings with it many disorders and inconueniences. And for as much as Our seruant,* John Bonoell *hath taken paines in setting downe the true vse of the Silkeworme, together with the Art of Silkemaking, and of planting Vines, and that his experience and abilities may much conduce to the aduancement of this businesse; We doe hereby likewise require you to cause his directions, both for the said Silkeworkes and Vineyards, to be carefully put in practice thorowout our Plantations there, that so the worke may goe on cheerefully, and receiue no more interruptions nor delayes.*

Giuen vnder Our Signet, at our Pallace of Westminster, the ninth day of Iuly, in the twentieth yeare of our Raigne of England, France and Ireland, and of Scotland the fiue and fiftieth.

To Our right trusty and right welbeloued Cousin and Councellour, HENRY, *Earle of Southhampton, Treasurer of our Plantation in* Virginia, *and to Our trusty and welbeloued, the Deputy, and others of Our said Plantation.*
Virginia.

WINDEBANK.

The Treasurour, Counsell and Company of *Virginia*, to the Gouernour and Counsell of State in *Virginia* residing.

After our very harty commendations: His Sacred Maiesty, out of his high wisedome and care of the noble Plantation of Virginia, *hath beene graciously pleased to direct his Letters to vs here in* England, *thereby commanding vs to aduance the setting vp of* Silkworkes, *and planting of* Vineyards; *as by the Copy herewith sent, you may perceiue.*

The intimation of his Maiesties pleasure, we conceiue to be a motiue sufficient, to induce you to imploy all your indeuors to the setting forward these two Staple Commodities of Silke *and* Wine; *which brought to their perfection, will infinitely redound to the honour, benefit, and comfort of the Colony, and of this whole Kingdome: yet we, in discharge of our duties, doe againe renew our often and iterated Instructions, and inuite you cheerefully, to fall vpon these two so rich, and necessary Commodities. And if you shall finde any person, either through negligence or wilfulnesse, to omit the planting of* Vines, *and* Mulberry trees, *in orderly and husbandly manner, as by the Booke is prescribed, or the prouiding of conuenient roomes for the breeding of* Wormes; *we desire they may by seuere censures and punishment, be compelled thereunto. And on the contrary, that all fauour and possible assistance be giuen to such as yeelde willing obedience to his* Highnesse *Commands therein. The breach or performance whereof, as we are bound to giue a strict account, so will it also be required of you the* Gouernour *and* Counsell *especially. Herein there can be no Plea, either of difficulty or impossibilty; but all the contrary appeares, by the naturall a-*

bundance

abundance of those two excellent Plants afore-named euery where in Virginia: *neither will such excuses be admitted, nor any other pretences serue, whereby the businesse be at all delayed: and as wee formerly sent at our great charge the* French Vignerons *to you, to teach you their Art; so for the same purpose we now commend this Booke vnto you, to serue as an Instructour to euery one, and send you store of them to be dispersed euer the whole Colony, to euery Master of a Family one; Silke-seede you shall receiue also by this Ship, sufficient to store euery man: so that there wants nothing, but industry in the Planter, suddenly to bring the making of* Silke *to its perfection: which either for their owne benefit (we hope) they will willingly indeuour, or by a wholesome and necessary seuerity they must be inforced.*

The Booke is printed, containing many good rules both for Silkworks, Vines & other husbandry; but too long here to be inserted.

This particular aduice we thought necessary to giue you; lest that if it should haue come to you mingled with others, you would haue interpreted it as a common Instruction, or a businesse that was not taken so to heart, as this by vs, and we hope will be by you in humble obedience to his Sacred Maiesties Royall Instructions. The paines and industry of the Authour, for the benefit of the Plantations (being a member of our Company) are sufficient arguments of his good affection to the Action, and they both deserue your best acceptance and ours, that others may thereby be inuited to impart their knowledge in businesse of this and the like nature; whereby the Colony may not onely be supported for the present, but brought to that perfection, that may redound to the glory of God, the honour of his Maiestie, and the inestimable benefit of his noble Kingdomes; which as they are the true aime and end the Aduenturers and Planters haue proposed vnto themselues, so ought they to be still the honorable seedes to put others also forward in this action: we commend this businesse againe to your speciall care. And so we commit you all, and your waighty affaires, to the protection of the Almighty.

HENRY Southampton.

§. III.

The barbarous Massacre committed by the Sauages *on the* English-*Planters, March the two and twentieth,* 1621. *after the* English *accompt.*

THe last May there came Letters from Sir *Francis Wiat* Gouernour in *Virginia*, which did aduertise that when in Nouember last he arriued in *Virginia*, and entred vpon his Gouernment, he found the Country setled in a peace (as all men there thought) sure and vnuiolable, not onely because it was solemnly ratified and sworne, and at the request of the Natiue King stamped in Brasse, and fixed to one of his Oakes of note, but as being aduantagious to both parts; to the Sauages as the weaker, vnder which they were safely sheltred and defended; to vs, as being the easiest way then thought to pursue and aduance our proiects, or buildings, plantings, and effecting their conuersion by peaceable and faire meanes. And such was the conceit of firme peace and amity, as that there was seldome or neuer a Sword worne, and a Peece seldomer, except for a Deere or Fowle. By which assurance of security, the Plantations of particular Aduenturers and Planters were placed scatteringly and straglingly as a choyce veine of rich ground inuited them, and the further from neighbours held the better. The houses generally set open to the Sauages, who were alwayes friendly entertained at the table of the *English*, and commonly lodged in their Bed-chambers. The old Planters (as they thought now come to reape the benefit of their long trauels) placed with wonderfull content vpon their priuate diuidends, and the planting of particular Hundreds and Colonies pursued with an hopefull alacrity, all our proiects (saith he) in a faire way, and their familiarity with the Natiues, seeming to open a faire gate for their conuersion to *Christianity*.

Hasty security.

Opachankanoes dissimulation occasioned by *English* security

The Country being in this estate, an occasion was ministred of sending to *Opachankano* the King of these Sauages, about the middle of March last, what time the Messenger returned backe with these words from him, *That he held the peace concluded so firme, as the Skie should sooner fall then it dissolued*: yea, such was the treacherous dissimulation of that people, who then had contriued our destruction, that euen two dayes before the massacre, some of our men were guided thorow the woods by them in safety: and one *Browne*, who then to learne the language liued among the *Warrascoyacks* (a Prouince of that King) was in friendly manner sent backe by them to Captaine *Hamor* his Master, and many the like passages, rather increasing our former confidence, then any wise in the world ministring the least suspition of the breach of the peace, or of what instantly ensued; yea, they borrowed our owne Boats to conuey themselues crosse the Riuer (on the bankes of both sides whereof all our Plantations were) to consult of the diuelliſh murder that ensued, and of our vtter extirpation, which God of his mercy (by the meanes of some of themselues conuerted to Christianity) preuented: and as well on the Friday morning (the fatall day) the two and twentieth of March, as also in the euening, as in other dayes before, they came vnarmed into our houses, without Bowes or Arrowes, or other weapons, with Deere, Turkies, Fish, Furres, and

and other prouiſions, to ſell and trucke with vs for Glaſſe Beades, and other trifles: yea, in ſome places, ſat downe at Breakfaſt with our people at their tables, whom immediately with their owne tooles and weapons, either laid downe, or ſtanding in their houſes, they baſely and barbarouſly murthered, not ſparing either age or ſexe, man, woman or childe; ſo ſodaine in their cruell execution, that few or none diſcerned the weapon or blow that brought them to deſtruction. In which manner they alſo ſlew many of our people then at their ſeuerall workes and husbandries in the fields, and without their houſes, ſome in planting Corne and Tobacco, ſome in gardening, ſome in making Bricke, building, ſawing, and other kindes of husbandry, they well knowing in what places and quarters each of our men were, in regard of their daily familiarity, and resort to vs for trading and other negotiations, which the more willingly was by vs continued and cheriſhed for the deſire we had of effecting that great maſter-peece of workes, their conuerſion. And by this meanes that fatall Friday morning, there fell vnder the bloudy and barbarous hands of that perfidious and inhumane people, contrary to all lawes of God and Men, of Nature and Nations, three hundred and forty ſeuen men, women, and children, moſt by their owne weapons; and not being content with taking away life alone, they fell after againe vpon the dead, making as well as they could a freſh murder, defacing, dragging, and mangling the dead carkaſſes into many peeces, and carrying ſome parts away in deriſion, with baſe and bruitiſh triumph. Neither yet did theſe Beaſts ſpare thoſe amongſt the reſt well knowne vnto them, from whom they had daily receiued many benefits and fauours, but ſpitefully alſo maſſacred them.

347. ſlaine and baſely murthered, ſome think more.

One inſtance of it, amongſt too many ſhall ſerue for all.

That worthy religious Gentleman, Maſter *George Thorpe* Eſquire, Deputie of the Colledge lands, ſometimes one of his Maieſties Penſioners, and in one of the principall places of command in *Virginia*, did ſo truely and earneſtly affect their conuerſion, and was ſo tender ouer them, that whoſoeuer vnder his authority had giuen them but the leaſt diſpleaſure or diſcontent, hee puniſhed them ſeuerely. He thought nothing too deare for them, and as being deſirous to binde them vnto him by his many courteſies, he neuer denied them any thing that they asked him, inſomuch that when theſe *Sauages* complained vnto him of the fierceneſſe of our Maſtiues, moſt implacable and terrible vnto them (knowing them by inſtinct it ſeemes, to be but treacherous and falſe-hearted friends to vs, better then our ſelues) he to gratifie them in all things, for the winning of them by degrees, cauſed ſome of them to be killed in their preſence, to the great diſpleaſure of the owners, and would haue all the reſt guelt (had he not beene hindered) to make them the gentler and the milder to them. Hee was not onely too kinde and beneficiall to the common ſort, but alſo to their King, to whom he oft reſorted, and gaue many preſents which he knew to be highly pleaſing to him. And whereas this King before dwelt onely in a Cottage, or rather a denne or Hog-ſtye, made with a few poles and ſtickes, and couered with Mats after their wilde manner: to ciuilize him, he firſt built him a faire Houſe, according to the *Engliſh* faſhion, in which (as before is ſaid) he tooke ſuch ioy, eſpecially in his Locke and Key, which hee ſo admired, as locking and vnlocking his doore an hundred times a day, he thought no deuice in all the world was comparable to it.

He had written letters the yeare before, May 17 teſtifying the plentiful comming vp of the Cotten ſeede, &c. attributing the ill ſucceſſe of things, to the not ſeeking of Gods glory in conuerting the Natiues, which he ſaid were peaceable, & wanted but meanes (*indeed to murther them, which this conceit procured*) Sure binde, ſure find

Thus inſinuating himſelfe to this King for his Religious purpoſes, he conferred after with him oft, and intimated to him matters of our Religion; and thus farre the *Pagan* confeſſed, moued by naturall Principles, that our God was a good God, and better much then theirs, in that hee had with ſo many good things aboue them endowed vs. He told him, if he would ſerue our God, he ſhould be partaker of all thoſe good things we had, and of farre greater then ſence or reaſon euer could imagine. He won vpon him, as he thought in many things, ſo as hee gaue him faire hearing and good anſwer, and ſeemed to be much pleaſed with his diſcourſe, and in his companie. And both he and his people for the daily courteſies this good Gentleman did to one or other of them, did profeſſe ſuch outward loue and reſpect vnto him, as nothing could ſeeme more: but all was little regarded after by this Viperous brood, as the ſequell ſhewed: for they not onely wilfully murdered him, but cruelly and felly, out of a diuelliſh malice, did ſo many barbarous deſpights and foule ſcornes after to his dead corps, as are vnbefitting to be heard by any ciuill eare. One thing I cannot omit, that when this good Gentleman, vpon his fatall houre, was warned by his man (who perceiued ſome treachery intended to them by theſe hell-hounds) to looke to himſelfe, and withall ran away for feare of the miſchiefe he ſtrongly apprehended, and ſo ſaued his owne life; yet his Maſter, out of the conſcience of his owne good meaning, and faire deſerts euer towards them, was ſo voide of all ſuſpition, and ſo full of confidence, that they had ſooner killed him, then he could or would beleeue they meant any ill againſt him.

Pitty ſuch an *Abel* ſhould be ſo *Kain*deceiued.

At the time of this Maſſacre there were three or foure of our Ships in *Iames* Riuer, and one in the next Riuer, and daily more to come in, as three did within foureteene daies after; one of which they endeuoured to haue ſurpriſed, but in vaine, as had alſo beene their whole attempt, had any the leaſt fore-knowledge beene in thoſe places where the Maſſacre was committed: yet were the hearts of the *Engliſh* euer ſtupid, and auerted from beleeuing any thing that might weaken their hopes of ſpeedy winning the Sauages to Ciuilitie and Religion, by kinde vſage and faire conuerſing amongſt them. Hee, and the whole Counſell writ further, That Almighty God

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(they doubt not) hath his great worke to doe in this Tragedy, and will thereout draw honour and glory to his great Name; ſafety, and a more flouriſhing eſtate to themſelues, and the whole Plantation there; and the more ſpeedy conuerſion of the Children of thoſe Sauages to himſelfe, ſince he ſo miraculouſly preſerued ſo many of the *Engliſh*, whoſe deſire to draw thoſe people to Religion, by the careleſſe neglect of their owne ſafeties, ſeemes to haue beene the greateſt cauſe of their owne enſuing deſtruction. Yet it pleaſed God to vſe ſome of them as inſtruments to ſaue many of their liues, whoſe ſoules they had formerly ſaued, as at *Iames* Citie, and other places, and the Pinnace trading in *Pamounkey* Riuer; all whoſe liues were ſaued by a conuerted *Indian*, diſcloſing the plot in the inſtant.

Conuerted *Indian*.

Manner of the Sauages life.

Theſe wilde naked Natiues liue not in great numbers together, but diſperſed, and in ſmall companies; and where moſt together, not aboue two hundred, and that very rare, in other places fifty or forty, or thereabouts, and many miles diſtant from one another, in ſuch places among the Woods where they either found, or might eaſelieſt make ſome cleared plots of ground, which they imploy wholly in ſetting of Corne, whereby to ſuſtaine their liues. Theſe ſmall and ſcattered Companies (as I haue ſaid) had warning giuen from one another in all their habitations to meete at the day and houre appointed for our deſtruction, at all our ſeuerall Townes and places ſeated vpon the Riuer; ſome were directed to goe to one place, ſome to another, all to be done at the ſame day and time, which they did accordingly: ſome entring their Houſes vnder colour of trucking, and ſo taking aduantage, others drawing our men abroad vpon faire pretences, and the reſt ſuddenly falling vpon thoſe that were at their labours.

By Letters and thoſe that returned it is certified, that beſides Maſter *George Thorpe*, before mentioned, Maſter *Iohn Berkeley*, Captaine *Nathaniel Pomel*, and his wife (daughter of Maſter *William Tracy*, and great with childe) and Captaine *Maycocke*, all Gentlemen of birth, vertue, and induſtry, and of the Councell there, ſuffered vnder this their cruelty and treaſon. That the ſlaughter had beene vniuerſall, if God had not put it into the heart of an *Indian* belonging to one *Perry*, to diſcloſe it, who liuing in the houſe of one *Pace*, was vrged by another *Indian* his brother (who came the night before and lay with him) to kill *Pace* (ſo commanded by their King, as he declared) as he would kill *Perry*: telling further, that by ſuch an houre in the morning, a number would come from diuers places to finiſh the Execution; who failed not at the time: *Perries Indian* role out of his bed and reueales it to *Pace*, that vſed him as a Sonne: And thus the reſt of the Colony that had warning giuen them, by this meanes was ſaued. Such was (God be thanked for it) the good fruit of an Infidell conuerted to Chriſtianity; for though three hundred and more of ours died by many of theſe Pagan Infidels, yet thouſands of ours were ſaued by the meanes of one of them alone which was made a Chriſtian: Bleſſed be God for euer, whoſe mercy endureth for euer; Bleſſed be God whoſe mercy is aboue his iuſtice, and farre aboue all his works; who wrought this deliuerance whereby their ſoules eſcaped euen as a Bird out of the ſnare of the Fowler.

Pace vpon this diſcouery, ſecuring his houſe, before day rowed ouer the Riuer to *Iames* City (in that place neere three miles in bredth) and gaue notice thereof to the Gouernour, by which meanes they were preuented there, and at ſuch other Plantations as was poſſible for a timely intelligence to be giuen; for where they ſaw vs ſtanding vpon our Guard, at the ſight of a Peece they all ranne away. In other places that could haue no notice, ſome Peeces with munition (the vſe whereof they know not) were there carried away, and ſome few Cattell alſo were deſtroyed by them. And as Fame diuulgeth (not without probable grounds) their King hath ſince cauſed the moſt part of the Gunpowder by him ſurprized, to be ſowne, to draw there-from the like increaſe, as of his Maiz or Corne, in Harueſt next. And that it is ſince diſcouered, that the laſt Summer *Opachankano* practiſed with a King of the Eaſterne ſhoare (no well-willer of his) to furniſh him with ſtore of poiſon (naturally growing in his Countrey) for our deſtruction, which hee abſolutely refuſed, though he ſent him great ſtore of Beades, and other Preſents to winne him thereunto: which he, with fiue or ſix of his great men, offered to be ready to iuſtifie againſt him. That the true cauſe of this ſurprize was moſt by the inſtigation of the Diuell (enemy to their ſaluation) and the daily feare that poſſeſt them, that in time wee by our growing continually vpon them, would diſpoſſeſſe them of this Country, as they had beene formerly of the Weſt *Indies* by the *Spaniard*; produced this bloudy act. That neuer griefe and ſhame poſſeſſed any people more then themſelues, to be thus butchered by ſo naked and cowardly a people, who dare not ſtand the preſentment of a ſtaffe in manner of a Peece, nor an vncharged Peece in the hands of a Woman, from which they flye as ſo many Hares; much faſter then from their tormenting Diuell, whom they worſhip for feare, though they acknowledge they loue him not.

Gunpowder ſowne, practiſed before in Captain *Smiths* time.

§. IIII.

A Note of prouisions necessarie for euery Planter or personall Aduenturer to Virginia: *and accidents since the Massacre.*

THe Inconuniences that haue happened to some persons which haue transported themselues from England to Virginia, *without prouisions necessary to sustaine themselues, hath greatly hindered the Progresse of that Noble Plantation: For preuention of the like disorders hereafter, that no man suffer either through ignorance or misinformation; it is thought requisite to publish this short Declaration: wherein is contayned a particular of such necessaries, as either priuate Families or single persons shall haue cause to furnish themselues with, for their better support at their first landing in* Virginia; *whereby also greater numbers may receiue in part, directions how to prouide themselues.*

Apparell for one man and so after the rate for more.

One Monmouth Cap	1.s.10.d.
Three falling bands	1.s.3.d.
Three shirts	7.s.6.d.
One Waste-coate	2.s.2.d.
One sute of Cannase	7.s.6.d.
One sute of Frize	10.s.
One sute of Cloth	15.s.
Three paire of Irish stockins	4.s.
Foure paire of shooes	8.s.8.
One paire of garters	10.
One dozen of points	3.d.
One paire of Cannase sheets	8.s.
Seuen Ells of Cannase, to make a bed and boulster, to be filled in Virginia	8.s.
One Rug for a bed 8.s. *which with the bed serning for two men, halfe is*	8.s.
Fiue Ells coorse Cannase, to make a bed at Sea for two men, to be filled with straw 4.s.	5.s.
One coorse Rug at Sea for two men, will cost 6.s. *is for one.*	4.li.

Victuall for a whole yeere for one man and so for more after the rate.

Eight bushels of Meale	2.li.
Two bushels of Pease at 3.s.	6.s.
Two bushels of Oatmeale 4.s.6.d.	9.s.
One gallon of Aquauitæ	2.s.6.
One gallon of Oyle	3.s.6.d.
Two gallons of Vineger 1.s.	2.s.
	3.li.3.s.

Armes for one man, but if halfe of your men haue Armour it is sufficient, so that all haue Peeces and Swords.

One Armour compleat, light	17.s.
One long Piece, fiue foot or fiue and a halfe, neere Musket bore	1.li.2.s.
One Sword	5.s.
One Belt	1.s.
One Bandaleere	1.s.6.d.
Twentie pound of Powder	18.s.
Sixtie pound of shot or lead, Pistoll and Goose shot	5.s.
	3.li.9.s.6.d.

Tooles for a Family of sixe persons, and so after the rate for more.

Fiue broad howes at 2.s. *a piece*	10.s.
Fiue narrow howes at 16.d. *a piece*	6.s.8.d.
Two broad Axes at 3.s.8.d. *a piece*	7.s.4.d.
Fiue felling Axes at 18.d. *a piece*	7.s.6.d.
Two Steele Hand-sawes at 16.d. *a piece*	2.s.8.d.
Two two-hand-sawes at 5.s. *a piece*	10.s.
One whip-saw, set and filed with boxe, file and wrest	10.s.
Two Hammers 12.d. *a piece*	2.s.
Three shouels 18.d. *a piece*	4.s.6.d.
Two Spades at 18.d. *a piece*	3.s.
Two Augers 6.d. *a piece*	1.s.
Six Chissels 6.d. *a piece*	3.s.
Two percers stocked 4.d. *a piece*	8.d.
Three gimblets 2.d. *a piece*	6.d.
Two hatchets 21.d. *a piece*	3.s.6.d.
Two frowes to cleaue pale 18.d.	3.s.
Two hand bils 20. *a piece*	3.s.4.d.
One Grindlestone 4.s.	4.s.
Nailes of all sorts to the value of	2.li.
Two Pickaxes	3.s.
	6.li.2.s.8.d.

Houshold Implements for a Family of six persons, and so for more or lesse after the rate.

One Iron Pot	7.s.
One Kettle	6.s.
One large frying-pan	2.s.6.d.
One Griddiron	1.s.6.d.
Two Skillets	5.s.
One Spit	2.s.
Platters, dishes, Spoones of wood	4.s.
	1.li.8.s.

For Sugar, Spice, and fruit and at Sea for six men 12.s.6.d.

So the full charge of apparell victuall, armes, tooles, & houshold-stuffe and after this rate for each person, will amount vnto about the sum of 12.l.10.s.

The passage of each man is 6.li.

The fraight of these prouisions for a man, will be about halfe a Tun, which is 1.li.10.s.

So the whole charge wil amount to about 20.l.

Nets, Hookes, Lines, and a Tent must be added if the number of people be greater, as also some Kine.

And this is the vsuall proportion that the Virginia *Company doe bestow vpon their Tenants which they send.*

Whosoeuer transports himselfe or any other at his owne charge vnto *Virginia*, shall for each person so transported before Midsummer 1625. haue to him and his heires for euer fiftie Acres of Land vpon a first, and fiftie Acres vpon a second diuision.

Cap. Iob Smith. M. Porie. Naked breast concealed beast.

Sir *George Yeardly* intending to visit *Smiths* Ile, fell sicke and thereupon sent Master *Porey* with *Estinion Moll* a *Frenchman* to finde a conuenient place to make Salt, in *Namenicus* King of *Pawtuxunt* came and shewed them his naked breast, protesting the inside to be as free ill meaning, as that from deformitie, and promising welcome if they would come into his Countrey, which they promised. After this they hauing conferred with *Kiptopeke* King of *Aquohanok*, they passed *Russels* Ile and *Onancoke*, and arriued at *Pawtuxunt*, at *Attoughcomoco* the habitation of *Namenacus*, and *Wamanato* his brother, who came aboord them with a brasse Kettle bright without, within full of Oysters. Hee was shewed their hunting conducted forth by the younger and home by the elder: presented also with Beauers skinnes, which hee requited with such things as *Wamanato* said he would keepe them while hee liued, and burie them with him being dead: *Namenacus* his breast proued vlcerous within and treacherous, but without harme to them by reason of their circumspection: an ambush being prouided in a Wood at a point where they would haue had them land. *Kiptokepe* is the elder brother, and yeelded the moytie of his Countrie to the younger, bearing still the greater burthen in gouernment but lesse honour, whereas on the Westerne shore, the younger beares the charge, the elder the dignitie. These are the most thriftie Sauages, keeping Corne for all the yeere and hauing to spare, whereas others want for one halfe. They are also more ciuill, iust reckoners, vse no Black-boy-ceremonies, and in Affinitie and Consanguinitie obserue a larger distance in their Marriages.

Prouident Sauages.

Anno 1622. the *Abigail* was sent, and therein Captaine *Barwick* with fiue and twentie men to build ships and Boats, and others to build the East *Indie* Schoole. That fatall Massacre, some thinke to haue beene occasioned by *Nemattanow*, a Sauage called vsually *Iacke of the Feather*, in best esteeme amongst them for courage and policie; who perswading one *Morgan* to go with him to *Pamaunke* to trucke, by the way slue him two or three dayes after hee returned to *Morgans* house, and answered his Seruants asking for their Master that hee was dead, whereupon they would haue had him to Master *Thorpe*, but hee so moued their patience that they shot him. Hee (whom the Sauages esteemed free from hurt by the *English* and shot free) desired before his death that they would bury him with the *English*, and not make it knowne that hee was slaine with a bullet. *Opechancanough* was moued with his losse so as he threatned reuenge, which he could not effect but by treacherous pretence of greatest peace, after fourteene dayes by so many deaths, giuing life to the following Tragedie: which you heard deliuered by publike Authoritie.

Iack of the Feather. Cause of the Massacre.

This terrible blow so affrighted all that it was concluded, that all the pettie Plantations should be left, to make good a few places (some say fiue or six) whither for want of Boats their goods and cattell could not be so suddenly conueyed, but that much was exposed to the Sauages cruell gleanings. Master *Gookins* at *Nuports* newes, hauing thirtie fiue of all sorts with him refused that order, and made good his part against the Sauages. Master *Iordan* at *Beggars Bush* gathered a few about him, and fortified himselfe in despight of the enemie. Mistris *Proctor* would haue aduentured the like, and did it for three weekes till the Officers (as some report) would no longer permit her. Captaine *Nuse* and Captaine *Crawshaw* are much for prouidence and valour commended. *Waters* and his wife were kept prisoners by the *Nansamunds* (this *Edward Waters* is one of those three which first stayed in *Bermuda*, and found the great piece of Ambergreece) whence by chance vpon occasion of a Boat lost by ill weather (whose company were saued) and comming on their shoare, they being busied in their Triumphs and Dances for ioy, they found opportunitie to get into a Canoa, and escaped to *Kecoughtan*. Captaine *Nuce* called his Neighbours together when he heard of the Massacre, entrenched himselfe, and mounted three Peeces of Ordnance, so that in foure dayes hee was strong enough to defend himselfe against all the *Barbarian* forces. Captaine *Crashaw* with fiue others fortified himselfe in despight of all the Sauages, with the helpe of other Sauages, and made offer to the Colonie, if they would send him a shallop with Armes, men and prouision for Trade, that the next Harueſt he would prouide them Corne sufficient, which then (in the latter end of Iune) was little to bee had in the Countrie. Captaine *Maddeson* is reported to haue giuen ouer-hastie credit to an exiled King, which comming to *Patowomeke* for succour and not obtayning it, in reuenge deuised and slandered the *Patowomekes* with intent of betraying and killing the *English*: which credulitie produced effects of crueltie and the conceits of bloudie treacherie conceiued (if others conceiue not falsly) treacherie and bloud.

M. Gookins. M. Iordan. Mistris Proctor.

The last Summer 1623. they set forth a company which destroyed the Sauages Corne and houses, and surprized *Pamaunke* chiefe Seat of *Opechancanough*. And the last report is that the Colonie is now in health, and that the Sauages haue returned seuen of the *English* which they held prisoners, out of selfe guiltinesse and feare of reuenge seeing ships still come thither, and wearie of their watchings and manifold losses and dangers. *Opechankanough* the authour of the Massacre is said to haue come to his end by meanes more sutable to his deserts, then perhaps agreeing with Christian simplicitie. A sickneſſe after the Massacre fell amongst the *English*, by reason that from neere eightie Plantations, they were brought to fewer then eight, these distracted with a sudden remoone and distressed wants. It is thought that 1800. suruiued both.

His

His Maieſtie not a little moued with the loſſe of ſo many his good Subiects, and ſome complaints alſo being made of the Gouernment, many of the Virginian *Company here holding no ſuch vniforme agreement as was meete: both ſhewed his gracious bountie in the gift of diuers Armes out of the Towre, with further promiſes of his aſſiſtance; and appointed Commiſſioners to examine the Cauſes of* Virginias *not anſwering to the care and coſt in ſo long time beſtowed on her. I am no fit Relater of things inſuing; and farre vnfitter Vmpire in ſuch differences. I will now ſpeake to God rather than men:* Quid enim niſi vota ſuperſunt. *My Prayers ſhall be to the Almightie for* Virginias *proſperitie; whoſe* Dwarfiſh *growth after ſo many yeeres,* conuulſions *by diſſentions there and heere,* lamentaions *in the complaints of* both ſides *(a Pluriſie Stitch in her ſides, continuing after ſo much blood taken from her)* weakneſſe. *Sinne armes after ſuch ſucceſſions of armes and forces;* Tantalean ſtaruings *amidſt both Magazines and fertilitie; ſubuerſions here, and ſelfe-ouerſions there (peruerſneſſe I mention not) rather then conuerſions of Sauages after ſo many learned and holy Diuines ſent thither; powertie, ſickneſſe, deaths, in ſo rich a Soyle, and healthfull a Climate; what ſhould I ſay? I can deplore, I doe not much admire, that we haue had ſo much in* Virginia, *and haue ſo little; the promiſes as probable as large, and yet the promiſſes yeelding in the concluſion this* Virginian *ſteriliſie, and meagreneſſe rather then the multiplied iſſue and thrift of a worthy Matron and Mother of a Family, anſwerable to her great Inheritance there, and Ioynter from hence. But what doe I in plaints, where ſome perhaps will complaine of my complayning? I will expect better from God and his Maieſtie, and while my ſelfe meane-while in the better thriuing of the* Engliſh *Colonie in* Bermudas *or* Summer Ilands.

CHAP. XVI.

Engliſh *Voyges to the* Summer Ilands; HENRY MAYS *ſhipwracke there 1593. The firſt Colonie ſent 1612.*

IT is now time to leaue the Continent and viſit *Bermudas*, of Sir *George Summers* called *Summer Ilands*. The occaſion you had before related by Maſter *Strachie*, and that ſome of their Company tooke vp their abode there. This was not the firſt time that *Engliſh* eyes had ſeene thoſe Ilands. For in the yeere 1593. *Henry May* had beene there; one of Captaine *Lancaſters* Company, which had beene in the Eaſt *Indies*, and in returning had put ouer to *Trinidad*, and thence to *Puerto Rico* and *Hiſpaniola* for refreſhing, where Captaine *Lancaſter* deſired a *Frenchman Monſieur de Barbotiere*, to giue this *Henry May* paſſage home with him. They departed from *Lagund* the laſt of Nouember, and December the ſeuenteenth were wracked on the North-weſt part of *Bermuda* about midnight. The Pilots making themſelues at noone to be twelue leagues to the Southwards of the Iland, certified the Captaine that they were from all danger: and demanded their wine of height, which they had thought they had beene caſt away by the ſhore, but were ſeuen leagues off; by the helpe of their Boat, and a Raft, ſixe and twentie of aboue fiftie were ſaued. I (ſaith *May*) durſt not preſſe in, but ſtayed in the ſhip almoſt full of water, till the Captaine being entred the Boat, called me to him, and I entred leauing the better halfe of our company to the mercie of the Sea. We rowed all day till an houre or two before night, yet we could come on Land towing the Raft with the Boat. Hauing beene all day without drinke, wee ſought long, and at laſt one digging among weeds, found freſh water being only raine water, which was all we found. It pleaſed God that we had ſaued our Carpenters tooles, and going roundly to worke, we built a Barke of ſome eighteene tun, for the moſt part with trunnels and a few nailes. For tacklings we made a Voyage to our ſhip and cut downe her ſhrouds; in ſtead of Pitch wee made Lime and mixed it with the Oyle of Tortoiſes; aſſoone as the Carpenters had calked, ſpreading it on with a ſticke, which was ſoone dried by the heat, being in Aprill wee haſted away for feare of water failing vs. We made two great chiſts and calked them, and ſtowed them on each ſide our maine Maſt, and ſo put in our prouiſions of raine water, and thirteene liuing Tortoyſes for our food. The Hogs were leane, and there was ſtore of Fowle, Fiſh and Tortoyſes. There is alſo good fiſhing for Pearles.

Sup. cap. 6.

The eleuenth of May we were cleere of the Land for our Voyage to *New-found-land*, and on the twentieth fell with the Land neere to Cape *Briton*, and thence to the Banke of *New-found-land*, where a Barke of *Falmouth* tooke vs in, wherein I had paſſage home, and arriued at *Falmouth* in Auguſt 1594. Thus much for *May*.

Let vs now heare the Relation ſent from an *Engliſh* Colonie planted there vnder the gouernment of Maſter *Richard Moore*. This following Diſcourſe hath beene printed, and was added to a Tractate of Maſter *Siluеſter Iordan* touching the wracke of Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *George Summers* on the *Bermudas*, which beeing deliuered more fully by Maſter *Strachie ſup. cap. 6.* I haue here omitted, and proceed to the *Engliſh* proceedings in thoſe Ilands.

Being bound for the *Sommer* Ilands, in the Ship called the *Plough*, wee imbarked the eight and twen-

twentieth of Aprill, 1612. So passing downe to *Graueſend*, wee anchored at *Tilbery-hope*, vntill the fifth of May. The wind comming faire, wee put forth and came to the *Downes* the ſixth of May, where we ſtaied till the ninth. And then ſetting forward wee had a faire and comfortable paſſage, and by Gods bleſſing found ſo direct a courſe, that on the eleuenth of Iuly in the morning, betwixt nine and ten of the clocke wee deſcried our hoped and deſired Ilands, and in the afternoone of the ſame day, about three a clocke, wee arriued in a verie ſafe harbour neere S. *Georges* Iland, there wee landed all our men and women, and had beene at anchor aboue an houre, before wee could heare of our three men which had beene left there. As ſoone as wee had landed all our company, we went all to praier, and gaue thankes vnto the Lord for our ſafe arriuall; and whileſt wee were at praier, wee ſaw our three men come rowing downe to vs, the ſight of whom did much reioyce vs: ſo they welcomming vs, and wee the like to them againe, we ſung a Pſalme, and praiſed the Lord for our ſafe meeting, and went to ſupper.

Saint *Georges* Iland.

Three men had ſtaied behind, and went not to *Virginia*, *Harter*, *Water*, and *Chard*.

The next day, being the Sabbath day, which wee dedicated to God in the beſt manner wee could, wee abode ſtill in the foreſaid Iland, with all the reſt of our company till Munday morning, being the thirteenth of Iuly: Then we went vp with our Ship and company higher into the harbour, to the place where theſe three men had planted themſelues. They had planted Corne, great ſtore of Wheat, Beanes, Tobacco and Mellons, with many other good things for the vſe of man: Beſides they had wrought vpon Timber, in ſquaring and ſawing of Cedar Trees, for they intended to build a ſmall Pinnace to carrie them into *Virginia*, being almoſt out of hope and comfort of our comming; becauſe Cap. *Danies* time was to haue beene with them long before we came.

Commodites of the Countrie.

Fiſhes.

Wee were no ſooner come within a league of the Land, but a company of Fiſh, as it were, met vs, and neuer left vs till wee were come to an ankor within the harbour; and as ſoone as we had paſſed ouer our buſineſſe, and all things ſafe and in order, with a Hooke and Line wee tooke more then our whole company was able to eate, ſo that there was enough to feed many more. The next day after the Sabbath, wee went with our Net and Boat, and if we would haue loaded two Boats wee might; and ſo may you do day by day, Fiſhes doe ſo abound, and there be of theſe ſorts, Mullets, Breames, Hog-fiſh, Rock-fiſh and Lobſtars, with more ſorts of other Fiſh which I cannot name.

Tortoiſes great, and of great vſe.

Turkles there be of a mightie bigneſſe; one Turkle will ſerue or ſuffice three or foure ſcore at a meale, eſpecially if it be a ſhee Turkle, for ſhee will haue as many Egges as will ſuffice fiftie or threeſcore at a meale: This I can aſſure you, they are verie good and wholſome meat, none of it bad, no not ſo much as the verie Guts and Maw of it, for they are exceeding fat, and make as good Tripes as your beaſts bellies in *England*. And for Fowle we went the third day of our arriuall vnto the *Bird Ilands* (as wee call them) and vſing neither Stick, nor Stone-bow, nor Gun, we tooke them vp with our hands ſo many as wee would, that euerie one of the company were to haue ſome three, ſome foure a piece; three for a child, boy or girle, for a man foure; then reckon what thoſe that ſerued ſome foureſcore people did amount vnto. But this is for certaine, if wee would haue brought awaie twice ſo many, more we might.

Fowle.

Hogs by reaſon of their food there, and our mens ſtomackes, extraordinarily ſweet.

Some ſixe daies after our comming, wee ſent out for Hogges, ſo the company which went out brought home ſome: for the meate of them, I hold your Mutton of *England* not of ſo ſweet and pleaſant a taſte.

The weather.

For the inclination of the weather, conſidering in what climate it lies, wee haue had for the ſpace of ſome fortie daies no raine, but verie coole and freſh gales of wind, yet in the day time verie hot: but wee agree with it verie well, and not a man that had lien ſicke or diſeaſed, but all likes well, and followes and imploies themſelues to one buſineſſe or other.

Fruits.

Peares not hurtfull.

For the fruites which the Land yeelds, they bee the Mulberrie, great ſtore, and Peares which haue in them a red liquor, as the Pomgranat hath, or ſomewhat redder, but verie wholſome: if you eate an hundred at one time, you ſhall neuer ſurfet of them, if you eate ſome proportion of them they will bind, but if you exceed in eating of them, then are they of the contrarie operation: yet neuer any that hurt themſelues by them, eate they neuer ſo many. It is certaine, that one man eate aboue a peck of them in ſome ten houres, and was neuer the worſe.

Cedar Berries. Palmitos.

We haue a kind of Berrie vpon the Cedar Tree verie pleaſant to eate; and for the Palmito Tree, the top of it is a great deale ſweeter and wholſomer then any Cabedge.

Pepper.

In ſome of our Ilands there growes Pepper, but not ſo good as our *Indian* Pepper: diuers ſorts of other good things there is, which the ſeuerall times of the yeere bring forth one after another: but the top of the Palmito Tree is in ſeaſon and good all the yeere. Take a Hatchet and cut him or an Augar and bore him, and it yeelds a very pleaſant liquor, much like vnto your ſweet Wines; it beares likewiſe a Berrie in bigneſſe of a Prune, and in taſte much like.

Palme-liquor.

Alſo wee haue Oliues grow with vs, but no great ſtore: many other good excellent things wee haue grow with vs, which this ſhort time will not permit mee to write of ſo largely as I might; but this is of truth, that Hogs, Turkles, Fiſh, and Fowle doe abound as duſt of the earth: for Amber-greece and Pearle wee haue not had leaſure, in ſo few daies ſince our arriuall to goe looke out for the one, or to fiſh for the other; but the three men which were left there, haue found of them both. Alſo they haue made a great deale of Tobacco, and if ſome would come that haue

Ambergreece and Pearle.

Tobacco.

skill

skill in making it, it would be verie commodious, both to the Merchant, and to the maker of it. And for the Silk-worme, if any were brought ouer, and some of skill to vse them, there would bee very much good done with them, for the verie Spider in these our Ilands doth weaue perfect fine Silke, both Yellow and White.

Silk spider, Timber Trees. * I haue omitted the rest of this discourse, as being better knowne to later Writers.

The Timber of the Countrey consisteth of three sorts, the one is the Cedar, verie fine Timber to worke vpon, of colour red, and verie sweet: the other sorts we haue no name for, for there is none in the company hath seene the like in other Countries before we came, &c.

A Copie of the Articles which Master R. MORE, *Gouernour Deputie of the* Sommer Ilands, *propounded to the Company that were there with him to be subscribed vnto, which both he and they subscribed the second of August, in his house,* Anno 1612. *which about the same time he sent into* England, *to the Worshipfull Company of the Aduenturers.*

WEe, who haue here vnder subscribed our names, being by the great goodnesse of God safely arriued at the *Sommer Ilands*, with purpose here to inhabite, doe hereby promise and bind our selues to the performance of the seuerall Articles hereafter following, and that in the presence of the most glorious God, who hath in mercy brought vs hither.

First, We doe faithfully promise, and by these presents solemnly binde our selues euer-more to worship that aforesaid only true and euerliuing God, who hath made the Heauens, and the Earth, the Sea, and all that therein is, and that according to those rules that are prescribed in his most holy Word, and euer to continue in that faith into the which wee were baptised in the Church of *England*, and to stand in defence of the same against all Atheists, Papists, Anabaptists, Brownists, and all other Heretikes and Sectaries whatsoeuer, dissenting from the said Word and Faith.

Secondly, because the keeping of the Sabboth day holy, is, that wherein a principall part of Gods worship doth consist, and is as it were the Key of all the other parts thereof, wee do therefore in the presence aforesaid promise, That wee will set apart all our owne labours and imployments on that day, vnlesse it be those that be of meere necessitie, much more vaine and vnfruitfull practises, and apply our selues to the hearing of Gods Word, Prayer, and all other exercises of Religion in his Word required, to the vttermost of our power.

Thirdly, Seeing the true worship of God and holy life cannot be seuered, we doe therefore promise in the presence aforesaid, That to the vttermost of our power we will liue together in doing that which is iust, both towards God and Man, and in particular we will forbeare to take the most holy name of God in vaine, in ordinary swearing by it, or any other thing, or by scoffing, or vaine abusing of his most holy Word, or to vse cursing, or filthy speeches, or any other thing forbidden in Gods most holy Word, as also to liue together without stealing one from another, or quarrelling one with another, or slandering one of another: And to auoide all things that stand not with the good estate of a Christian Church and well gouerned Common-wealth, as also to embrace the contrary, as Iustice, and Peace, Loue, and all other things that stand with the good and comfort of Societie.

Fourthly, Whereas we are here together farre remote from our natiue soile of *England*, and yet are indeed the naturall Subiects of our most Royall and gracious King IAMES of *England, Scotland, France*, and *Ireland*, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Wee doe therefore in the presence aforesaid, solemnly promise euermore to continue the loyall Subiects of our said Soueraigne King, his Heires and Successors, and neuer to reuolt from him, or them, vnto any other whatsoeuer, but euermore to acknowledge his Supreme Gouernment.

Fiftly, Whereas wee were sent hither by diuers Aduenturers of the Citie of *London*, and other parts of the Realme of *England*, wee doe here in the presence aforesaid promise to vse all diligence for the good of the Plantation, and not to purloyne or imbesell any of the prohibited commodities out of the generall estate, but to vse all faithfulnesse, as it becommeth Christians to doe, as also to bee obedient to all such Gouernour or Gouernours, or their Deputie or Deputies, as are, or shall be by them sent to gouerne vs; As also to yeeld all reuerence towardes the Ministery or Ministers of the Gospel, sent, or to be sent.

Sixtly and lastly, Wee doe here in presence aforesaid promise, the Lord assisting vs, that if at any time hereafter any forrain power shall attempt to put vs out of this our lawful possession, not cowardly to yeeld vp the same, but manfully to fight as true *English* men, for the defence of the Common-wealth we liue in, and Gospel wee professe, and that whiles we haue breath wee will not yeeld to any, that shall inuade vs vpon any conditions whatsoeuer.

I had thought hitherto to haue added a Letter of M. *Hughes*, written from thence, Dec: 21. 1614. and printed. But our latter intelligence, being more ample, hath caused mee to omit him and others; Yea all things in some, and some things in all. M. *Norwood* hath beene a diligent

Surueyor

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Surueyor of the place and accidents, and hath giuen a Map of the one (common to be sold) and a briefe relation of the other. But because his History of the Creatures is briefe, I haue borrowed out of Captaine *Smith*, what he had borrowed of Capt. *Butler*, and others to giue the Reader more full satisfaction in that kind.

CHAP. XVII.

Relations of Summer Ilands, *taken out of* M. RICHARD NORWOOD, *his Map and Notes added thereto, printed* 1622. *The History of the Creatures growing or liuing therein, being inlarged out of* Capt. SMITHS *written Relations.*

SIr *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Sommers*, hauing staied in *Bermuda* nine moneths, with helpe of such things as they saued with the Sea-venture, and of such as they found in the Countrey, had built of Cedar, and rigged fit for the Sea, two Vessels, a Ship and a Pinnace, and vpon the tenth of May, 1610. departed toward *Virginia*, leauing onely two men behind them, and carrying them store of prouision for the releife of the people there. Vpon the foure and twentieth of May, they arriued safely there, and shortly after some of them returned to the *Sommer Ilands* againe for a further supply, in the same Ship which they had formerly built there; where Sir *George Sommers* dying, his men did not according to his last charge giuen vnto them, returne to *Virginia*; but framed their course for *England*, leauing behind them three men, that staied voluntarily, who shortly after found in *Sommerset* Iland, which is a part of *Sandys* Tribe, a verie great treasure in Ambergreece, to the valew of nine or ten thousand pound sterling: there hath also been found since diuers times of the best sort.

Ambergreece.

This new discouery of the *Sommer Ilands*, being thus made knowne in *England*, to the *Virginian* Company, by these men which returned, they sold it to some hundred and twentie persons of the same Company, who obtained a Charter from his Maiestie, and so hold it. And toward the latter end of Aprill, 1612. sent thither a Ship, called the *Plough*, with some sixtie persons to inhabite, appointing Gouernour one Master *Richard Moore*, a man ingenuous and carefull, who since dyed in Sir *Walter Rawlyes* last voyage to *Guiana*, (a place as appeareth by our Moderne Geographers, very rich and spatious.) But, as I say, he arriued there about the beginning of July, and found the foresaid three men that staied voluntarily, very well. Master *Moore* spent the three yeeres of his gouernment, for the most part in fortifying the Countrey, and trayning the people in Martiall exercises, which custome hath beene continued by his successours: hee built some nine or tenne Forts, placing Ordnance and Munition in them. In his time, the Lord sent vpon the Countrey, a very grieuous scourge and punishment, threatning the vtter ruine and desolation of it: That it came from God I need not striue to proue, especially considering it was generally so acknowledged by vs at that time: The causes and occasions of it, I need not name, being very well knowne to vs all that then liued there, which were about sixe hundred persons, thought shortly after much diminished. I will onely shew the thing it selfe, which was a wonderfull annoyance, by silly Rats: These Rats comming at the first out of a Ship, few in number, increased in the space of two yeeres, or lesse, so exceedingly, that they filled not onely those places where they were first landed: But swimming from place to place, spread themselues into all parts of the Countrey. Insomuch, that there was no Iland, though seuered by the Sea from all other Lands, and many miles distant from the Iles where the Rats had their originall, but was pestered with them. They had their Nests almost in euery Tree, and in all places their Burrowes in the ground (like Conies) to harbour in. They spared not the fruits of Plants and Trees, neither the Plants themselues, but eate them vp. When wee had set our Corne, they would commonly come by troupes the night following, or so soone as it began to grow, and digge it vp againe. If by diligent watching any of it were preserued till it came to earing, it should then very hardly scape them. Yea, it was a difficult matter after wee had it in our houses, to saue it from them, for they became noysome euen to the persons of men. Wee vsed all diligence for the destroying of them, nourishing many Cats, wilde and tame, for that purpose; wee vsed Rats-bane, and many times set fire on the Woods, so as the fire might run halfe a mile or more before it were extinct: Euery man in the Countrey was enioyned to set twelue Traps, and some of their owne accord set neere a hundred, which they visited twice or thrice in a night. Wee trayned vp our Dogs to hunt them, wherein they grew so expert, that a good Dog in two or three houres space, would kill fortie of fiftie Rats, and other meanes we vsed to destroy them, but could not preuaile, finding them still to increase against vs.

Rat-plague.

How vaine a thing is man, whose best wits and industry are triumphed ouer by silly Rats? Great God, giue vs grace to feare thee, that we may feare nothing else: else shall we feare with *Pharao* Frogs, Lice, Flies, Grashoppers or with others, Fleas, Sparrowes, &c. Yea a few Rats, in despite of Cats Dogs, Traps, poisons, shall starue vs.

And this was the principall cause of that great distresse, whereunto wee were driuen in the first planting of the Countrey, for these, deuouring the fruits of the earth, kept vs destitute of bread

a yeere

a yeere or two, so that, when wee had it afterwardes againe, wee were so weaned from it, that wee should easily neglect and forget to eate it with our meat. We were also destitute at that time of Boats, and other prouision for fishing. And moreouer, Master *Moore* had receiued warning from *England*, that hee should expect the *Spaniard* that yeere, yet they came not, but with two ships, attempting to come in, and hauing their Boat before them to sound the way, were shot at by the said Master *Moore* from Kings Castle, and as we supposed one of them stricken through, whereupon they presently departed. But (as I say) this expectation of them caused vs (though in great necessitie) to hasten the fortifications of the Countrey. All these ioyntly (but principally the Rats) were the causes of our distresse: for being destitute of food, many dyed, and wee all became very feeble and weake, whereof some being so, would not; others could not stir abroad to seeke reliefe, but dyed in their houses: such as went abroad were subiect, through weakenesse, to bee suddenly surprized with a disease we called the *Feages*, which was neither paine nor sickenesse, but as it were the highest degree of weakenesse, depriuing vs of power and abilitie for the execution of any bodily exercise, whether it were working, walking, or what else. Being thus taken, if there were any in company that could minister any reliefe, they would straightwayes recouer, otherwise they dyed there: Yet many after a little rest would be able to walke again, and then if they found any succour were saued. The *Feags.*

About this time, or immediately before, came thither a company of Rauens, which continued with vs all the time of this mortalitie, and then departed. There were not before that time, nor since (so far as I heare) any more of them seene there. And this, with some other reasons of more moment, moued many to thinke that there was some other Ilands neere the *Sommer Ilands*, betweene *Virginia*, and it; and M. *Moore* (in his time, with some other of vs) went forth in a Boat so far as then wee could conueniently, of purpose to discouer it: Since then, it hath beene endeauoured by other, and is yet (as I heare) to be further attempted. And howsoeuer I am perswaded (for certaine causes which I cannot here relate) there is no such thing; Yet would I not disanimate any from this enterprise, for if they find any, their labours will be well recompenced; and though they find none, yet might they discouer those parts so well, that the passage to and from *Virginia* would be more safe and easie.

But to returne from whence wee haue digressed: The extremitie of our distresse began to abate a little before M. *Moores* time of gouernment was expired, partly by supplies out of *England*, of victuall and prouision for fishing, and partly by that rest and libertie we then obtained, the Countrey being fortified. Yet the Rats encreased and continued almost to the end of Captaine *Tuckers* time, although hee was prouident and industrious to destroy them, but toward the end of his time it pleased God (by what meanes it is not wel known) to take them away, insomuch that the wilde Cats and many Dogs which liued on them were famished, and many of them leauing the Woods, came downe to the houses, and to such places where they vse to garbish their Fish, and became tame. Some haue attributed this destruction of them to the encrease of wild Cats, but that's not likely they should be so suddenly encreased rather at that time, then in the foure yeeres before. And the chiefe occasion of this supposition was, because they saw such companies of them leaue the Woods, and shew themselues for want of food. Others haue supposed it to come to passe by the coolnesse of the weather, which notwithstanding is neuer so great there, as with vs in March, nor scarce as it is in April, except it be in the wind; besides the Rats wanted not feathers of young Birds and Chickens which they daily killed, and of *Palmeto Mosse* (as wee call it) to build themselues warme nests out of the wind, as vsually they did. Neither doth it appeare that the cold was so mortall to them, seeing they would ordinarily swim from place to place, and be very fat euen in the midst of Winter. It remaineth then, that as we know God doth sometimes effect his will without subordinate and secondary causes, and sometimes against them: So wee need not doubt, but that in the speedy encrease and spreading of these Vermine; as also, in the preseruation of so many of vs by such weake meanes as we then enioyed, and especially in the sudden remouall of this great annoyance, there was ioyned with, and besides, the ordinary and manifest meanes, a more immediate and secret worke of God.

Now to proceed. M. *Moores* time of gouernment being expired, Capt. *Tucker* succeeded, arriuing there about mid-May, 1616. who likewise gouerned (according to the custome) three yeeres; which time hee spent, for the most part, in husbandring the Countrey, planting and nourishing all such things as were found fit either for trade, or for the sustentation and vse of the Inhabitants, wherein hee trauelled with much diligence and good successe, sending to some parts of the *Indies* for Plants and Fruits: hee also added to the Fortifications, and made some Inclosures. In his time, *viz.* in the yeere 1617. was sent a Ship and prouision, with men of skill, for the killing of Whales; but they arriued there too late, to wit, about the midst of April, so that before they could make ready their Shallops, and fit themselues, the principall season for Whale-fishing was past: For the Whale come thither in Ianuary, and depart againe toward the latter end of May: Yet they strook some, but found them so liuely, swift, & fierce after they were stricken, that they could take none. They yeeld great store of Oyle, as appeared by one that drane to shoare on *Sommerset* Iland, in *Sandys* Tribe: and by another that we found not far from thence dead vpon a Rocke. Cap. *Tucker.* Whales.

I also

Shares.

I also receiued by Captaine *Tucker*, directions from the Aduenturers to diuide the Countrey, and to assigne to each Aduenturer his shares or portion of Land: and withall, a description, with notes touching the manner how they would haue it done, as they had formerly determined by Lot. Which thing I did with all faithfulnesse and diligence, the manner of it doth aboue appeare, and is more largely manifested in a Booke of the Survey of the Country, exhibited to the Right Honorable his Maiesties Counsell, and the Court of Aduenturers for these parts. And then began this, which was before as it were an vnsetled and confused Chaos, (I meane as touching a Plantation, for considered onely as a Regiment it was otherwise) to receiue a conuenient disposition, forme, and order, and to become indeed a Plantation; for though the Countrey was small, yet they could not haue beene conueniently disposed and well settled, without a true description and survey made of it; and againe every man being settled where hee might constantly abide, they knew their businesse, and fitted their houshold accordingly. They built for themselues and their Families, not Tents or Cabins, but more substantiall houses: they cleered their grounds, and planted not onely such things as would yeeld them their fruits in a yeere, or halfe a yeere: but all such too, as would affoord them profit after certaine yeeres, &c. So that in short time after, euen before expiration of Captaine *Tuckers* gouernment, the Country began to aspire and neerely to approch vnto that happinesse and prosperity wherein now it flourisheth. For may it not iustly be accounted happinesse and prosperitie, for men to liue where they enioy the meanes of true Religion and Saluation, to wit, the sincere Ministerie of the Word and Sacraments? where the gouernment is good without rigour and oppression, the place healthfull and temperate? where they are freed from all extreme care and toyle? where they haue food in abundance, and very good, with other things needfull to the body? and where they haue Commodities meete for Trade, by which they better aduance their estates? all which and more is largely verified in the present estate of that Colonie, whatsoeuer some maliciously minded, or to euill ends suborned, may say to the contrary, so that there may seeme to bee a restauration of that Golden Age so much spoken of.

The Gouernour now there resident, is one Captaine *Butler*, for Captaine *Tucker* departing thence in December 1618. left in his place Captaine *Kendall* (who also was one that supplied the same place in the *interim*, betweene Master *Moores* time and Captaine *Tuckers*, and hath spent some nine or ten yeeres in the Countrey. But in the yeere 1619. about Midsummer, the Aduenturers sent thither as Gouernour for three yeeres (according to the custome) the said Captaine *Butler*, and foure ships, with some fiue hundred persons, there beeing at that time in the Countrey onely fiue hundred more: for by the space of foure yeeres, to wit, during the latter part of Master *Moores* gouernment, and all the time of Captaine *Tuckers*, they had sent few thither, being almost hopelesse of the place, by reason of the Rats: But since there haue beene sent many companies more then haue come to my knowledge. Insomuch that I vnderstand the Countrey is now almost fully planted and inhabited.

Thus haue I briefly related (so farre forth as hath come to my knowledge and remembrance) euery thing of most note and importance that hath befallen in the first Discouerie and planting of these Ilands, till this present. I haue laboured to contract my selfe, yet haue exceeded my entended limits. Now I must speake something of the Countrey it selfe: Which consisteth of a company of small Ilands, situate and formed as aboue appeareth. It lyeth in the Westerne Ocean, in that part of the World lately discouered, and called *America*, or the *New World*, vulgarly, the West *Indies*: It hath Latitude, or Elevation (as is aboue said) 32. degrees 25. minutes, which is almost the same with the *Madeares*, or rather more Southward.

The Countrey is round about enuironed with Rockes; which to the Northward, Westward, and Southward, extend farther then hath beene yet discouered: By reason of these Rockes the Countrey is very strong: For there is onely two places (and scarce two, except to such as know them well) where shipping may safely come in: and those places are very well fortified: but within is roome to entertaine a Royall Fleet. The Rockes in most places appeare at a low water: neither are they much couered at a high water; For it ebbes and flowes there, not aboue fiue foot. The shoare it selfe (for the most part) is a Rocke: so hardned by the Sunne, Wind, and Sea, that it is not apt to be worne by the Waues; whose violence is also broken by the Rocks, before they come at the shoare. The Mould is of diuers colours; neither Clay, nor Sand, but a meane betweene. The Red, which resembleth Clay is worst; the whitish, resembling Sand, and the blackish, Clay, is good: the Browne, betweene them both (which they call white, because there is mingled with it, as it were a white Marle) is best. Vnder the Mould two or three foote deepe, and sometimes lesse, is a kind of white, hard substance, which they call the Rocke: the Trees vsually fasten their Roots in it: and draw their nourishment from it: Neither is it indeed Rocke or Stone, nor so hard, though for the most part harder then Chalke; not so white, but Pumice-like and Spongie, easily receiuing and containing much water: I haue seene, in some places, Clay found vnder it. It seemes to be engendred of the Raine water, drayning through the earth, and drawing with it of his substance, vnto a certaine depth where it congeales. The hardest kind of it (which is commonly vnder the red ground) is not so Spongie, nor retaynes much water; but

lyeth

lyeth in the ground in Quarries, as it were thicke Slates one vpon another: and there is some chinkes or creuises betwixt one lare and another, through which the water hath passage: so that in such places there is scarce found any fresh water. For all, or the most part of their fresh water (whereof they haue good store) commeth out of the Sea; drayning through the Sand, or through the foresaid substance, which they call the Rocke, and leauing his Salt behind it becomes fresh: Sometimes we digged Welles of fresh water, within foure or fiue paces of the Sea-side; sometimes further off. The most part of them would ebbe and flow, as the Sea did, and be leuell or little higher then the Superficies of the Sea. Wels.

The Aire is most commonly cleere, very temperate, moist, with a moderate heate, very healthfull, and apt for the Generation and nourishing of all things; so that there is scarce any thing transported from hence thither, but it yeelds a farre greater encrease; and if it be any liuing thing, becomes fatter and better liking, then here. By this meanes the Countrey was so replenished with Hennes and Turkeyes, within the space of three or foure yeeres, that beeing neglected, many of them forsooke the Houses, and became wilde, and so liued in great abundance. The like encrease there is of Hogges and other Cattle, according to their kinds. There seemes to be a continuall Spring, which is the cause that some few things come not to that maturitie and perfection, as were requisite. And though the Trees doe shed their leaues, yet are they alwayes full of greene. The Aire.

Their Corne is the same which they vse almost in all parts of the West *Indies*, to wit, Maiz: which, to such as are vsed to it, is more heartie and nourishing then our *English* Wheate, and yeelds a farre greater increase, as a pound, sometimes, of one or two graines. Of this Corne, and diuers other things, without either plowing or digging the ground, they haue two Haruests euery yeere: for they set about March, which they gather in Iuly; and againe in August, which is ripe in December: And little slips of Figge Trees, and Vines, doe vsually beare fruit within lesse then a yeere after they are planted, sometimes in halfe a yeere. The like fertilitie it hath in other things.

There is scarce at any time to be perceiued either Frost or Snow, nor any extreme heate; for there is almost alwayes some wind stirring, which cleereth and cooleth the Aire. Their Summers and Winters obserue the same times with ours, but their longest dayes and nights are shorter then ours in *England*, by two houres and almost a halfe: as also their shortest dayes and nights are as much longer then ours: for their longest dayes and nights are about fourteene houres, and their shortest ten. When it is Noone with vs, it is Morning with them; and when it is about fiue of the clocke in the Euening with vs, it is high-noone with them: so that whilest the Sun declines with vs, it riseth with them, as also it doth in *Virginia*. It is apt to Thunder and Lightning all the yeere, oft-times more terrible then in *England*; but no man, or other liuing creature haue I knowne hurt by it. There is no venemous creature in the Countrey: the yellow Spider which is there, making her Webbe as it were of Silke, and bringing forth her young (as the Alchimists their stone) of Egges like little Balles of Quick-siluer, is not perceiued to bee any whit venemous. Yet there is a Plant (that climbeth Trees like Iuie, the leafe also of the same colour, but in shape like the Vine) that is somewhat venomous, but of no great force. Téperature of the Countrey. Spiders.

There is great store and varietie of Fish, and so good as these parts of the World affoords not the like; which being for the most part vnknowne to vs, each man gaue them names as they best liked: as one kind they called Rocke-fish, another Groopers, others Porgie-fish, Hog-fish, Angle-fish, Cauallies, Yellow-tayles, *Spanish* Makerell, Mullets, Breame, Connie-fish, Morrayes, Sting-rayes, Flying-fish, &c. The like they did by the Fowle, as Cohoones, Sand-birds, Herons, Ducke and Teale, Pemblicoes, Castle-boobies, Hawkes, &c.

The Countrey when we first beganne the Plantation, was all ouer-growne with Woods and Plants of seuerall kinds: and to such kinds as were vnknowne to vs (which were the most part) we also gaue names; such as were knowne retayning their olde names: as Cedars, Palmetoes, Black-wood, White-wood, Yellow-wood, Mulberie-trees, Stopper-trees, Lawrell and Oliue-trees, Mangrowes, Pepper-trees, Yellow-bery-weed, Red-weed: These, and many others, wee found naturally growing in the Countrey. But since it hath beene inhabited, there hath beene brought thither, as well from the *Indies* as from other parts of the World, sundry other Plants, as Vines of seuerall kinds, Sugar-canes, Figge-trees, Apple-trees, Oranges, Lemmons, Pomegranets, Plantanes, Pines, Parsnips, Raddishes, Artichokes, Potatoes, Cassaui, Indico, and many other: Insomuch that it is now become as it were some spacious Garden or Nourcerie of many pleasant and profitable things.

Now if I should proceed to a more speciall Narration, and speake of all these Plants, Birds, Fishes, and other remarkable things particularly: I could not but bee much larger then were any wayes expedient in this place. Besides, I haue long since vnderstood, that Captaine *Butler* (the Gouernour there resident) hath vndertaken to write of these and the like things, a peculiar Treatise. This therefore that is spoken touching the nature of the Countrey in generall, shall suffice. Onely to make choice of two particulars, wherof I will speake, not so largely as the things require; but so farre forth as will be meet and conuenient in this place.

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The first shall bee the Tortoyse, which they call a Turtle: which having some affinitie and resemblance with Fishes, Beasts, and Fowles, shall serue instead of a Historie of them all. The other shall be that which they call the prickled Peare-tree: which participating in nature, and resembling in some things, herbs and in other Trees; shall likewise serue instead of the Naturall Historie of them both.

And first of the Turckle, not regarding (for breuities sake) the large Discourses of others; I will onely write what I haue seene and knowne my selfe. They are in the shape of their bodie like a Crab-fish; and haue foure finnes: they are as great as three or foure men can carrie: the vpper part of them is couered with a great shell, which wee call a Galley-patch, weighing (as I take it) halfe a hundred weight: the flesh that cleaueth to the in-side of this being rosted against the fire, is excellent meate: almost like the Marrow of Beefe: but the shell it selfe harder then Horne: shee hath also a shell on her belly, not so hard, but being boyled it becommeth soft, like the sinewes or gristle of Beefe; and good meate. These liue in the Sea, spending the Spring time, and part of the Summer about these Ilands: but the residue of the yeere, we know not where. They are like to Fowle in respect of the smalnesse and fashion of their heads and neckes: which are wrinkled like a Turkeyes, but white, and not so sharpe billed. They also breed their young of Egges which they lay. They resemble Beasts, in that their flesh is like Veale, but more hard and solid; and they feed alwayes vpon grasse growing at the bottome of the water; neither can they abide any longer vnder water, then they hold their breath; which the old ones will doe long: but the young ones being chased to and fro, cannot continue two minutes without comming vp to breathe. Shortly after their comming in, the Male and Female couple, which wee call cooting; this they continue some three dayes together, during which time, they will scarce separate though a Boat come to them, nor hardly when they are smitten. Not long after, the Shee-Turckle comes vp by night vpon some Sandie Bay; and further vp then the water vseth to flow, shee digges a hole with her finne in the Sand, some two foote deepe; and there comming vp seuerall nights, layes her Egges, some halfe a bushell (which are about the bignesse of a Hennes Egge, and round as a Ball) and each time couers them with Sand very curiously; so that a man shall hardly finde the place. These Egges (as it seemes) are afterwards hatched by heate of the Sunne, and then by the Prouidence of God (the meanes are yet vnknowne to vs) are brought out of the earth, for wee could neuer perceiue that shee returnes any more to them, and yet in likelihood they remaine not long in the Earth after they are hatched, because (as I haue before said) they cannot liue without breathing. We sometimes see of the young ones no bigger then a mans hand, which some fish will deuoure. They grow slowly, and seeme to haue a very long life, they will sleepe on the top of the water, and were wont to sleepe often on the Land, till the Countrie was peopled; they will also liue out of the water some three weekes, and that without meate, but mourne and pine away; they are very wittie. Being on the Land turned vpon their backes, they can no more without some helpe or aduantage recouer themselues; by which meanes when they come on shoare to lay their Egges, they are easily taken, as also they are when they are cooting. But otherwise wee take them for the most part by night, making a great light in a Boate, to which they will sometimes swimme, and seldome shunne; so that a man standing readie with a staffe in his hand, which hath at one end a socket, wherein is an Iron lesse then a mans finger, foure-square and sharpe, with a line fastned to it, hee striking this Iron into the vpper shell of the Turckle, it sticks so fast, that after shee hath a little tired her selfe by swimming too and fro, shee is taken by it. They will liue, the head being cut off, foure and twentie houres; so that if you cut the flesh with a Knife, or touch it, it will tremble and shrinke away. There is no meate will keepe longer either fresh or salt.

But leauing these, we will now come to speake of the Prickled Peares, which are a fruit growing in these Ilands, in such places as are scarce fit for any thing else, namely, vpon Rockes and Cliffes, and commonly by the Sea side, as if the salt-water did somewhat helpe to the generation and nourishing of them. The tree seemes to grow certaine yeeres before it beares fruit, and then to continue bearing, very many yeeres, hauing almost all the yeere long fruit vpon it. And although we call this a Tree, yet hath it scarce any bodie or branches, but consisteth in a manner wholly of leaues and fruit, soft and brittle.

But we will giue you a larger Historie of the Creatures from Captaine Smith, *in the next Chapter.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Extracts out of Captaine IOHN SMITHS *Historie of* Bermudas, *or* Summer Ilands; *touching the* Englisth *Acts and Occurrents there from the beginning of the Plantation.*

SOme one hundred and twentie of the *Virginian* Company bought that Title which the Company might seeme to haue to *Bermuda*, and obtayned Letters Patents of his Maiestie. Sir *Thomas Smith* was elected Treasurer, and Master *Richard Moore* sent thither with the first Colonie, which found the three men well, *Carter*, *Chard*, and *Waters*, which had found store of Ambergrice, which was the occasion of great stirres betwixt *Moore* and *Kendall*, (who was imprisoned) *Chard* (who was condemned and on the Ladder to be hanged, but repriued, and all *Moores* time detayned prisoner) and Captaine *Danies*, who had almost kindled a mutinie till better thoughts did better him. *Sic vos non vobis*, was the conclusion of that Treasure to the finders, howsoeuer *Danies* and *Kendall* are laid to haue licked their fingers well. *For the naturall Historie thereof I haue added thus much out of him to that which before hath beene deliuered by others.* *Inueniuntur ê pes irritamenta malorum.*

The most troublesome to these Ilands are the *Winds* and *Wormes*, specially in the Spring and Autumne, rather to awaken industrie then to cause despaire.

The Musketas or Flies are very busie, with a certaine *Indian* bugge called by the *Spaniards*, a *Cacaroatch*, which creeping into Chists by their ill sented dung defile all, besides their eating. Little Ants are in Summer so troublesome that they are forced to dry their figs on high frames, anointing the feete with Tarre which stay their passage that else would spoile all. Wormes in the earth are noisome to their Corne and Tobacco, causing them great labour euery morning to destroy them; which else would destroy all. Large Lizards haue been there, now destroyed by the Cats. Spiders are large but beautifully coloured, as if they were adorned with Siluer, Gold, and Pearle: their Webs in Summer wouen from Tree to Tree a perfect raw Silke in substance and colour, so strong that Birds like Snites bigger then Black-birds, are snared in their Nets. Flies. Ants. Wormes. Lizards. Spiders.

There are grey and white Hearne, grey and greene Plouer, wild Ducks, and Mallards, Coots, Red-shankes, Sea-wigeons, grey Bitternes, Cormorants, numbers of small Birds, like Sparrowes and Robbins, which haue lately beene destroyed by the Wild Cats, very many Wood-peckers, Crowes, which since the Plantation are killed, and seldome seene except in places least inhabited, where they are obserued to take their flight about Sun-set, directing their course toward the North-west, which causeth the coniecture of other Ilands. (Yea, the *Spaniards* say this is not true *Bermuda*, *&c.*) sometimes also are seene Falcons, Iarfalcons, Osprayes, a Bird like a Hobby, holden but a passenger. Fowles.

The *Cohow* is so termed of his voice; a night Bird all day hid in the Rockes. The Egge-bird on the first day of May constantly obserued to come, they begin to lay Egs as big almost as Hens Egges; so continuing till Mid-summer, so tame you must thrust them off: then permitted to breed (growing weake) and their young are excellent meate. The Egges of those are white; of the *Cohowes* speckled, as bigge as Hennes: strict inhibition was made for their sparing beeing almost destroyed.

The *Tropiks* Bird hath his name of the places where he is most seene. Another Bird of her Cry is called *Pemblico*, seldome seene by day, an vnwelcome Prophet of Tempests by her clamerous crying. Owles are now gone, Pigeons prosper not. Tame Duckes and Geese are there.

Now for Plants there growing, the most remarkeable are, the *Poyson-weed*, which is much in shape like our *Englisth* Iuie, with the touch thereof causing redneese, itching and blisters, all which after a while passe away of themselues without further hurt.

The *Red-reed* is a tall Plant, whose stalke is couered with a red rind; the Roote steeped, or a small quantitie of the iuyce drunke alone procureth a forceable Vomit, generally vsed and effectuall against distempers of the stomacke.

A kind of *Wood-bind* is common neere the Sea running on Trees like a Vine, the fruit somewhat like a Beane but flatter, which eaten any way causeth to purge vehemently, yet without further harme.

Another small Tree causeth costiueneese. There is also a Plant like a Bramble, bearing a long yellow fruit with a hard shell, and within a hard Berrie which stamped and taken inwardly, purgeth gently.

Red-Pepper is a fruit like our Barberies, which beaten, or bruized with the Teeth, sets all the mouth on a heat, for the time terrible; but swallowed whole haue the same operation that blacke Pepper.

The *Sea-feather* is a Plant growing on the Rocks in the bottome of the Sea in forme of a Vine-leafe, but farre more spread with veines of a palish red, strangely interlaced and weaued into each other: the vertue vnknowne.

There are beſides fruits thither carried which thriue and multiply, White, Red, Yellow Potatoes, Sugar-canes, Indicoes, Parſnips, exceeding large Radiſhes, Caſſaui (the *American* root for bread) the *Indian* Pompeon, the water Melon, the Muske Melon, the moſt delicate Pine-apple, Plantans, and Papawes; the *Engliſh* Artichoke, Peaſe, &c.

Moores Forts. Maſter *Moore* applied himſelfe to fortifying and to traine his men: hee laid the foundation of eight or nine Forts, called the *Kings Caſtle*, *Charles Fort*, *Pembrokes Fort*, *Smiths Fort*, *Gates Fort*, *Warwickes Caſtle*, Saint *Katherines Fort*, &c. mounting therein all ſuch Ordnance as he had. Being buſied in theſe and other neceſſaries, which held the men hard at worke, Maſter *Keath* the Miniſter, a *Scot*, taxed him in the Pulpit for grinding the faces of the poore, oppreſſing his Chriſtian brethren with *Pharoos* taxes; for which being conuented, and by the generality contraried, he fell on his knees and asked pardon, which was eaſily with good admonition granted. Two other malecontents were condemned to be hanged, one of which for feare fell into a dead palſie, the other was freed, and after proued a good labourer. He got two peeces of Ordnance out of the *Sea-Venture* (Sir *George Summers* wracke) framed a Church of Timber, which was blowne downe and reedified, and another built in a cloſer place with Palmito leaues. Before the yeare expired, an Aduiſo with thirtie paſſengers were ſent, to prepare for *Spaniards*; which made them fall ſo hard to worke, that many fell ſicke. The *Martha* followed with ſixtie paſſengers, and in it Maſter *George Barklie*, who tooke good notice of thoſe Ilands. The *Elizabeth* was ſent the ſecond time with fortie paſſengers. Theſe carried the firſt Potatos, which being all loſt but two caſtaway rootes haue yeelded increaſe there to admiration, and are great reliefe to the Inhabitants.

Maſter *Keath*.

Church built.

Supplies ſent *An.* 1613. M. *Barklie*.

Increaſe of Potatos.

Two *Spaniſh* Ships were ſeene ſoone after this Ship was gone, to ſound with their Boate, attempting to come in; but from the *Kings Caſtle* Maſter *Moore* made two ſhot, which cauſed them to depart, to the ioy of the Plantation, which then had but three quarters of a barrell of Powder, and but one ſhot more: the Powder alſo by careleſneſſe tumbled vnder the Muſſels of the two Peeces which were diſcharged, and yet not touched with fire. The like mercifull prouidence appeared in certaine cartrages of Paper filled with Powder; a negligent fellow leauing his Match burning vpon one of them all the while they were at Prayer, ſo that the cole touched the Paper and fired it not.

Spaniſh Ships.

Eſcapes from dangers.

A worſe thing happened by a caruell of Meale, which *Daniel Elfred* brought thither, ſo ſtored with Rats, that had neere ruined all the Plantation. Two yeeres after came in the *Bleſſing* with one hundred paſſengers, and the *Starre* with one hundred and eightie, and ſoone after the *Margaret*, and two Frigats with one hundred and ſixtie. Maſter *Barkley* alſo came to diuide the Countrie into Tribes, and the Tribes into ſhares; but *Moore* ſeeing his ſhare and the Colonies to be none, gaue him ſo cold entertainment, that he returned as he came.

Rats. M. *Barklies* ſecond coming.

This bred *Moore* more diſlike in *England*, and his minding fortification ſo much, with neglect of Corne bred a famin; that attended with diſeaſes, ſpecially one called the *Feagues*, which without ſenſe of paine, ſwallowed vp all their ſtrength at once, whereof without ſuccour they died; ſome by foode and reſt recouered. The Rauens continued this mortality and then departed. *William Millinton* was drawne into the Sea by a Fiſh, and neuer ſeene more. The Famine gaue a ſuperſedeas to the workes, and *Moore* ſent them to ſeeke reliefe. At *Coopers* Ile with a contrary extremity of the abundance of Cahows and Fiſh, many ſurfeited and died. Some killed the Cattell, and one ſtole away to the Woods and there franked himſelfe, feeding on land Crabbes and Wilkes. For fiſhing, the Smith was faine to make Hookes of Swords, and Lines of old Ropes, till a Frigat being ſent with aduice into *England*, the *Welcome* was ſent with prouiſion. Maſter *Moore* returned in this Ship, and left the Gouernment to a Councell of ſixe, which ſhould ſucceede each other monethly; *viz.* Captaine *Miles Kendall*, Captaine *Iohn Mansfield*, *Thomas Knight*, *Charles Caldicot*, *Edward Waters*, and *Chriſtopher Carter*, with twelue Aſſiſtants. *Moore* arriuing here, after much quarrell, obtained eight ſhares of Land. Hee died after in Sir *Walter Raleighs Guiana* voyage. He was a man very pragmaticall, and had before vndertaken much in Fouleneſſe for Rapes ſeede, &c. A man fitter for ſuch a Plantation as this in the beginning was, then ſome ſilken Citizen, or ſtalking Gentleman, or talking Traueller, or ſowre Humoriſt, or grim Martialiſt might haply haue proued.

1614. Famine and ſickneſſe. Rauens.

Contrary extreme.

Gouernment by a Counſell.

Caldicots lot. *Caldicots* Lot was firſt, whoſe moneth being ended, with *Knight* and *Waters* in a ſmall Frigot he went to *Virginia*, *Mansfield* ſucceeded in the new triumuirate, and a plot not to ſurrender the Gouernment to ſuch as from *England* ſhould be appointed, was diſappointed: Maſter *Hughes* was impriſoned, and ſoone ſet at liberty, but Maſter *Keath* his *Symmyſtes* fell to ſtrange diſputes, and *Hughes* was againe conuented, and by the Iury acquitted. *Mansfields* moneth being paſſed in braules, the two next were quiet; yet thoſe contentings after reuiued. The *Edwin* arriued with good ſupplies. Diuers Boates were loſt at Sea about this time.

M. *Keath* and M. *Hughes*.

Strange accident. But one memorable accident was this: In March, a ſeaſon moſt tempeſtuous, on a faire Friday morning, ſeuen men went in a Boate of two or three tuns to fiſh, ſome of them faſting, neither had they any prouiſion in the Boat with them but a few Palmeto berries; ſome foure leagues from ſhoare a tempeſt tooke them, and carried them quite out of ſight of land; their ſtrength being

ing

ing ſpent, the ſtrength alſo of the tempeſt abated on ſunday, and a calme followed. Too weake for Oares they lay adrift that night: the next morning *Andrew Hillyard* (the reſt not able to helpe themſelues) ſpred the ſaile: On tueſday one died, on wedneſday three, which were caſt ouerboord; on thurſday night the ſixth, whom he was not able to turne ouer, but ſtripped him, ripped his belly with his Knife, threw his bowels into Sea, ſpred his body abroad, tilted open with a ſticke, and ſo let it lye as a Ceſterne to receiue ſome luckie raine water, which God ſent preſently after, ſo that in a ſmall ſhower he recouered about foure ſpoonefuls of raine to his vnſpeakable refreſhment. He alſo preſerued neere halfe a pint of blood in a ſhooe; which hee did ſparingly drinke to moiſten his mouth. Two dayes he fed on his fleſh to the quantity of a pound: the eleuenth day after his loſſe of Land, two flying Fiſhes fell into his Boate, whoſe warme iucie bloud he ſucked, to his great comfort, and within an houre after; with greater comfort eſpied land; which within foure houres he attained on a Rocke neere Port *Royall*, where his Boate was ſplit preſently in peeces, and he made ſhift to climbe ſo ſteepe a Rocke by night, as would haue troubled the ſtrongeſt man in the Ile to haue done by day. He diſcerned in the morning where he was, and without other refreſhing then water (which he tooke temperately, or might elſe haue drunk his laſt) he got in halfe a day to a friends houſe. He was liuing *Anno* 1622. *Andrew Hilliards* aduentures.

Some treaſure in Dollers, to the value of twentie pounds was found, the remainder of ſome Wrack. The Company ſent M. *Daniel Tucker*, to be Gouernour; hee ſet ſaile in the *George*, accompanied with the *Edwin*: ſome preparation was made to reſiſt, but he at laſt was receiued and acknowledged in May, 1616. Somewhat hee had to doe to bring them to their workes, which yet he effected; their day worke till nine in the morning, and then ſtaying till three in the afternoone, they began againe continuing till ſun-ſet. Beſides meat, drinke, and clothes, they had for a time a certaine kind of braſſe Money, with a Hog on the one ſide, in memory of the Hogs there found at firſt landing. Hee by Maſter *Richard Norwoods* helpe, laid out the eight Tribes in the Mayne, which were to conſiſt of fiftie ſhares to a Tribe, each ſhare twentie fiue Acres. He began to plant ſome of the Colony on ſpeciall ſhares, and appointed Bailiffes to each Tribe. Hee held a generall Aſſiſe in his ſecond moneth at Saint *Georges*, where for ſedition *Iohn Wood* a *Frenchman* was hanged. He ſent the *Edwin* to Trade with the Natiues of the Weſt *Indies* for Cattel, Corne, Plants, which had it been continued, might happily haue bin more beneficiall to the Plantation then the *Magazines* from hence. She returned with Figs, Pines, Sugar-canes, Plantans, Papawes, and diuers other plants, which were preſently replanted, and ſince haue increaſed by the Gouernours commendable husbandry. Seuerity, by the conceit thereof produced an admirable fact: Fiue men which could by no meanes get paſſage for *England*, reſolued to aduenture an eſcape, *viz.* *Richard Sander* Mariner chiefe plotter, *William Goodwin* a Ship Carpenter, *Tho. Hariſon* a Ioyner, *Iames Baker* Gentleman, and *Henry Puet*. Theſe inſinuated to the Gouernour, that they would build him a Boat of two or three Tuns with a cloſe Deck, fit to fiſh in all weathers. Hee glad to ſee them ſo obſequious, furniſhed them with neceſſaries whatſoeuer they could deſire. Shee was fitted and gone the euening before hee ſent for her, to ſee, as was reported, how ſhee could ſaile. This was moſt true, and *Botelias* his aduenture from *Goa* in the Eaſt *Indies* to *Lisbon* was not ſo admirable a triall. *Barker* had borrowed a Compaſſe Diall of M. *Hughes*, leauing a Letter to him to haue patience for that loſſe, whereby their aduenture was intimated. The Gouernours threats were not in that remoteneſſe ſo terrible as the two preſent ſwelling Elements, whom yet they found more gentle then a *French* Pickaroone, who in ſtead of ſuccour, which they deſired, tooke from them what they liked, leauing them not ſo much as a Croſſe-ſtaffe to obſerue with, and ſo caſt them off. They continued their courſe till their victuall began to faile, and the knees of their Boat were halfe hewed away for fire wood. They at laſt arriued in *Ireland*, where the *Earle* of *Tomund* entertained them, and cauſed the Boat to be hanged vp for a Monument, hauing ſayled 3300. miles thorow the Ocean by a right line without ſight of any Land. This fortunate *Sanders* in the rifling of a Ship taken in the Eaſt *Indies*, bought a Cheſt for three or foure ſhillings, but would for want of a Key haue ſold it againe for leſſe. But one day hauing little to doe, hee broke it open and found therein 1000. pounds ſterling, or ſo much gold as bought him in *England* a good eſtate, which leauing with his wife he returned againe to the Eaſt *Indies*. M. *Tucker*. 1616. Tribes laid out Aſſiſes. The Gouernours. Admirable voyage. His courſe was neerer ſhoare, with all prouiſions fitting. Small Boat from *Bermudas* commeth to *Ireland*. *Sanders* his fortunes.

The Company ſent Captaine *Powell* in the *Hopewell*, after he had landed his paſſengers in *Summer* Iles, to trade in the *Indies*, who by the way fell foule on a *Braſillman*, and afterwards a *Frenchman* on him: but hee got ſafe to the Ilands and told what he had done. The Gouernour kept his ſecond Aſſize, and made a proclamation againſt the killing of coheires. *Powell* is againe ſent to the Weſt *Indies* from thence, with thirteene or fourteene men. Hee made triall but in vaine, for the Whale-fiſhing, for which and to which purpoſe the Company ſoone after ſent the *Neptune*. In the beginning of his ſecond yeere he called the third aziſe, in which one was hanged, two others condemned, but reprieued. The Rat Tragedy was now terrible: ſome Fiſhes haue been taken with Rats in their bellies, catched as they ſwam from Ile to Ile. One *Henry Long*, with ſixe others being on fiſhing, a ſudden ſtorm aroſe with terrible thunder, and the Boat was toſſed ouer the Rocks, the fiſh toſſed ouer-boord, and *Long* with two others eſcaped (the reſt drowned) one of the three being demanded what he thought in the preſent perill, anſwered, hee ſaid nothing, but *Gallowes* Cap. *Powell*. 1617. Hurt by Rats filling all the Iland.

Gallowesclappers fate.

clame thy right, which within halfe a yeere fell out accordingly. *Powell* returned with three Frigats, laden with Meale, Hides, and Munition. The Master and Gouernour contending, both were dispossessed by a stronger power. *Waters*, with twelue men were sent to *Virginia*, and would no more returne to *Summers* Iles.

1618.

Magazines not so profitable as intended.

A. 1618. arriued there the *Diana*, with men and prouision, and the first *Magazine* (a course I heare not much applauded by the Planters here, or in *Virginia*, the companies honest care) seeming by some others dishonestie frustrate. This Ship fraught with 30000. weight of Tobacco, gaue by the good sayle thereof encouragement to the Aduenturers. The Gouernour building a house of Cedar in the best Land, appropriated it to himselfe to the griefe of others there, of whom Master *Hughes* could not by threats nor imprisonment be so pacified, but that here to the Company hee approued his cause. Two men and a Gentlewomen, thinking to make their escape in a Boat to *Virginia*, were neuer heard of after. Sixe others attempted the like, but were apprehended, araigned, condemned, and one of them hanged. The Gouernours hard dealings so much complained of, caused him in the *Blessing* to returne to excuse himselfe, and to get that house assured him, leauing Captaine *Kendall* to supply his place. The *Gilli-flower* and the *Treasurer* were sent. By the *Sea-flower* which went to *Virginia*, a Preacher was sent to the Ilands, and newes of a new Gouernour. Captaine *Kerby* came in with a small Barke from the West *Indies*. A *Dutch* Frigot was cast away on the Westerne shoare, the people saued by the *English*.

Escapers not escaping.

Two ships sent

Cap. *Butler* Gouernour.

1619.

Captaine *Butler*, the new Gouernour arriued in the *Warwicke*, the twentieth of October, 1619. The *Redoubt*, a platforme of the Kings Castle, at the same time whiles the New Gouernour and old Planters were feasting aboord, accidentally was consumed with fire. The next month came in the *Garland*, which had come from *England* sixe or seuen weekes before him, and spent seuenteen weekes on the voyage, which proued so tedious, that many both Saylers and Passengers died. In the end of Nouember, arose such a storme that many great Trees were blown vp by the roots, the *Warwicke* cast away, the *Garland* forced to cut her Masts ouerboord. Not long after happened another as fierce; in which the *Mount*, built by M. *Moore* for a Watch-tower, was blowne vp by the roots; and their winter crop of Corne blasted.

Great stormes

He began the new yeere with refortifying the *Kings Castle*, and finding the *Treasurer* rotten, tooke nine Peeces of Ordnance out of her. Hee sent the *Garland* for *England*. Hee finished the Church begun by Captain *Kendall*, with great toile got three Peeces out of the wracked *Warwick*, imployed a *Dutch* Carpenter of the former *Dutch* wrack to build Boates. A luckie fellow in February, found a piece of Ambergreece of eight Ounces, as hee had done twice afore, and according to order of Court (to preuent concealements) had therfore thirtie pound an Ounce. Two *Dutch* Frigots arriued, conducted by Captaine *Powell*, and much refreshed the Colony with Oyle and Bacon at cheape rates. The Gouernour made a new platforme in place of the burned *Redoubt*, and mounted seuen great Peeces on Cariages of Cedar. The Ministers not being conformable to the Church of *England*, nor vniforme with themselues in administration of the Sacrament, and Matrimony. Hee translated the Liturgie Booke of *Garnsie* and *Iarsie*, void of the pretended scruples which was generally embraced, and in his time practised, and the Sabbaths obseruation proclaimed. They rebuilded the *Mount*, and diuers Boats was indangered with a *Hericano*, one lost. Finding a little Crosse erected where Sir *George Summers* his heart and entrailes were buried: he caused a Marble stone brought out of *England*, to bee handsomely wrought, and an Epitaph engrauen, in memory of that worthy Souldier, and laid thereon, inuironed with a square wall of hewed stone.

Ambergreece.

New platforme

Ministers scruples.

Sir *George Summers* memorial

On the second of Iune, began their Assizes, in which their Lawes and Gouernment were reduced to the *English* forme. The first of August, was a generall Assembly in manner of a Parliament, at Saint *Georges*, diuers Articles concluded, and being sent hither, by the Company confirmed, which for breuitie I omit. The *Magazine* Ship soone after came in weake case thither, hauing cast ouerboord twentie or thirtie of her people, and had they staied at Sea a weeke longer, were likely to haue all perished. That aire soon mends or ends men in that case, and those which died not soone after the landing recouered, not without infection of others there. 70000. weight of Tobacco was prefixed for her freight. Commandement came now to entertaine no Ships, but such as were sent from the Company, to the Colonies great griefe, which now were forced to a *Magizane*-Monopoly, and debarred of occasionall reliefe. Cap. *Powell* soone after came thither, imployed by the States, desiring admittance for wood and water, which was denied with exceeding murmuring and exclaiming of the Colony. The *Magazine* Ship arriued, her Master dead, and many passengers, the rest sicke.

Their first Parliament.

Spanish Wrack.

Then happened also in September a *Spanish* Wrack, which comming from *Carthagena* with the *Spanish* Fleet lost their Ship on those Rockes, and seuentie persons were saued, some of which had beene rifled, but their money to the value of one hundred and fortie pound restored them by the Gouernours meanes: into whose hands they committed it for disbursment of their charges. Some were sent away, others forced to stay till their labours had procured meanes for their passage. Hee made meanes to get out of the Wrack two Sakers, and three Murtherers, which were the same which Cap. *Kendall* had sold to Cap. *Kerby*, who was taken by two men of War of *Carthagena*,

These made false reports in *England*, the *Spanish* Embasadour also vrging the same, till the contrarie was manifested.

thagena, moſt of his men ſlaine or hanged, hee wounded died in the Woods, as theſe *Spaniards* related. Three Bulwarkes were raiſed at *Southampton* Fort, with two Curtens and two Iauelens. Armes were diſtributed to all ſuch as were able to vſe them.

The Weauells (which had at this time much hurt their Corne) found a ſtrange remedy. For a proclamation being made that all Corne ſhould be gathered by a day, becauſe many had loſt ſome for want of gathering, ſtill haunting the Ships for *Aqua-vitæ* and Beere; ſome bad husbands haſtily gathered it, and threw it on heapes in their houſes vnhusked, ſo letting it lye foure or fiue moneths. Now the good husbands husked theirs, and hanged it vp with much labour, where the Flies did blow it, which the others idleneſſe, as the euent ſhewed, preuented, that being thus found to be the beſt way to ſaue the corne and labour, to let it lye in the huske. Diuers places of freſh-water were now alſo luckily found out. Another triall of whale-fiſhing was vainely attempted by a Ship which came from *Virginia*, who returned thither fraught with Lime-ſtone, 20000. pound weight of Potatos, &c. *Weauells cure.*

Aprill and May were ſpent in building a Priſon, and perfecting ſome Fortifications, and foure Sakers were gotten from the *Spaniſh* Wrack, and mounted at the Forts. One was hanged for buggering a Sow, whoſe Cock in the time of his impriſonment vſed alſo to tread a Pig, as if it had beene a Hen, till the Pig languiſhed and died, and then the Cock haunted the ſame Sow. About the ſame time two Chickens were hatched, one of which had two heads, the other is ſaid to haue crowed loud and luſtily within twelue houres after it was out of the ſhell. Other Peeces were got out of the *Spaniſh* Wrack, and a Saker alſo out of that of Sir *George Summers*.

By a Barke going to *Virginia*, Captaine *Butler*, his time expiring, conueied himſelfe thither, leauing the gouernment to C. *Felgate* C. *Stokes*, &c. In the Kings Caſtle were mounted, or ſufficient platformes, ſixteen Peeces of Ordnance. In *Charles* Fort two, in *Southampton* Fort fiue, betwixt which & the Caſtle paſſeth the channel into the Harbor, ſecured by twenty three Peeces of good Ordnance. In *Coops* Ile is *Pembrookes* Fort, with two Peeces. Saint *Georges* channell is guarded by *Smiths* Fort and *Payets* Fort, in which are eleuen Peeces. Saint *Georges* Towneis commanded by *Warwicks* Fort, with three great Peeces, on the Wharfe before the Gouernours houſe are eight more, beſides the warning Peece by the *Mount*, and three in Saint *Katherines*; in all tenne Fortreſſes, and fiftie two Peeces of Ordnance ſufficient and ſeruiceable. Hee left one thouſand fiue hundred perſons, and neere one hundred Boates, the Ile repleniſhed with prouiſions, fruites, poultry, &c. *Forts & Ordnance in Bermudas.*

Maſter *Iohn Bernard*, was ſent by the Honourable Company to ſupply his place, who arriued within eight dayes of Captaine *Butlers* departure, with two Ships, and one hundred and fortie Paſſengers, with Armes and all ſorts of Munition and other prouiſions. During his life (which continued but ſixe weekes) hee gaue good proofe of his ſufficiency in reforming things defectiue. He and his wife were both buried in one day, and one graue: and Maſter *Iohn Harriſon* choſen Gouernour till further order came from *London*. *M. Bernard Gouernour. 1622.* *M. Harriſon Gouernour. 1623.*

The Wormes before mentioned are ſtill troubleſome, and make them morning workes to kill them. Caterpillers are pernicious to their fruits, and Land Crabs are as thicke in ſome places, as Conies in a Warren, and doe much harme. A Ship in which had beene much ſwearing and blaſpheming vſed all the voyage, periſhed; the companies negligence iouially frolicking in their cups and Tobacco (hauing landed certaine goods) by accident the Powder fired, and blew vp the great Cabbin; ſome were taken vp in the Sea, liuing in miſerable torments, eighteene were loſt with this fatall blaſt, the Ship alſo ſunke, with ſixtie Barrells of Meale ſent for *Virginia*, and her other prouiſions loſt. The Company haue ſent Captaine *Woodhouſe* in a Ship called the *Tigre* for that gouernment, a man much commended and hopefull. I haue beene told that there are three thouſand perſons of all ſorts liuing there, halfe of which number is able to beare Armes, and exerciſed to that ſeruice. *Wormes noyſome.*

CHAP. XIX.

Brieſe intelligence from Virginia *by Letters, a ſupplement of* French-Virginian *Occurrants, and their ſupplantation by Sir* SAMVEL ARGAL, *in right of the* Engliſh *Plantation.*

THe late alteration of *Virginia* Gouernment is vnknowne to none; and moſt know of the frequent complaints, both by priuate Letters, and by Petitions to his Maieſty. Now leaſt any ſhould hereupon thinke *Virginia* to be vnworthy of ſuch our care and coſt; I haue out of one of the Planters priuate Letters tranſcribed a few words of grieuances, and yet a magnifying of the Country, that the *Engliſh* may be more blamed for want of Prouidence, then the Region for defect of Natures beſt gifts. Other things I could alleadge from others, but my meaning is to amend things not to quarrell

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quarrell them, and to awaken the care of good men, rather then to recite the faults of the bad. In one Letter, dated Dec. 22. last past, he hath these words:

He mentions in other letters 3.s. a pound of Butter, 6.d. ready monie for a pinte of Milke, 10 s. or 12.s. a day for a workman (Carpenter) besides meate and lodging.

The intollerable rates we pay here for commodities, as ten pound sterling a hogshead of Meale, sixteen shillings a gallon of Alligant, three pound sterling a Henne and eight Chickens, &c. and so according to these rates for euery thing else: lastly, the heauy taxations that are laid vpon vs free men, for building of Castles, paying of publique debts, for the not gathering of Sasafras, &c. so that it will come to my share, with that that is paid, and that that is to pay in Corne and Tobacco, to at least twenty or fiue and twenty pound sterling, this yeere; so that when I haue paid this, and paid my faithlesse seruants their wages, I shal scarse haue good Tobacco enough left to buy my selfe for the next yeer a pint of Aquauita, &c. Thus you see (I neither warrant, nor except against the truth, but present the worst quarelled paralelled with the best) complaints of great prizes of things, not arising from plenty of money, as you reade before in the conquest of *Peru*, but from I know not what ill habit and indisposition of that Colony. And least any man should withdraw his heart, hand, or purse therefore from that worthy work, I haue out of the same mans Letters deliuered a commendation of the Countrey. The Letters were written, and dated 22. March 1624. and containe for substance none other then what before you haue read in others; yet are more sutable to this time and purpose, as later newes and fitter directories to the Phisitians of that Estate; that at last the *English* honour may be vindicated against so base perils from Sauages, and baser quarrels from and amongst our owne. God prosper his Maiesties care, and make those which are therein emploied not to seeke their owne good by hasty returnes, much lesse other their fellow aduenturers euill by calumnies and vnderminings, but *Virginias* prosperity; of which, Natures prosperity is thus related by one querulous of his owne losses and crosses. His words are these:

Now concerning the state of the Country, so much as I haue obserued, I will relate vnto you: First, the Countrie it selfe, I must confesse is a very pleasant Land, rich in Commodities, and fertile in soyle to produce all manner of Plants, Hearbes, and Frutes. I haue seene here my selfe both Carrets, Turneps, Cabages, Onyons, Leekes, Garlicke, Tyme, Parseley, Pompions, Muskmilion, and Watermilions, rare fruits and exceeding wholesome, here are also Strawberries; I haue lien downe in one place in my Corne field, and in the compasse of my reach haue filled my belly in the place: and for Mulberries, I can when I list goe and gather a bushell at a time: here is also a coole Fruite growing wildely on the ground, much resembling a great Walnut with the greene rinde on it, which reserues in it three admirable good tastes, namely of Strawberries, Rosewater, and Sugar, they were an exceeding great comfort to me in my last yeeres sicknesse, and are admirable good against the bloudy fluxe.

English *Wheate and Barley will grow here exceeding well; I haue seene here growing as good* English *Wheate as euer I saw in* England *in all my life. For Timber we haue the Oake, Ashe, Poplar, blacke Walnut, white Walnut, Pines, Gumme trees; the Pines here afford admirable good Pitch and Tarre, and serue, split out in small peeces, in many places of this Land instead of Candles; but it will smeare one worse then a Linke: here are also Peare trees which yearely bring forth Peares. But there is a tree that passeth all Fruite trees, which we call by the names of a Prissymon tree, which beareth a Plum much about the bignesse of a Peare plum. I doe thinke it is one of the rarest Fruites in the world; when they are ripe they eate naturally of themselues from the tree better then any preserued Plummes I euer tasted in* England. *The Beasts that this Land is plentifully stored withall are Deere, Beares in some parts, Beauers, Otters, Foxes, Hares, Squirrels, Rocconnes, Possucins, names strange to you, yet are they singular good meate; the Rocconns tasting as well as Pigges flesh.* Indian *Dogges here are as good meate with vs as your* English *Lambe.* English *Cattell here increase and thriue very well, as Kine, Hogges, Goates, and Poultry. Fowle here are abundance, as Swans, Brants, Geese, Turkies, Herons, Cranes, Eagles, fishing Hawkes, Bussards, Ducke and Mallard, Sheldrake, Dapchicke, Partriches, Pidgeons, Crowes, Blacke-birds, and all manner of small Birds in abundance. Our Riuers here are likewise rich by the abundance of Fish, as Herings, Shads, Perch, Eele, Pike, Carpe, Cat-fish, Rock-fish, Gor-fish, and Sturgeon. If here were any that would make fishing for Sturgeon an occupation, they might take inough to furnish this Land, and also plentifully supply* England. *I my selfe haue seene aboue twenty Sturgeon leape aboue water in lesse then two houres. As for our Graine, I thinke it produceth the plentifullest encrease of any Corne in the World; for I haue seene one graine of Corne, that by the assistance of growth and time, hath yeelded a pint of Corne: we haue here also Beanes and Pease.*

I confesse here are plentie of all those things I haue set before you, but all the craft is in catching them; for he that will get any game, must be a wary and a well eyed sher, and to prop his profession, he must adde great care and vigilance, both in defending himselfe and winning his game. It hath beene often seene in this Land, that whilest an Englishman *hath beene winning his game, an* Indian *hath doyd him, attending his opportunitie by the others discharge to fill him full of Arrowes. Since the Massacre they haue killed vs in our owne doores, fields, and houses: thus are we not safe neither at home nor abroad; and (which grieues me to write) our safetie is lessened by our malice one to another, for the most part altogether neglecting the common enemie. I my selfe and my wife are by some secret enemies much wronged, for I am shauen so bare, that I haue scarse either Garter, Girdle, Stocking, or Shirt left; all my wearing Cloathes likewise are torne and tattered, I can accuse no man, and they that likewise doe it, doe it priuately, and which grieues me most of all, they shrine by base and insinuating meanes to clip the wings, as well of*

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my prosperitie as of my reputation; yet I hope God will giue me patience to beare, and in his good time giue me a ioyfull deliuerance in the middest of all these miseries. Whilest I was a writing these lines, newes was brought me of the killing of one, and the carrying away prisoner of another of my neighbours, by the Indians; *one was an old* Virginian, *and one who for a long time was Sir* Thomas Dale *his Ouerseer in this Land, his name was Master* Henry Watkins: *and but two daies agoe there was another that had his braines beaten out by the* Indians, *in the next Plantation to vs. Wherefore with a sad and sorrowfull heart I take my leaue of you deere Father, Mother, Sisters, Brethren, and all the rest of my kinde and louing friends; for the case stands so with vs here, that if wee goe out in the morning, wee know not whether wee shall euer returne; working with our Hoe in one hand, and our Peece or Sword in the other, &c.*

And now from lateſt intelligence you haue notice of the good and euill, as becommeth a faithfull Hiſtorian, *nequid non veri audeat, nequid veri non audeat*; It is good to know the worſt, to preuent it: forewarned, forearmed. Eaſily you may ſee that the good things of *Virginia* are naturall and her owne, the bad accidentall and our owne; and conſequently if wee amend our ſelues, *Virginia* will ſoone be amended. The body there is ſound; to cut the haire, auoide the excrements, paire the nailes, waſh away ſweate and duſt, and to cure other like accidents of negligence, or impenitent and vnprofitable diligence, is a worke feaſible and facile alſo to induſtrious and vnanimous workemen. One thing touching the *French* (whoſe Plantations are before recited) remaineth, that we take away all ſcruple from feare of ſuſpected neighbours. I ſhall therefore adde a little more touching them, the concluſion of their *Virginian* Plantation in a double ſenſe. As for the *Engliſh* right to theſe parts, the next Chapter will ſhew, and conſequently the Iuſtice of Sir *Samuell Argals* act. The Patents to Sir *Humfry Gilbert*, and to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and their actuall poſſeſſion before theſe latter Plantations may be alleadged likewiſe againſt the *French*. Theſe things I haue collected out of Sir *William Alexanders Encouragement to Colonies*; *Leſcarbot* hath alſo related them.

The Marqueſſe *de la Roche*, by a Commiſſion from *Henry* the fourth, intending a Voyage for *Canada*, happened by the way vpon the Ile of *Sablon* (which is now comprehended within the Patent of new *Scotland*) and there (truſting to the ſtrength of the place, where there are no Sauages at all) landed ſome of his men, till he ſhould haue found a conuenient place within the maine Land fit for a habitation, promiſing then to returne for them. But it was his fortune, by reaſon of contrary winde, neuer to finde the Maine Land, but he was blowne backe to *France* without ſeeing of them, where he was in the time of the ciuill warres (ſuch is the vncertainty of worldly things) taken priſoner by the Duke of *Mercœur*, and ſhortly after died; ſo that his people whom he had left at *Sablon*, furniſhed but for a ſhort time, had quickly ſpent their prouiſions, hauing for their maintenance onely ſuch things as the place it ſelfe did without labour freely afford; which hath a race of Cowes, as is thought, firſt tranſported thither by the *Portugals*, that haue long continued there: they had likewiſe there growing wilde, of this which wee call Turkey Wheate, and ſundry Rootes fit to be eaten, and euery where abundance of Fiſhes, with Veniſon, and (hauing no meanes to liue but by ſport) as for their Apparell, they cloathed themſelues with the Skins of ſuch creatures as they could kill by Land or Sea: ſo that hauing liued there for the ſpace of 12. years; when they were preſented to King *Henry*, who had hired a Fiſherman to bring them home, as I haue heard from them that did ſee them at firſt before the King, they were in very good health, and looked as well as if they had liued all that time in *France*: hauing bin abuſed by the Fiſherman, who cunningly conceiling that he had bin directed by the King, did bargaine with them to haue all their Skins for tranſporting them home, which were of great value, ſome of them being of blacke Foxes, which haue bin ſould at fiftie pound ſterling a peece and aboue: for the recouery thereof they intended a Proceſſe againſt him before the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, wherein they preuailed, gaining by that meanes a ſtocke wherewith to traffique in theſe parts againe.

Corteregdlis made a voiage to thoſe parts *An.* 1500. and another 1501. After that his brother, but both loſt. *Gomes* another *Portugal* ſought ſtraits there *An.* 1525. The land was called *Terra Corteregalis* from 60. deg. to S. *Laurence*.

Monſieur de Montes betaking himſelfe to trade for Furs, *Monſieur Pourtrincourt* reſoluing to proſecute the Plantation at that place ſent his ſonne *Biencourt* to *France*, to bargaine with ſome that would ſend them a ſupply, ſuch as was requiſite for eſtabliſhing of that Colonie.

The firſt that embraced his propoſitions were the *Ieſuites*, who as they haue ordinarily good wits which made them the rather capable of ſo aduantagious a proiect, ſo they were the more animated thereunto by vpbraiding the lazineſſe of our Clergie, to ſhew with what feruency they trauelled to propagate the Goſpell, in doing whereof (whether it be ambition or deuotion that prouokes them) ſparing no paines, they haue trauelled both to the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*, and to the admired Kingdome of *China*. Their ſociety in *France*, preuailing with all that had any inclination either to zeale or to vertue, did eaſily gather a voluntary contribution for the furthering of ſo commendable a purpoſe. Thereafter they ſent away two Fathers of their Company, with a new ſupply of all things neceſſary to the Plantation at Port *Royall*, but ſhortly after their arriuall (their predominant diſpoſition hardly yeelding to any ſuperiour, ſpecially if it be a ſecular power) they began to contradict *Pourtrincourt* in the execution of thoſe decrees which had bin *Ieſuites*.

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bin giuen forth by him, as ciuill Magiſtrate of that place: whereupon the Gentleman extreamely diſcontented, and weary of conteſting with him; hauing ſaid that it was his part to rule them vpon earth, and theirs onely to guide him the way to heauen, he returned backe to *France*, leauing his Sonne *Biencourt* in his place. Who being a youth at that time of more courage then circumſpectneſſe, diſdaining to be controuled by them whom he had enuited thither, and ſcorning their inſupportable preſumption, vſing ſpirituall armes for temporall ends, and an imperious kinde of carriage, who onely for ſpleene had excommunicated and branded him with a ſpirituall cenſure; he threatned them by his temporall power with a more palpable puniſhment. So that after much controuerſie, reſoluing to ſeparate themſelues, the two *Ieſuites* taking a part of the Company with them, went from thence to a place in new *England*, called by them *Mount Deſart*, where they ſeated themſelues; and hauing a ſupply from the Queene Mother did plant ſundry Fruit trees of the moſt delicate kindes in *France*, ſuch as Apricockes and Peaches, neuer intending to remoue from thence.

* I haue heard that Sir *T. Dale* was the Gouernor of *Virginia* and ſent him.

At this time Sir *Samuel Argall* being then Gouernor * of *Virginia*, coaſted alongſt new *England* to traffique and diſcouer, or to acquire things neceſſary for the Southerne Colony in theſe parts, where the lands are reputed to be more fertil, and the Seas more frequented, & did conceiue by a deſcription made vnto him by the Sauages, that there were ſome come from this part of the World to inhabit there; and being iealous of any thing that might derogate from the honour, or proue preiudiciall to the benefit of his Nation, where their intereſt in this was eaſie to be apprehended; he went whereas he was informed that they were, and his vnexpected arriuall, as it would ſeeme, not onely amazed the mindes of the *French*, but likewiſe preuenting their preparation and reſolution; he approached ſo neere to a Ship that lay before their Fort, that hee beate them all that were therein with Musket ſhot from making any vſe of their Ordnance, ſaue one of the two *Ieſuites*, who was killed in giuing fire to a Peece. Hauing taken the Ship, they landed and went before the Fort, ſummoning them that were therein to yeelde themſelues, who at the firſt made ſome difficulty, asking a time to aduiſe; but that being refuſed, they priuately abandoned the Fort, ſtealing out by ſome backe way into the Woods, where they ſtaied one night, and the next day comming backe, rendered themſelues to Sir *Samuel Argall*, who had lodged all that night within the Fort, giuing vp the Patent they had from the *French* King to be cancelled. He vſed them very curteouſly, as their owne Writers doe make mention, ſuffring ſuch as had a minde to goe for *France*, to ſeeke out Fiſhers Ships wherein they might be tranſported; the reſt that were willing to goe for *Virginia* went thither alongſt with him; no man hauing loſt his life but onely that one *Ieſuite*, who was killed whilſt they made reſiſtance, during the time of the conflict. Thereafter Father *Biard*, the other of the *Ieſuites*, comming backe from *Virginia* with Sir *Samuell Argall*, out of the indigeſtable malice that he had conceiued againſt *Biencourt*, did informe him where he had planted himſelfe, offering (as he did) to conduct him thither. As ſoone as they were entered within the Fort, neere the vppermoſt of the Ilands, Sir *Samuel* directed the Ship to ride at a reaſonable diſtance to attend occaſions before the Fort did land himſelfe with forty of the beſt of his men vpon a Meddow, where immediately they heard a peece of Ordnance from the Fort, and he conceiuing ſince it was ſhot whilſt it could doe no harme, that it was done either but to giue terrour to them, or to warne ſome that might happen to be abroad, did make the greater haſte towards the Fort, where he preſently entered, finding it abandoned without any men at all left for the defence thereof. He went vp the Riuer ſide fiue or ſix miles, where he ſaw their Barnes, and the ground where a great quantity of Wheate had grown, which he carried with him to proue for Seede in *Virginia*: he ſaw alſo their corne Milne very conueniently placed, which together with the Barnes he left ſtanding vntouched. As for the Fruit it ſelfe he deſtroied it downe to the ground, racing the *French* armes, and leauing no Monument that might remaine to witneſſe their being here.

Ieſuite killed.

After this, *Biencourt*, who had been ſomewhere abroad trauelling through the Countrey comming home, deſired to conferre with Sir *Samuel Argall*, who did meete with him a part from the company vpon a meadow: and after they had expoſtulated a ſpace for what had paſt controuerting concerning the *French* and *Engliſh*, little to theſe bounds, at laſt *Biencourt* offered, if hee might haue a protection from him, to depend vpon our King, and to draw the whole Furres of that Countrey to one Port, where he would diuide them with him; as likewiſe hee would ſhow him good mettalls, whereof he gaue him pieces, the other refuſed to ioyne in any ſocietie with him, proteſting that his Commiſſion was onely to diſplant him, and that if hee found him there thereafter hee would vſe him as an enemy. *Biencourt* labouring earneſtly to haue had the Ieſuite, as he confeſſed, with a purpoſe to hang him. Whileſt they were diſcourſing together, one of the Sauages ruſhing ſuddenly forth from the Woods, and licentiated to come neere, did after his manner, with ſuch broken *French* as he had earneſtly mediate a peace, wondring why they that ſeemed to be of one Country, ſhould vſe others with ſuch hoſtilitie, and that with ſuch a forme of habit and geſture as made them both to laugh.

After *Biencourt* remouing from thence to ſome other, *Monſieur Champlein*, who had liued long here, did carry a company with him from *France* of ſome fortie perſons or thereabouts, vp

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the Riuer of *Canada* whom hee planted on the North side thereof, with a purpose to sue for a Factory, drawing all the trade of that farre running Riuer, within the hands of a few whom he doth command, which a Plantation would haue dispersed in many parts, otherwise, if his desires had beene bended that way, hee might haue planted many people there ere now; the place is called *Kebeck*, where the *French* doe prosper well, hauing Corne by their owne labour, which may furnish themselues for foode, and likewise for a Stocke to traffique with the Sauages, with sundry other Fruites, Rootes, Vine grapes and Turkey Wheate. *Champlein* hath discouered the Riuer of *Canada* from the Gulfe vpwards aboue 1200. miles, finding in it sometimes such fals as he must carry his Boate a little way by land, and then put it in againe. He did many times come to great Lakes, at the end whereof he did alwaies finde a Riuer againe: and the last Lake where he came was a very huge one, iudged to be three hundred miles in length, by the report of some Sauages, who did affirme vnto him, that at the further end thereof they did finde Salt water, and that they had seene great Vessels; which made *Champlein* beleeue that a passage might be there to the Bay of *California*, or to some part of the South Sea, which would proue an inestimable benefit for the Inhabitants of these parts, opening a neere way to *China*, which hath bin so many sundry wayes with so great charges to long sought for. Howsoeuer, in regard of the season, and for want of necessary prouisions, *Champleine* did returne backe at that time, with a purpose to goe againe another yeare: which if hee hath done is not yet knowne, but this is most certaine, that the Riuer of *Canada* hath a long course, and through many goodly Countries: some of these great Lakes, by sending forth, or by receiuing great Riuers, doe afford meanes of commerce as farre as to some parts of *Terra Florida*, as may be gathered by *Champleines* discouery, &c.

The South Sea suspected (as before in *Dermers* letter) by Sauages relations.

THus haue I giuen thee Others trauells to Virginia *and the* Summer Ilands. *I will conclude with mine owne trauells for them. I see many likely to bee disheartened by the slender growth of the* Virginian *Plantation, which for the time might haue beene not onely a safe, but a rich and blessed Mother of a numerous thriuing generation, branching farre into other Colonies; and yet is! But why doe I intercept your eyes and diuert your thoughts (suspend them at last) from that which for my Countries good, and zeale to* Virginia, *without partiall respect to the right hand or to the left, with a candid right hand I here present, and forbid all sinister hands to meddle with? Tros Tyriusue mihi---- I side no where, but, embrace* Virginia *with a right heart, my pen directed, my hands erected for her good, which can doe mee no other good, but in reference to the publike, whose I am and whom vnder God and his Maiestie I serue and obserue with all that I haue, am, and can. I had written it as a tractate by it selfe, at the request of some worthy friends, but here haue abridged it in some such things as the other parts of these Volumes containe.*

CHAP. XX.

Virginias *Verger: Or a Discourse shewing the benefits which may grow to this Kingdome from* American English *Plantations, and specially those of* Virginia *and* Summer Ilands.

GOd is the beginning and end, the Alpha and Omega, that first and last, of whom and for whom are all things. The first and last thing therefore in this *Virginian* argument considerable, is God; that is, whether we haue *Commission from him* to plant, and whether the Plantation may bring *glory to him*: This in regard of vs and our scope; That in regard of it, and the lawfulnesse thereof. To begin with this; *In the beginning God created heauen and earth* (all things therefore are his by a higher name then right, this rule and the things ruled, being his *creatures*) of both which Man onely amongst Visible creatures was created capable, which *Moses* deliuereth in these words, that *God created him after his owne Image*: which is spoken not onely of the spirituall, immortall substance of his soule, whose vnity shineth with that created Trinity of *Vnderstanding, Will, Memory*, in it selfe; and that of *Vegetation, Sense, Reason*, exercised in and by bodily motion; but more especially in regard of the Creator, a conformity to him *in righteousnesse & holinesse of truth* (the whole Man shining with a borrowed light, as the Moone is the image and reflexion of the Sunne) and in regard of the *Creature*, a iust dominion ouer the same, as the holy words manifest; *repleniſh the Earth and subdue it, and haue dominion ouer the Fish of the Sea, and ouer the Fowle of the ayre, and ouer euery liuing thing that moueth vpon the earth.* Although Mans rebellion had forfeited this Naturall Charter, yet was the same in the repeopling of the World renewed to *Noah* and his Sons, which euer since haue beene in actuall possession; and as *Adam gaue names* (as humaine earemarks) *to the liuing creatures*; so *Noahs* heires haue since giuen names to Seas and Lands, and other creatures quite thorow the knowne World. Neither did the *Fall of Man* so cracke this *earthen vessell*, that

'Ex Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα καὶ τῷ Διὶ λήγωμεν. *Arat.* Of God, and the image of God in Man.

Gen. 1. 1.

Eph. 4. 24.

Gen 1. 28.

Gen. 9. 2.

Gen. 2.

that all his created excellence ran out: for neither were the substance or faculties of the soule extinct, nor his prerogatiue ouer the visible creatures (the spirituall creature naturally excelling the Bodily, and the reasonable and liuing, the sentitiue, vegetatiue and torpid:) these receiued a wound, the other (his spirituall and religious conformitie in these to God) as a *purer water* of the purest life, ran forth irrecouerably; and as our naturall parts were weakned and *wounded*, so of those supernaturall wee were vtterly *robbed*; till that good *Samaritan* vndertooke the restitution of that in redemption, whereunto in creation he had giuen first institution, *God hath laid vpon him* Esay 53. *the iniquitie of vs all, and in his stripes wee are healed*; our Charter is renued and now made so compleat, that whereas the deuills thought to rob man of Earth and Paradise, *Hee which taketh the* 1. Cor. 3. *wise in his craftinesse* hath restored him: nay (that is little) hath added Heauen Himselfe: that as the *Israelites* entred vpon the houses, Cities and possessions of the cursed *Canaanites*, so Christians into those Thrones and celestiall Dominions, which those spirituall Thrones and Dominions lost, and there haue God himselfe and the Lambe to be their *Temple and All in all* vnto them Apoc. 21. 1. Cor. 15. for euer, *Amen.*

Of the right of Christians and that of Heathens to the world. See these things more fully handled in *Tr.* 1. *l.* 1. *c.* 1. §. 3, 4, 5. *Iob.* 8. 35, 36. Πίστις ἀποστόλου, 1. *Tim.* 1. 6. Christians may not spoile Heathens. *Gal.* 3. 17. *Tit.* 1.

Hence is it that Christians (such as haue the Grace of the Spirit of Christ, and not the profession of his merit alone) haue and hold the world and the things thereof in another tenure, whereof Hypocrites and Heathens are not capable. These haue onely a *Naturall right*, by the reliques of the Law of Nature left in Man, by the Creators goodnesse, for the conseruation of the face of a world in the world; the same further improued with a warrantization, *Contra omnes gentes* (our euidences dialect) by the Law of Nations vnto Nations, and Lawes Politicke and Ciuill in each Nation, allotting to the members thereof the publike and priuate ciuill rights and tenures, which either publike or priuate, persons or corporations, held therein.

This tenure comparatiuely that Christian, is by our Lord himselfe called a *tenure in villenage*, that *of sonnes: the seruant* hath his time and *abides not in the house for euer*: but the *sonne is heire* in fee simple (*fide simplici*) for euer. Neither yet is it lawfull for Christians, to vsurpe the goods and lands of Heathens; for they are villains not to vs; but to our and their Lord; nor hath the sonne in nonage power to dispossesse villaines: nor are wee sonnes by nature, but by adoption, and a later Euangelicall Charter which doth not disannull the former (*the Truth*, or Word of the Gospel receiued by Faith, *makes vs free*) free Tenants to our Lord, not Lordly subuerters of others tenures; which may with a good conscience vse our owne (all *things to the pure are pure*, which others cannot, whose *conscience* being pitchy, all things it toucheth, *are defiled*) and not, as some haue turned libertie into licentiousnesse, with a bad conscience take away that which is anothers. Christ *came not to destroy the Law*, of which one Commandement is, *Thou shalt not steale*: *My Kingdome*, saith hee, *is not of this world*, and therefore properly medleth not with proprietie and ciuill interests. *The weapons of our warfare*, saith Saint *Paul*, *are not carnall* but spirituall, and the Keyes so much boasted on by *Peters* pretended Successors, are called *Keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen*; lawfull keyes, not thieuish picklocks; of Heauen, not of Earth. And it is remarkable that neither Pope nor Anabaptist (the troubles of *Israel* with worse then Heathenish conceits in this kind) euer inuerted or interuerted Scepters, till they had denied the very Christian name which they receiued in Baptisme; nor *disposed gouernment* till they were *twice dead*, nor *promised* this *libertie to others*, till *themselues were the seruants of corruption*. Euen a Malefactor, a Traytor, a very *Faux*, or *Ranuliac*, is permitted to breath, yea is in prison, the Kings house (whereof no priuate hand may dispossesse him) maintained at the Kings charge, till iudgement haue passed on him, which to the world is not till the end of the world, when Christ shall come to iudge the quick and dead; who once so respected the iurisdiction of Ethnickes, that himselfe was there by adiudged to the worst of sufferings, yea acknowledged that *power giuen to* Pilat *from aboue*. His Birth acknowledged *Augustus* his Edict, his Infancy fled *Herods* tyranny, his Manhood payd *Tiberius* tribute, and his Death was *Roman* both in kind and sentence. *Let euery soule be subiect to the higher powers*, yeelded those noble armies of Martyrs in the Primitiue Church; the contrary whereof hath yeelded Mastiues and Monsters in these last and worst dayes.

Matth. 5. *Iohn* 19. 36. 2. *Cor.* 10. 4. *Matth.* 16. *Iud.* 8. 2. *Pet.* 2. 19. *Iohn* 19. 11. *Rom.* 13. 1.

Therefore was *Babels* building in the East (and shall not *Babel* bable building in the West be) confounded that men might bee dispersed thorow the world, to take possession of their inheritance: and God which said, *Replenish the earth*, hath *made of one blood all Nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times and bounds of their habitation.* Hee gaue *Ar* to the children of *Lot*, and the Land of the *Horims* to *Esaus* posteritie, though not with like circumstances as *Canaan* to *Israel*: and it was by speciall indulgence, that *Israel* both spoiled the *Egyptians* and disherited the *Canaanites*. Let it bee enough, that Christ hath giuen vs our selues in the Lords seruice to bee a perfect freeman, the Vniuersein an vniuersall tenure, and Heauen in reuersion; that hath giuen his *Sonne*, doth giue his *Spirit*, will giue *himselfe*; that *all things are ours, and wee Christs, and Christ Gods*: without thoughts of inuasion and vsurpation, knowing that Christian *Charity seeketh not her owne things* (much lesse obtrudes on others) and Christian libertie maketh liberall Saints of naturall men, not vnnaturall deuills of professed Saints. Our Light should so *shine before others, that they may see our good workes, that they which know not the world, may bee won without the Word*, in admiring our Christian conuersation.

Gen. 11. *Acts* 17. 27. *Deut.* 2. 9, 19. 1. *Cor.* 3. 1. *Cor.* 13. *Matth.* 5. 1. *Pet.* 3.

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This should be, and in the most Aduenturers I hope is the scope of the *Virginian* Plantation, not to make Sauages and wild degenerate men of Christians, but Christians of those Sauage, wild, degenerate men; to whom preaching must needs bee vaine, if it begins with publike Latrocinie. And this is sufficient to preuent scruple of the Popes Bul, which (if *Basan* Buls roaring were euidence) maketh aswel against *England*, this being no lesse questionable then *Virginia*, *Paul*, *Pius*, *Gregory Sixtus* breathing as much fire against this, as *Alexander* for that. But what right can *England* then challenge to *Virginia*? I answere, that we would be loth to begin our right at wrong, either to Ethnick or Christian: nor need we, hauing so manifold and iust interests. First, as men, we haue a naturall right to *replenish the whole earth*: so that if any Countrey be not possessed by other men, which is the case of *Summer Ilands*, and hath beene of all Countries in their first habitations) euery man by Law of Nature and Humanitie hath right of Plantation, and may not by other after-commers be dispossessed, without wrong to human nature. And if a country be inhabited in some parts therof, other parts remaining vnpeopled, the same reason giueth liberty to other men which want conuenient habitation to seat themselues, where (without wrong to others) they may prouide for themselues. For these haue the same right vnto these latter parts, which the former had to the former; especially where the people is wild, and holdeth no settled possession in any parts. Thus the holy Patriarks remoued their habitations and pasturages, when those parts of the world were not yet replenished: and thus the whole world hath been planted and peopled with former and later Colonies: and thus *Virginia* hath roome enough for her own (were their numbers an hundred times as many) and for others also which wanting at home, seeke habitations there in vacant places, with perhaps better right then the first, which (being like *Cain*, both Murtherers and Vagabonds in their whatsoeuer and howsoeuer owne) I can scarsly call *Inhabitants*. To question this right, were to accuse almost all Nations which were rocked (for the most part) in no other cradle: and to disappoint also that Diuine Ordinance of *replenishing the Earth*, whose habitations otherwise would be like scattered Ilands in the Seas, or as the present *Spanish* Plantations in the *Indies*, so dispersed and disioyned that one cannot in any distresse succour another, and therefore are made an easier prey to euery Inuader. Another right is that of Merchandise: *Non omnia possumus omnes, Nec vero terra ferre omnes omnia possunt*; God in manifold wisedome hath diuersified euery Countries commodities, so that all are rich, and all poore; not that *one should be hungry and another drunken*, but that the whole world might be as one body of mankind, each member communicating with other for publike good. He hath made this immutable decree in the mutabilitie of the Winds, commodities & commodiousnesse of Seas, and Harbors, varietie of Baies and Riuers, multiplicity of all Mens both Necessities and Superfluities, and their vniuersall desires of Nouelties. Thus *Salomon* and *Hiram* had right to sayle ouer the Ocean, and to negotiate with the *Ophirians* for Gemmes, Gold, Ivory, and other commodities seruiceable for his peoples necessities, for pompous Magnificence, and for the Temples Holies. And if hee did not plant Colonies there, you must remember that the *Iewish* Pale was then standing, which prohibited voluntarie remote dwellings, where each man was thrice a yeere to appeare before the Lord in *Ierusalem*. Besides, it is a question whether the Countrey peopled so long before, had roome for such Neighbours:

It is therefore vngodly, and inhumane also to deny the world to men, or like *Manger-dogges* (neither to eat hay themselues, nor to suffer the hungry Oxe) to prohibite that for others habitation, whereof themselues can make no vse; or for merchandise, whereby much benefit accreweth to both parts. They which doe this, *Tollunt è vita vitæ societatem*, to vse *Tullies* phrase, *& hominem ex homine tollunt*, to borrow Saint *Ieroms* in another matter. The *Barbarians* themselues by light of nature saw this, and gaue Ours kind entertainment in mutuall cohabitation and commerce: and *they hauing not the Law were a Law to themselues*, practically acknowledging this Law of Nature written by him, which is *Natura naturans*, in their hearts: from which if they since haue declined, they haue lost their owne Naturall, and giuen vs another Nationall right; their transgression of the Law of Nature, which tieth Men to Men in the rights of Natures commons, exposing them (as a forfeited bond) to the chastisement of that common Law of mankind; and also on our parts to the seueritie of the Law of Nations, which tyeth Nation to Nation. And if they bee not worthy of the name of a Nation, being wilde and Sauage: yet as Slaues, bordering rebells, excommunicates and out-lawes are lyable to the punishments of Law, and not to the priuiledges; So is it with these *Barbarians*, Borderers and Outlawes of Humanity. *Arma tenenti, Omnia dat qui iusta negat*, If the Armes bee iust, as in this case of vindicating vnnaturall, inhumane wrongs to a louing and profitable Nation, entertained voluntarily, in time of greatest pretended amity. On this quarrell *Dauid* conquered all the Kingdome of the *Ammonites* and left it to his successours in many generations, notwithstanding *Moses* had otherwise left a speciall caution for their security, testifying that God had giuen it the sonnes of *Lot*, and prohibiting inuasion to *Israel*. That naturall right of cohabitation and commerce we had with others, this of iust inuasion and conquest, and many others præuious to this, we haue aboue others; so that *England* may both by Law of Nature and Nations challenge *Virginia* for her owne peculiar propriety, and that by all right and rites vsuall amongst men, not those mentioned

Mans naturall right in places, either wholly or in great part not inhabited.

Abraham, Lot, Iacob, &c.

I haue heard by one which I thinke hath more searched the Countrie then any other Cap. *Smith*, that in neere so much as all *England*, they haue not aboue 5000. men able to bear armes, which manured and ciuilly planted might well nourish 1500000. and many many more; as appeareth by this our countrie, not hauing so rich a naturall Inheritance.

Right of Merchandise. *1. Cor.* 11. 21.

Securitie of Ports. *Gen.* 10.

Rom. 2. 14.

Right Nationall: *Ius gentium.*

Lucan.

Right by right conquest. *2. Sam.* 10.

Deut. 2. 19.

Englands manifold rights to *Virginia*.

alone but by others also, first discouery, first actuall possession, prescription, gift, cession, and liuery of seisin, sale for price, that I mention not the naturall Inheritance of the *English* their naturally borne, and the vnnaturall outcries of so many vnnaturally murthered, for iust vengeance of rooting out the authors and actors of so prodigious iniustice.

First discouery

And first for discouery, the *English*, *Spaniard*, and *Portugall* seeme the *Triumuiri* of the Worlds first discoueries, the *Spaniard and Portugall* first opening the Eastern, Western, and Southern parts, the *English* the Northern *America*, and all known parts thence to the North & Northeast. I could bring authority for King *Arthurs* conquests, aboue 1000. yeers since in *Island*, *Gronland*, *Estotiland*: but I feare this would seeme too weake a foundation, and (which lyers get by lying) discredit our other authorities lesse suspicious; howsoeuer Authors of best note in Geography alledge those, which reuerence of the truth makes me let passe. And so I doe King *Malgo* soone after him, and Saint *Brandon*, and the Friar of *Oxford* (which *A.* 1360. is said to discouer to the *Pole*) and *Owen Gwined* Prince of North *Wales* his sonne *Madock*, *A.* 1170. which conueyed a Colony, as learned men thinke into the West *Indies*. In all Antiquities, as *Varro* obserued, there are somethings *fabulous* (so I deeme the former) something *vncertaine*, as this last; and somethings *Historicall*, as that which we shall deliuer. *Robert Thorne* in a Booke to Doctor *Leigh* writeth, that his father with another Merchant of *Bristol*, *Hugh Eliot*, were the first discouerers of the *New-found-lands*; and if the Mariners would haue beene ruled by their Pilot, the Lands of the West *Indies* from whence the Gold commeth had beene ours. What yeere this happened he expresseth not; but the words import that it was before *Columbus* his discouery. And before *Columbus* his discouery of the continent, Sir *Sebastian Cabot*, at the charges of K. *Henry* the seuenth, with two Caruels, in the yeere 1496. (so himselfe, in *Ramusio*; the Map with his picture in the Priuy Gallery hath 1497.) sailed to the *New-found-land*, which he called *Prima Vista*, and the Iland S. *Iohns*, because it was discouered on the Feast of S. *Iohn Baptist*; from whence he sailed Northerly to 67. deg. and a halfe, hoping by that way to passe to *Cathay*, but his mutinous company (terrified haply with Ice and cold) forced his returne, which hee made along the Coast toward the Equinoctiall, to the part of the firme land now called *Florida*, and then his victualls failing, he returned into *England*, where by occasion of warres with *Scotland*, the imploiment was laid aside. Afterwards the same Sir *Sebastian Cabot* was sent, *A.* 1516. by King *Henry* the eight, together with Sir *Thomas Pert* Viceadmirall of *England*, which after coasting this Continent the second time, as I haue read, discouered the Coast of *Brasil*, and returned from thence to S. *Domingo* and *Puerto Rico*. Now *Columbus* his first discouery of the Ilands, was in 1492. of the Continent in his third voyage in August, 1497. or as others, 1498. so that counting most fauourably for *Columbus*, *Cabot* had discouered the Continent in Iune next before; by one reckoning aboue a yeere, by another aboue two yeeres before. And indeed that New World might more fitly haue borne his name, then *America* of *Americus Vesputius*, or of *Columbus*, *Cabot* hauing discouered farre more of that Continent then they both, or any man else in those Seas: to wit, from 67. degrees and an halfe to the Line, and from thence Southerly to the Riuer of *Plate*.

Mercator. D. Dee. Ortel. &c.

M. Thorne.

Sir *Seb. Cabota.* his picture in the priuie gallerie at *White Hall* hath these words. *Effigies Seb. Cabote Angli filii Ioannis Cabote Venetij, militis aurati, &c.* he was born at *Venice*, and seruing *H. 7. H. 8. Ed. 6.* was accounted *English, &c.* *Galpano* saith he was borne at *Bristol*.

Sir *Seb. Cab.* Grand Pilot of *England*.

Hee also was the principall mouer in the setting forth of Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, in King *Edwards* time (vnder whom he was constituted Grand Pilot of *England*, with the annuall stipend of one hundred sixtie six pound thirteene shillings foure pence) in which voyage *Greeneland* was discouered (neither is there any other *Willoughbys Land* to be found, but in erroneous Maps) and the *Russian* Empire by the North Cape, and the Bay of Saint *Nicolas*. But for *Virginia*, as it was then discouered by Sir *Seb. Cabot*, so it receiued that name from our Virgin-Mother, Great *Elizabeth*: in whose time formal & actual possession was taken for her Maiesty, the thirteenth of Iuly, 1584. by Captain *Philip Amadas*, and Captain *Barlow*, whom Sir *Walter Raleigh* had sent thither with two Barkes furnished; who also the next yeere, 1585. sent Sir *Richard Greenevile* with seuen sayle, which there left an *English* Colony vnder the gouernment of M. *Ralph Lane*. *A.* 1586. hee sent another Ship of one hundred Tuns thither for their relieue: but the Colony being returned in Sir *Francis Drakes* Fleet, shee returned also. Sir *Richard Greenevile* also about a fortnight after their departure arriued with three Ships, and not finding the Colonie, left fifteene men to keepe possession, furnished with prouision for two yeeres.

Possession, continuation, prescription.

The names of aboue 100. are extant in M. *Hack.* 3. Tome.

A. 1587. Sir *Walter Raleigh* sent a new Colony of one hundred & fifty persons, with three saile, a Ship of one hundred and twenty Tuns, a Fly-boat and a Pinnace. Hee appointed twelue Assistants to the Gouernour, and incorporated them by the name of *Gouernour and Assistants of the Citie of Raleigh in Virginia*. To these, Sir *Walter Raleigh* sent succour fiue seuerall times, the last by *Samuel Mace*, 1602. *An.* 1603. the *Bristow* men sent thither, by leaue of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in which Expedition was Master *Robert Salterne*, who the yeere before had beene with Cap. *Bart. Gosnold*. And thus are wee come to the beginning of his Maiesties gracious raigne, when the North and South Plantations were by new Patents eagerly pursued, the one from hence, the other from the West parts of *England*. *Mawooshen* and other parts, were many yeeres visited by our men, and *An.* 1607. a Plantation setled at *Sagadahoc*, by two Ships sent by that wise and seuere Iustice Sir *Iohn Popham* and others: the successe whereof hath been such, that from the North Plantation it hath beene dignified with the Title of *New England*. And for the Southerne parts,

A. 1606.

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A. 1606. a Colony went from hence, set forth by the *Virginia* Company, which haue euer since maintained their Plantation in differing fortunes. As for the former Plantations of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, some children were borne to them there: and whether they liue, they continued the possession; or if the Sauages dealt perfidiously with them (as *Powhatan* confessed to Cap. *Smith*, that hee had beene at their slaughter, and had diuers vtensills of theirs to shew) their carkasses, the dispersed bones of their and their Countrey mens since murthered carkasses, haue taken a mortall immortall possession, and being dead, speake, proclaime and cry, *This our earth is truly English, and therefore this Land is iustly yours O English.* Two former Colonies wholly, &c.

Thus haue we discouered the *English* right by Discouery, Possession, Præscription; to which we may adde, that none other Nation hath once aduentured to settle in those parts, nor scarce to view them: yea the *French* and *Spanish* Plantations in *Florida*, *Virginias* Southerne neighbour, soone ended in bloudy massacres, the *Spanish* cruelly * murthering the *French*, vnder the conduct of *Pedro Melendes*, which *An.* 1567. was repaid them by *Dominique de Gorgues*, the acquittance written with his sword in *Spanish* bloud: *Florida* euer since expecting ciuilizing from her first discouerers the *English*: which is further ratified by the former *Spanish* disasters in the Expeditions of *Pamphilo de Nuarez*, 1527. and of *Soto*, 1537. into *Florida*: which two iourneyes consumed neere one thousand men therein imployed: besides other Expeditions of *Ponce de Leon* and others mentioned by *Vega* and the *Spanish* Authors.

Virginians acknowledge subiection and seruice to the *English*.

Now for voluntary subiection of the Natiues, giuing themselues and their lands to the Crown of *England*, M. *Ralph Lane* hath testified for the first Colonie, that *Menatonon* their King by his Messenger, & with him twentie foure principal men sent from *Okisko* King of *Weopomiok* his Vassall, formally acknowledged Her Maiesty as seruants and homagers to her, and vnder her to Sir *W. R.* For the last Plantation by the present Patent of His Maiesty, *Paspehay*, one of their Kings sold vs land for Copper, and *Powhatan* the chiefe Lord of all the Sauages, with thirty nine *Werowances*, haue yeelded to more then formes and circumstances of homage; besides contribution, hauing also actually sold for Copper by him receiued of Cap. *Iohn Smith*, and made voluntary cession of as much as the *English* desired, going away with his people to leaue it to the *English* onely. This purchase was much increased by Sir *Thomas Dale*, and for what soeuer else which he held, hee accepted a Copper Crowne as Vassall to His Maiesty: which also hee really performed for a time, howsoeuer since they haue beene perfidious. And this perfidiousnesse of theirs hath further warranted the *English* Title. Temperance and Iustice had before kissed each other, and seemed to blesse the cohabitations of *English* and *Indians* in *Virginia*. But when *Virginia* was violently rauished by her owne ruder Natiues, yea her Virgin cheekes dyed with the bloud of three Colonies (that of Sir *R. Greenevile*, that of Sir *W. R.* both confessed by themselues, and this last butchery intended to all, extended to so many hundreths, with so immaine, inhumane, deuilish treachery) that I speake not of thousands otherwise mis-caring here and mis-carrying there, taking possession of *Virginia* by their facts, and fates, by so manifold losses adding to the price of *Virginias* purchase: Temperance could not temper her selfe, yea the stupid Earth seemes distempered with such bloudy potions and cries that shee is ready to spue out her Inhabitants: Iustice cryeth to GOD foe vengeance, and in his name adiureth Prudence and Fortitude to the execution.

Right by buying & selling: and by cession.

Right by Forfeiture.

Fatall possession.

The Holy Patriarks had a promise of *Canaan*, yet held no possession but with their dead bodies; *Ioseph by faith gaue charge concerning his bones: Virginia* by so many rights naturalized *English*, by first discouery, actuall possession, chargeable continuation, long prescription, voluntary subiection, deliuery of seisin, naturall inheritance of *English* there borne, reall sale, legall cession, regall vassallage; disloyall treason hath now confiscated whatsoeuer remainders of right the vnnaturall Naturalls had, and made both them and their Countrey wholly *English*, prouoking vs, if wee bee our owne, not base, degenerate, vnworthy the name of *English*; so that wee shall not haue any thing left (like *Dauids* Embassadors, which thus abused, brought their Master a iust title to *Ammon*, purchased by their disgraces) to couer our nakednesse, till *Virginia* couer, reward, inrich vs with a totall subiection at lest, if not a fatall reuenge. And thus much for our right which God hath giuen vs: whose *Virginian* tribute is *his glory*, that hee may indeed be *Alpha* and *Omega* (as hath beene said) of the *Virginian* Plantation: which if it hath not satisfied the expectation hitherto, no doubt that defect hath in great part proceeded from this. *Heb.* 11.

The Glorie of God in his Word and Workes aduanced by this Plantation.

The end of a thing is the beginning, being first in intention though last in execution: the end which Christians ought to ayme at is God, *Doing all things in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father*, by the gracious guide and assistance of the *Holy Ghost*. Glory is, * *Frequens de aliquo fama cum laude*, *And heereby is our Father glorified*, sayeth Christ, *if yee bring forth much fruite, and so shall yee be my Disciples.* Loe here the scope of Christians Plantations, to plant Christianity, to produce and multiply Christians, by our words and works to further the knowledge of God in his Word and Workes. The workes of God glorifie their Creator: *The Heauens*, saith *Dauid*, *declare the glory of God*, &c. *I will triumph in the workes of thy hands. O Lord, how great are thy workes? and thy thoughts are very deepe. A brutish man knoweth not, neither doth a foole vnderstand this.* All creatures are inuited to *praise the name of the Lord*

* *Cicero.*

Io. 15.

Psal. 19. 2.

Psal. 92. 4.

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Pſ. 148. 5. *Pſ.* 16. & ac. 2. Eo. 2

Lord, for hee hath commanded and they were created: How much more ſhould the tongue of man be the *Pen of a readie writer*, and as it is called, *The glory of the man*, ſo imploy it ſelfe in ſetting forth the glory of God, in his Workes of Creation, Prouidence, Redemption?

The workes of God, and varietie there ſeen ſet forth his glorie.

God is a Glorious Circle, whoſe Center is euery where, his circumference no where: himſelfe to himſelfe is Circle and Circumference, the Ocean of Entitie, that very *vbique*, from whom, to whom (the Centre of vnitie) all diuerſified lines of varietie iſſue and returne. And although we euery where feele his preſent Deitie, yet the difference of heauenly climate and influence, cauſing ſuch diſcording concord of dayes, nights, ſeaſons; ſuch varietie of meteors, elements, aliments; ſuch noueltie in Beaſts, Fiſhes, Fowles; ſuch luxuriant plentie and admirable raritie of Trees, Shrubs, Hearbs: ſuch fertilitie of ſoyle, inſinuation of Seas, multiplicitie of Riuers, ſafetie of Ports, healthfulneſſe of ayre, opportunities of habitation, materialls for action, obiects for contemplation, haps in preſent, hopes of future, worlds of varietie in that diuerſified world; doe quicken our mindes to apprehend, whet our tongues to declare, and fill both with arguments of diuine praiſe. On the other ſide conſidering ſo good a Countrey, ſo bad people, hauing little of Humanitie but ſhape, ignorant of Ciuilitie, of Arts, of Religion; more brutiſh then the beaſts they hunt, more wild and vnmanly then that vnmanned wild Countrey, which they range rather then inhabite; captiuated alſo to Satans tyranny in fooliſh pieties, mad impieties, wicked idleneſſe, buſie and bloudy wickedneſſe: hence haue wee fit obiects of zeale and pitie, to *deliuer from the power of darkneſſe*, that where it was ſaid, *Yee are not my people, they may bee called the children of the liuing God:* that Iuſtice may ſo proceed in rooting out thoſe murtherers, that yet *in iudgement* (imitating Gods dealing with vs) wee may *remember Mercy* to ſuch as their owne innocence ſhall protect, and Hope ſhall in Charitie iudge capable of Chriſtian Faith. And let men *know that hee which conuerteth a ſinner from the errour of his way, ſhall ſaue a ſoule from death, and ſhall hide a multitude of ſinnes.* And *Sauiours ſhall* thus *come on Mount Zion to iudge the Mount of Eſau, and the Kingdome* (of *Virginia*) *ſhall be Lord.* Thus ſhall wee at once ouercome both Men and Deuills, and *eſpouſe* Virginia *to one husband, preſenting her as a chaſt Virgin to Chriſt. If the eye* of Aduenturers were thus *ſingle*, how ſoone and *all the body* ſhould *be light?* But the louing our ſelues more then God, hath detained ſo great bleſſings from vs to *Virginia*, and from *Virginia* to vs. *Godlineſſe hath the promiſes of this life, and that which is to come.* And if wee be carefull to doe Gods will, he will be ready to doe ours.

Propagation of the Goſpell: & rewards therof

Oſe 2.

Iam. 5. 20.

Obad. vlt.

2. *Cor.* 11. 2.

Matth. 6. 22.

1. *Tim.* 4. 8.

All the rich endowments of *Virginia*, her Virgin-portion from the creation nothing leſſened, are wages for all this worke: God in wiſedome hauing enriched the Sauage Countries, that thoſe riches might be attractiues for *Chriſtian* ſuters, which there may *ſowe ſpirituals and reape temporals.*

Anſweres to Obiections: & firſt to the want of Gold and Siluer Mines.

But what are thoſe riches, where we heare of no Gold nor Siluer, and ſee more impoueriſhed here then thence enriched, and for Mines we heare of none but Iron? Iron mindes! *Iron age* of the world! who gaue Gold or Siluer the Monopoly of wealth, or made them the Almighties fauorites? Precious perils, ſpecious puniſhments, whoſe originall is neereſt hell, whoſe houſe is darkneſſe, which haue no eye to ſee the heauens, nor admit heauens eye (guilty malefactors) to ſee them; neuer produced to light but by violence, and conuinced, vpon records written in bloud, the occaſioners of violence in the World; which haue infected the ſurface of their natiue earth with deformity and ſterility (theſe Mines being fit emblemes of mindes couetous, ſtored with want, and euer wanting their owne ſtore) her bowels with darkneſſe, damps, deaths, cauſing trouble to the neighbour Regions, and miſchiefe to the remoteſt! Penurious mindes! Is there no riches but Gold Mines? Are Iron Mines neglected, reiected for hopes of Siluer? What, and who elſe is the Alchymiſt, and impoſtor, which turnes the World, and Men, and all into Iron? And how much Iron-workes in Warres and Maſſacres hath *American* Gold and Siluer wrought thorow all *Chriſtendome?* Neither ſpeake I this, as if our hopes were blaſted, and growne deplorate and deſperate this way, the Country being ſo little ſearched, and the remote in-land-Mountaines vnknowne: but to ſhew the ſordid tincture and baſe alloy of theſe Mine-mindes. Did not the *Spaniſh* Iron (tell me you that contemne Iron-mines) draw to it the *Indian* Siluer and Gold? I will not be a Prophet for *Spaine* from *Virginia*. But I cannot forget the wily apophthegme of the Pilots Boy in the *Cacafuego*, a great Ship laden with treaſure taken in the South Sea, by Sir *Francis Drake*; who ſeeing the *Engliſh* Ordnance command ſuch treaſure from the *Spaniſh Cacafuego*; *Our Ship*, ſaid he, *ſhall be called the Cacaplata, and the Engliſh may be named the Cacafuego.* I will not be ſo vnmannerly to giue you the homely *Engliſh*; it is enough that *Engliſh* Iron brought home the *Spaniſh-Indian* Siluer and Gold. But let vs conſult with the wiſeſt Councellour. *Canaan*, *Abrahams* promiſe, *Iſraels* inheritance, type of heauen, and ioy of the earth! What were her riches? were they not the Grapes of *Eſhcol*, the balme of *Gilead*, the Cedary neighbourhood of *Libanus*, the paſtury vale of *Ieriche*, the dewes of heauen, fertility of ſoile, temper of climat, the flowing (not with Golden Sands, but) with Milke and Hony (neceſſaries, and pleaſures of life, not bottomleſſe gulfes of luſt) the commodious ſcituation for two Seas, and other things like (in how many inferiour?) to this of *Virginia*. What golden Country euer nouriſhed with her naturall ſtore the hundreth part of men, in ſo ſmall a proportion of earth, as *Dauid* there

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mustered, being 1100000. of *Israel* and 500000.* of *Iuda*, not reckoning the Tribes of *Leui* and *Beniamin*, all able men for warres? And after him, in a little part of that little *Iehoshaphat* (More I dare say then the *Spaniards* can finde in one hundred times so much, of their Mine lands, and choose their best in *Peru*, *New Spaine*, and the Ilands) the Scriptures containing an infallible muster-booke of 1160000. able Souldiers in his small territories?

That then is the richest Land which can feede most men, Man being a mortall God, the best part of the best earth, and visible end of the visible World. What remarkeable Gold or Siluer Mines hath *France*, *Belgia*, *Lumbardy*, or other the richest peeces of *Europe*? what hath *Babylonia*, *Mauritania*, or other the best of *Asia* and *Africke*? What this our fertile Mother *England*? Aske our late Trauellers which saw so much of *Spaine*, the most famous part of *Europe* for Mynes of old, and inriched with the Mynes of the New World, if an *Englishman* needs to enuy a *Spaniard*, or prefer a *Spanish* life and happinesse to his owne. Their old Mynes made them the seruants of *Rome* and *Carthage*: and what their Mynes and mindes doe now I leaue them to others. Once, as the Mynes are in barrennest soyle, and couetous men haue least, euen when they are had of most money (*medijs vt Tantalus vndis*) so I haue heard that in *Spaine* is lesse Gold and Siluer, then in other parts of *Europe*, (I dare not mention the proportions) from both *Spanish* and *English* relation: their vsuall money also (to meddle with no more) is of base mettall, and their greatest summes computed by *Maranedis* lesse then our later tokens: except which (deuised for poorer vses of the poorest) *England* of long time knowes no base monyes: and hath seene plentie of Siluer and Gold, of Wine and Oyle which (grow not in her) when *Spaine*, which produceth these, is fed with salads, and drinketh water, helped now and then with Hogges-kinne vnsauoury Wine. The *Indian* Fountaines runne with golden and siluer streames (*sic vos non vobis*) not to themselues, but into that *Spanish* Cisterne; and these Cisternes are like those of the *London* Water-house, which hath the Conduit Pipes alway open in the bottome, so that a thousand other Cisternes hold more water then it: so may it be said of the other; it is not *Concha* but *Canalis*, a Pipe rather then Cisterne, a Cash-keeper rather then Owner; and (which is spoken of better things) remaining poore, makes many rich. To proceed, are not Myners the most miserable of Slaues, toyled continually, and vnto manifold deaths tired for others, in bringing to light those Treasures of darknesse, and liuing (if they liue, or if that bee a life) in the suburbs of Hell, to make others dreame of Heauen? Yea Paradise, the model of heauen, had in it no Minerals, nor was *Adam* in his innocency, or *Noah* after the Worlds recouery, both Lords of all, employed in Mines, but (in those happy workes which *Virginia* inuiteth *England* vnto) in Vines, Gardening, and Husbandry. Neither let any man thinke that I pleade against the soueraignesse of the Grapes, like the Foxe which could not reach them: but I seriously shew that they are calues and not men, which adore the golden Calfe, or *Nabuchadnezzars* great golden statue, as if the *body* were not *more then raiment*, and those things to be preferred to money, for whose sake mony (the creature of man; base Idolatry where the Creator worships his creature!) was first ordained, and still hath both vse and being.

Doe we not see in this respect, that the Silkes, Calicos, Drugges, and Spices of the East swallow vp (not to mention the *Belgian* whirlepoole) all the Mines of the West? and that one Carricke carrieth more Rials thither, then perhaps some whole Region in *Spaine* retaineth for vulgar vse? And whence are *English*, *Portugals*, or *Dutchmen* fitted for that commerce? as if *America* had ominously (for other iust reason there is none) beene called *India*, as if the West were but drudge and factor for the East. And what hath dispeopled the New World, not leauing in some places one of Millions, but *Auri sacra fames*, others killing them in the Mines, or they killing themselues to preuent the Mines? Let it be riches enough, that Sir *Thomas Dale* testified by Letters from thence, and after his returne to me that foure of the best Kingdomes of *Christendome* were not for naturall endowments comparable to *Virginia*: and which I haue heard of one which hath trauelled in all the best Regions of *Europe*, and hath seene more of *Virginia* then perhaps any man else, and which needes not speake for any gaine there or thence gotten, as no reputed fauourite or fauourer of that Society and their actions; that he hath seene no Country to be preferred for soile, nor for commodious Riuers to be compared.

And if successe hath not beene correspondent to *English* hopes: who seeth not the causes of those diseasters?

Diuision that taile-headed *Amphisbæna* and many-headed monster, deformed issue of that difformed old Serpent, in some of the Colony there & Cõpany here, hath from time to time thrust in her forged venomous tongue, wherby they haue swolne with deadly poison of *great thoughts of heart (onely by pride doe men make contention)* with blinde-staring eyes of self-loue *abounding in their own sense*: whence suspicions, iealousies, factions, partialities to friends and dependants, wilfull obstinacies, and other furious passions haue transported men from *Virginias* good and their owne. Couetousnesse hath distorted others to minde earth and not heauen, in hastinesse of more then speedy returne and present gaine, forgetting that *Godlinesse is the best gaine*, and that they are planting a Colony, not reaping a haruest, for a publike and not (but in subordinate order) priuate wealth. A long time *Virginia* was thought to be much encombered with *Englands* excrements,

* Compare 2 *Sam.* 24. with 1 *Chron.* 21. It seemes that there were aboue two millions of men besides women and children.

Virginias high valuation. Cap. *Ioh. Smith*

Answer to the obiected ill successes and causes thereof.

Iud. 5. 16. *Prou.* 13. 10.

1 *Tim.* 6.

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ſome vicious perſons, as corrupt leuin ſowring, or as plague ſores infecting others, and that Colony was made a Port Exquiline for ſuch as by ordure or vomit were by good order and phyſicke worthy to be euacuated from This Body: whence not only lazie drones did not further the Plantation, but wicked Waſpes with ſharking, and the worſt, that is beggerly tyrants, fruſtrated and ſupplanted the labours of others. *Celum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.* A prodigious Prodigall here, is not eaſily metamorphoſed in a *Virginian* paſſage to a thrifty Planter: nor can there neede wiſer choiſe or more induſtrious courſe in any vndertaking, then is requiſite in a *Chriſtian* Colonies plantation amongſt Infidels. Which I ſuppoſe hath beene carefully by many Aduenturers practiſed: and whatſoeuer faults happened by ignorance in the beginnings, neglect of ſeaſons, riot, ſloath, occaſionall wants of or in Gouernours or Gouernment, abuſes of Mariners, trechery of Fugitiues, and Sauages; and other diſeaſes, which haue in part attended all new Plantations, and conſumed many: experience I hope by this time hath taught to preuent or remedy. The late barbarous Maſſacre *(hinc illa lachryma)* ſtill bleedeth, and when things were reported to be in better forwardneſſe then euer, in great part blaſted thoſe hopefull bloſſomes, diſiointed the proceedings in the Iron workes, Vineyards, Mulberry plants; and in ſudden ſhifts for life, expoſed them to manifold neceſſities; inſomuch, that many of the Principals being ſlain, the reſt ſurpriſed with feare, reduced themſelues almoſt from eighty to eight Plantations; whereby peſtered with multitude, and deſtitute of Corne and other forſaken neceſſaries, they incurred a grieuous and generall ſickneſſe, which being increaſed by infection of ſome paſſengers tainted in their Ship-paſſage with corrupt Beere, there followed a mortality which conſumed about fiue hundred perſons, beſides three hundred and fifty or thereabouts murthered in that Sauage-Maſſacre. All which notwithſtanding, there remaine, ſome haue if truely calculated and coniectured eighteene hundred perſons: for whoſe ſecurity and prouiſion it hath pleaſed his Maieſty to haue a Royall care, as likewiſe the Honorable Lords of his Maieſties priuy Councell, beſides the honorable endeuours of the Councell and well affected members of that Society, which God almighty, the great Founder of Colonies, proſper.

The maſſacre hath been the chiefe cauſe of later miſcaryings.

This number of 1800. was preſented by the Companie to the Lords of the Councell.

Now that I may ſhew *Virginia* worthy thoſe princely, honorable and induſtrious thoughts, I haue aduentured briefely to point out, rather then to paint out her beauty and attractiue ornaments.

Arguments for *Virginian* plantation, as being honorable.

1. Religion.

First Religion (as is before obſerued) inuiteth vs there to ſeeke the *Kingdome of God firſt, and all other things ſhall be miniſtred to vs,* and added as aduantage to the bargaine: ſeeke the Kingdome of God, and ſee an earthly Kingdome in recompence, as the earneſt, and the heauenly Kingdome for our full paiment. Of glorifying God in his word and workes in this deſigne is already ſpoken.

2. Humanitie.

Secondly, Humanity and our common Nature forbids to *turne our eyes from our owne fleſh;* yea commands vs to loue our neighbours as our ſelues, and to play the good *Samaritan* with theſe our neighbours (though of another Nation and Religion, as the wounded *Iew* was to him) to recouer them if it be poſſible, as by Religion, *from the power of Satban to God*; ſo by humanity and ciuility from Barbariſme and Sauageneſſe to good manners and humaine polity.

3. Honor of the *Engliſh* Nation

Thirdly, the Honour of our Nation enioyneth vs not baſely to looſe the glory of our forefathers acts, which here haue beene ſhewed in King *Henry* the ſeuenth, King *Henry* the eight, King *Edward* the ſixt, and Queene *Elizabeths* times, all which illuſtrated their names by Diſcouery of Realmes remote, vnknowne parts and ports, (and the firſt, firſt of all Kings, and the laſt holding to the laſt) Diſcouering and poſſeſſing theſe, and leauing them as iuſt inheritance to his Maieſty. What ſhame to a degenerate poſterity, to looſe ſo honorable a claime, and gaine; yea, to neglect that which many *Engliſh* haue purchaſed with doing and ſuffering ſo much, and not with their ſweate alone, their care and coſt, but with their deereſt bloud and manifold deaths?

4. Honour of the King.

Fourthly, wee may reckon the Honour of our King, and his Royall poſterity: to which, in time *Virginia* may performe as much with equall manuring as euer *Britannia* and *Ireland* could promiſe when firſt they became knowne to the then ciuiller World. And were not compariſons odious! I am ſure I heard Sir *Thomas Dale* confidently and ſeriouſly exulting in priuate conference with me, in the hopes of future greatneſſe from *Virginia*, to the *Engliſh* Crowne. And if the wiſe King wiſely ſaid, the *honour of a King is in the multitude of his Subiects*, loe here the way to preſerue, employ, encreaſe them; and for his Maieſty to reach his long royall armes to another World. The *Roman* Empire ſowed *Roman* Colonies thorow the World, as the moſt naturall and artificiall way to win and hold the World *Romaine*.

5. Honor of the Kingdome.

Fifthly, the honour of the Kingdome, thus growing and multiplying into Kingdomes, that as *Scotland* and *England* ſeeme ſiſters, ſo *Virginia*, *New England*, *New found Land* in the Continent already planted in part with *Engliſh* Colonies, together with *Bermuda*, and other Ilands may be the adopted and legall Daughters of *England*. An honorable deſigne, to which Honor ſtretcheth her faire hand, the fiue fingers whereof are adorned with ſuch precious Rings, each enriched with inualuable Iewels of Religion, Humanity, Inheritance, the King, the Kingdome; *Honos alit artes, omneſque incendunter ad ſtudia gloriæ.*

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And if Honour hath preuailed with honorable and higher ſpirits, we ſhall come laden with arguments of profit to preſſe meaner hands and hearts to the ſeruice of *Virginia*. Onely I deſire that men bring their hearts firſt, and conſider that the very names of a Colony and Plantation doe import a reaſonable and ſeaſonable culture, and planting before a Harueſt and Vintage can be expected: which if they here exerciſe our Faith and Hope both for earth and heauen, where all things are prepared; let vs not in ruder and cruder foundations and beginnings there, precipitate vnto haſty fals. 6. Argument of profit, generally propounded.

And before we come to *Virginias* particular probabilities for this Kingdomes good, we need not far fetched ſpeculations, we haue euidence from experience. *Caſtile* (a Kingdome which now ſtoops to none, and which ſome of her flatterers aduance aboue all, making it Catholike without reſpect to Faith) grew from an almoſt nothing out of the *Mooriſh* deluge, to be but a pettie ſomething in compariſon of others in *Europe*, till *Ferdinands* time who ſent *Columbus* to *America*. And how poore abilities or probabilities had they for it, when *Columbus* vpon falſe grounds hauing conceiued ſtrong, ſtrange hopes of the Eaſterne *Indies*, ſtumbled vpon a Weſterne World whereof hee neuer dreamed, which therefore he called *India*, and *Hiſpaniola Ophir*: to which Expedition (neither founded on ſound reaſon, nor experience of former Diſcoueries, when as yet the Mariners Art was but crept out of the Cradle, and bleſſed only in the Euent) the ſtate of *Caſtile* was as poorely furniſhed as it ſeemes, eyther with money or credit, the Queene pawning part of her Iewels for 2000. Duckets, to ſet *Columbus* forth with three poore Caruels for this Diſcouery. Little was it then imagined, that in *Hiſpaniola* ſhould be found (which happened in the taking of *Domingo* by Sir *Francis Drake*) a *Spaniſh* Scutchion with a Horſe, whoſe hinder feet trod on the Globe, his fore-feet prauncing as if he would foot out another World (like *Alexander* hearing Philoſophers diſcourſe of other Worlds, weeping that hee had not yet finiſhed the conqueſt of this) hauing this Motto annexed, *Non ſufficit Orbis*. Yea, but they found Gold and Siluer in abundance? the Pockes they did! and plagued all *Europe* with the great ones, with the ſmall conſuming *America*: and if they did find Gold and Siluer, how poore were the proportions till the *Mexican* Diſcouery almoſt thirty yeeres, and that of *Peru* forty yeeres after their *Indian* plantation. And who knowes what *Virginia* in that ſpace may produce by better Diſcouery of it, and further Diſcouery of parts adioyning, whereof we haue ten thouſand times more pregnant hopes, then they had in their firſt Expedition, by knowledge gathered from their Diſcoueries. Illuſtrated by the *Caſtilian* greatneſſe, Vpon leſſe probabilities, See *Ouiedo* & our ſixth Booke. Their greateſt benefit in commodities, not in Mines, to the common ſubiect.

Beſides, though Gold and Siluer from thence hath enriched the *Spaniſh* Exchequer, yet the Magazines haue found other and greater wealth, whereof *Virginia* is no leſſe capeable, namely, the Countrey Commodities. What Mynes haue they, or at leaſt, what doe they vſe in *Braſill*, or in all the Ilands, where yet ſo many wealthy *Spaniards* and *Portugalls* inhabit? Their Ginger, Sugar, Hides, Tobacco and other Merchandize, I dare boldly affirme, yeeld far far more profit to the generalitie of the *Spaniſh* Subiects thorow that vaſt World, then the Mynes do or haue done this laſt Age. Which I ſhall make apparant by honourable teſtimonie, in one of the laſt *Engliſh* Exploits on the *Spaniſh Indies*. The Right Honorable Earle of *Cumberland* in a Letter of his after the taking of Port *Rico*, (chiefe Towne if not the greateſt Iland in thoſe parts, and far ſhort of *Hiſpaniola* and *Cuba*) affirmeth, that if hee would haue left the place, hee might haue had by good account as much Sugar and Ginger in the Countrey, as was worth 500000. pounds. But he intended to keepe it, as the *Key of the Indies, which who ſoeuer poſſeſſeth* (I vſe his owne words) *may at his pleaſure goe to any Chamber in the Houſe, and ſee how they ſleepe before hee be either ſtopped or deſcried: ſo as they muſt at euery doore keepe ſo great a force to guard them, as will conſume a great part of their yeerely Reuenue; and ſend it from place to place with ſo great a waſtage, as will cauſe them to curſe their new Porter: for when they haue done what they can, they ſhall beare his charge to their owne deſtructions, and ſtill be looſing places both of ſtrength and wealth.* Thus that valorous and renowmed Earle, whoſe bloud ennobled his attempts, whoſe attempts added glory to his bloud, and nobleneſſe to his Nobilitie: which I rather recite that you might ſee the great wealth which the *Spaniards* reape of Ginger and Sugar, to which that of Hides in that Iland holds ſuch proportion, that one inhabitant thereof named *Cherigo*, had no fewer then twelue thouſand Beeues: where Beeues growing wild, it was tolerable to any Ilander to kill a beaſt, if hee returned the skinne to the Owner: and what he ſpeakes of a *Key* and a *Porters* aduantage, *Mutato nomine de te*, change the name, and if *Virginia* and *Sumner Ilands* fall ſhort ſome wayes, they will, more then equall it other wayes, in Caſe! But I muſt containe my ſelfe, leſt I purchaſe a *Purchas* Caſe for medling. The Earle had purpoſed to leaue Sir *Iohn Barkley* with a Garriſon to hold it, but a great ſickneſſe and mortalitie conſuming moſt of his men, he was forced to leaue the place, to bring home his ſhips. I finde this in a written Extract of all the Ports, ſhipping Cities, Men, &c. of *Spaine*, which ſometimes belonged to that induſtrious Gentleman M. *W. Burrough* Controller of the Naure.

Now if any ſhall thinke that the many tranſplantations of people into thoſe parts, would exhauſt *England*, *Spaine* will anſwere that point alſo, now in theſe dayes complayning no more of ſcarcitie of people (notwithſtanding their many and long Warres in ſo many parts of *Europe*, except the expulſion of the *Moores* and *Marans*, haue cauſed it) then when firſt they vndertooke thoſe conſuming vaſt Enterprizes, not of a *Virginia*, but of a World. And yet what in compariſon is *Spaine* for multitudes of people, whoſe vaſtneſſe is ſaid to yeeld (the King, Dukes, Marqueſſes and Earles only with their retinue excepted) from eighteene yeeres of age to fiftie, but

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1125390. men of all sorts, as I haue seene in an Extract of the Royall Muster-booke, which how much is it exceeded by the numerous excesse of people in this Iland, straitned in farre lesse roome, and wanting necessary employments, which almost exacteth a *Virginian* vent and aduenture. For how much more conuenient is a transmigration, into a fruitfull, large and wholesome Region, where the Countrie hath need of a Colonie to cultiuate it, as well as those *Colons* and Inhabitants haue need of a Countrie to inhabit rather then to breed a fulnes in This Bodie, which without some such euacuation either breeds matter for the pestilence and other Epidemicall Diseases, or at least for Dearth, Famine, Disorders, ouer-burthening the wealthier, oppressing the poorer, disquieting both themselues and others, that I mention not the fatall hand of the Hangman? And thus you haue *Virginias* hopes in generall propounded by *Spanish* example vrged and enforced by our necessitie of seeking vent to such home-fulnesse.

Arg. 7. from necessitie by our multitudes

Arguments of particular cõmodities and commodiousnesse.

But looke vpon *Virginia*; view her louely lookes (howsoeuer like a modest Virgin she is now vailed with wild Couerts and shadie Woods, expecting rather rauishment then Mariage from her Natiue Sauages) survay her Heauens, Elements, Situation; her diuisions by armes of Bayes and Riuers into so goodly and well proportioned limmes and members; her Virgin portion nothing empaired, nay not yet improoued, in Natures best Legacies; the neighbouring Regions and Seas so commodious and obsequious; her opportunities for offence and defence; and in all these you shall see, that she is worth the wooing and loues of the best Husband. First, for her Heauens and Climate, she with her Virgin Sisters hath the same (being extended from 30. to 45. degrees of North latitude) with the best parts of *Europe*, namely the fat of *Graecia, Thracia, Spaine, Italie, Morea, Sicilia*, (and if we will looke more Northward to the height of *France* and *Britaine*, there her Sisters *New England, New Scotland*, and *New-found-land*, promise hopefull and kinde entertainment to all Aduenturers. If you looke Southwards, you may parallel it with *Barbarie, Egypt*, and the fertilest parts of *Africke*) and in *Asia*, all that *Chersonesus*, sometime the seate of foure thousand Cities, and so many Kingdomes, now called *Natolia*, with her Neighbours *Antiochia*, and other Regions of *Syria, Damascus, Libanus*, with *Babylonia* and the glorie of the Earth: and Types of Heauen, *Indea* and *Paradise*; the Silken Countries also of *Persia, China* in her best parts, and *Iapan*, are in the eleuation; and *Virginia* is Daughter of the same Heauens, which promise no lesse portion to this Virgin, then those Matrons had for the foundation-stock of their wealth and glory.

1. The same climate with best Countries

Secondly, this Climate as it promiseth wealth, so it doth health also, enioying the temper of the most temperate parts, euen of that in which *Adam, Abraham*, with the Prophets and Apostles were bred in, and receiued as an Earthly priuiledge; and in which Christ conuersed in the flesh. And thirdly for extension, if couetousnesse gape wide, ten *Iudeas*, and a hundred Paradises, may be equalled for quantitie in *Virginia*, whose mid-land Regions are wholly vnknowne, till we arriue at that *Nona Albion*, which yeelded it selfe *English* before the first *Virginian* plantation.

2. Temperate.

3. Large extension.

Fourthly for commodious diuisions, the Lands and Seas contend by fresh Riuers and Armes of the Sea so to diuersifie the soyle as if in luxuriant wantonnesse they were alway engendring manifold Twinnes of Commoditie and Commodiousnesse, Profit and Pleasure, Hunting and Fishing, Fruits and Merchandizing, Marinership and Husbandry, *Opus* and *Vsus*, Meate and Drinke, Wares and Portage, Defending and Offending, Getting and Keeping, Mountaines and Valleyes, Plaines and Hillocks, Riuers Nauigable and shallower Foords, Ilands and Land-iles (or *Peninsule*) Woods and Marishes, Vegetatiues and liuing creatures maruellously diuersified. Looke on the Map, and tell me if any Countrey in the World promiseth more by the lookes then it. Yea I haue obserued in the Letters of greatest Malcontents from thence, foe and friend and themselues are blamed rather then the Countrey, the least finger of *Virginias* hand (I meane the least of fiue Riuers (or as Master *Alexander Whitakers* relateth, the least of seuen) in a small part of that great Countrie, is bigger then the First-borne of Britaines waters, the famous *Thames*, all Nauigable, some one hundred miles, some one hundred and sixtie, receiuing Tributes by the way of innumerable Springs, Brookes, Riuerets (such as that of *Ware*, and fit for portage of Wares in smaller Barkes, of which kind *Iames* Riuer hath fiue Attendants in ordinary) the fall of euery one of the fiue is within twentie or fifteene miles of some other: and not aboue fifteene miles in some places is the Great Riuer of *Roanoke* said to be distant from some of those which fall into *Iames* Riuer, yeelding a commodious intercourse twixt those Southerly and these more Northerly parts of the Countrey. I know not how Nature hath here also wantonized and danced a *Loath to depart* in the winding of those Streames, which seeme willingly againe and againe to embrace that beloued Soile, and to present her with rich Collers of siluer Esses, murmuring that they must leaue so fresh and fertile a Land, of which at last with *Salt* teares they take their leaue, but contracting with their New Sea Lord to visit their old Land-lord and former Loue euery Floud. Meane while those many impetuous clippings and sweet embraces, searching refuges euery way make shew as if they would meet together in consultation, and agree on some Conspiracie, which howsoeuer disappointed, yeeld neuertheless many conueniences of entercourse and easier portage, each Riuer comming within foure, eight, ten miles, more or fewer in diuers places of another. All

4. Commodious diuision of Lands and Riuers.

these

theſe Riuers runne into a faire Bay, on which the Earth euery way is a greedie gazing Spectator, except where the Ocean ruſheth in to raviſh her beauties, flowing neere two hundred miles into it, and forcing a Channell one hundred and fortie, of depth betwixt ſeuen and fifteene fathome, and ten or fourteene miles in ordinary breadth. The Earth yet vndermining it by Ilands, and muſtering thoſe Riuer Captaines and innumerable Springs and Brookes, maintaineth his *freſh* challenge with continuall Warres, forcing backe the Ocean euery Ebbe to retire, which yet loth to loſe ſo ſweete a poſſeſſion returneth within few houres, freſhly flowing with *Salt* reenforcements. Bay of *Cheſepeake.*

Fifthly, the ſoile is bleſſed, euery Element beſtowing a rich portion on her. The *fire* hath treaſures laid vp to maintaine her fewell vnto prodigality (yea which ſeldome meete, a thriftie prodigality) for many yeeres. Her ſtore of waters you haue heard, but not her watery ſtore of fiſhes vnto incredibility in kinds, goodneſſe, numbers. The *Aire* is no leſſe luxuriant in the Fowles of Heauen. But the Earth (fruitfull Mother of Mankind) ſhe is prodigiouſly prodigall, in fatneſſe of the ſoile; talneſſe, ſweetneſſe, ſtrength, varietie, numberleſſe numbers of her Trees: her Oakes no leſſe excellent then frequent, many of them bearing two foote and an halfe ſquare of good Timber twenty yards long: of which alſo are diuers kinds. Elmes and Aſhes (of which Sope-aſhes are made) Wal-nuts in three ſorts, Cypreſſes (or much reſembling them) Cedars and other ſweet ſmelling Timbers, Cheſnuts, Plummes of diuers ſorts, Cheries and other Trees, &c. reckoned by *Virginian* Relators, I omit. But moſt remarkable and promiſing are the Mulberie and the Vine, the one to the backe, the other to the belly, yeelding Silkes and Wine. 5. Fertile ſoile. 6. Trees for timber and other vſes many

As for Silke, how great profits are raiſed thereof to the *Chinois* and *Perſian*? Yea to come neerer, in *Naples* and other parts of *Italy*, which haue prouoked *France* to a generall imitation. And how vnualuable are the expenſes of this Kingdome for that materiall, *Vt matronæ in publico luceant*? Likewiſe for Wines from *France, Spaine, Germanie*, and other parts how many thouſands are yeerely expended to the profits of Strangers, that I ſay not to enemies, or at leaſt to ſuſpected friends? It hath pleaſed his Maieſtie to take theſe two into his Princely conſideration and by his Letter to the Right Honorable the Earle of *Southampton*, and the Company of *Virginia* to commend and command this care to them. 7. Specially for Silkes. 8. And for Wines. July 9. *A.R.* 20. See *ſup. c.* 15.

The Countrey it ſelfe naturally produceth Vines in great abundance, and ſome of a very good ſort: diuers plants alſo haue beene ſent thither of the better kinds of Chriſtendome, with eight Vignerons procured from *Languedock* for the husbanding of that commoditie. The Soyle is no leſſe naturally happy in Mulberie Trees of the beſt kind and ſome Silke-wormes alſo: and generall order hath beene taken for the abundant planting of them in all places inhabited: large ſupply alſo of Silke-worme-ſeed from his Maieſties ſtore, and men skilfull in that kind for the well ordering of that buſineſſe haue beene ſent. In a word, the very proſperity and pregnant hopes of that Plantation made the Deuil and his limbs to enuy, feare and hate it. Hence that bloudy Maſſacre which cauſed almoſt a ſudden Chaos to the hinderance of thoſe affaires, by the convulſions, combuſtions, and almoſt confuſion of that Body and their Deſignes: whereof yet we hope not only a recouery but greater aduantage, the greateſt danger from the Sauages, growing out of our mens confidence, which that terrible ſtroke (except a ſtupid Deuill poſſeſſe vs) hath cut off; which likewiſe requires that ſeruile natures be ſeruily vſed; that future dangers be preuented by the extirpation of the more dangerous, and commodities alſo raiſed out of the ſeruileneſſe and ſeruiceableneſſe of the reſt. 9. Iuſt aduantage from the Sauages to make vſe of their labours.

As for Saſſafras, Salt, *Terra Lemnia*, Gummes and other profitable Drugges I ſhall not neede ſpeake: nor of their Silke-graſſe naturally growing, beſides a kind of Hempe or Flaxe, yeelding moſt excellent Cordage. Pot-aſhes, Sope-aſhes, Pitch and Tarre haue beene the employment of *Polacres* ſent thither. 10. Drugs, and diuers other commodities.

In foure yeeres ſpace before the Maſſacre (the Iron Oare of *Virginia* being found very good and very plentifull) aboue fiue thouſand pounds were ſpent, and one hundred and fiftie perſons ſent for that imployment; which being brought in manner to perfection, was interrupted by that fatall accident, ſince which the reſtituion is with all poſſible diligence (as it is ſaid) ordered and furthered. 11. Iron mines.

There haue beene alſo ſent skilfull men from *Germany*, for ſetting vp of Saw-mils: *Virginia* yeelding to no place in the knowne World for Timbers of all ſorts, commodious for ſtrength, pleaſant for ſweetneſſe, ſpecious for colours, ſpacious for largeneſſe, vſefull for Land and Sea, for houſing and ſhipping: in which Timber vſes *England* and *Holland* alone are ſaid to diſburſe about 300000. pounds ſterling yeerely. And the defects at home, where the Hearth hath climbed into the Roofe, where back-fewell hath deuoured our buildings in the Woods, and belly-fewell hath deuoured the Woods, and conuerted them to arable: where ſo many ſhips are employed for prouiſions of and for ſhipping, *Virginia* by diuine bountie is *Magnæ ſpes altera Britanniæ*. Herein we may verifie the old Prouerbe, That he which liueth longeſt, ſhall fetch his wood furtheſt; but ſo, as he ſhall be paid for the fetching with great aduantage. 12. Timbers for all vſes.

And if an Iland needs woodden Wals to ſecure it againſt others, to enrich it from others, *Virginia* offers her ſeruice herein, and will looke ſo much more cheerefully on you, how much more you 13. More eſpecially for building both houſes & ſhips

you shall disburthen her in this kind: yea, as *England* hath wooed and visited *Virginia*, so herein *Virginia* will be glad and reioyce to visit *England*, in her there-built ships, and to dwell here with vs in thence-brought Timbers, and esteeme her selfe aduanced to adorne our Towres, and take view of our Pomps and Spectacles.

14. The manifold materialls for shipping.

And touching shipping and the materials thereof; Timbers, Pitch, Tarre, Cordage, Sayles, Anchors, &c. necessitie of the times exacteth in our defects at home, for securitie from enemies abroad, employment of Mariners, Merchants and our numerous multitudes, offending our Offenders, defending our Allies, that I adde not the Riches of the World, and glory of Exploits, all which depend on Nauigation. Hence *Tyrus* and her Daughter *Carthage* of old (*Matre pulchrâ filia pulchrior*) hence the *Egyptian Alexandria* and many Nations since, haue reaped wealth and honour. Hence the *Lumbards* and *Easterlings* sucked out the sweetes of this Kingdome in former times, whiles we like children were fed by their hands, and they were inriched by the Importation and Exportation of Merchandise to and from vs: which when that glorious *Elizabeth* altered, and sought to stand in the Seas on her owne legs, and to flie ouer them with her owne wings, it not only wanne her renowme but dread abroad, and such strength at home, that notwithstanding her manifold wars offensiue and defensiue, and motherly protection of her Neighbours round about with Men and Monies; her Custome, her Nauie, and the wealth of her people is thought to haue receiued in her time a seuen-fold aduancement. And what hath so long vpholden and enhanced the *Hanse* Townes? What hath raysed the rich and glorious States of *Venice* and *Genoa*? What hath since freed, and doth still sustaine the *Hollanders*, but their mouing Magazines and Castles, their strength and magnificence being (by a Miracle in State) hereby most, wherein it is least, in their Sea-forrests; Nature denying that to their Soyle, which Art hath superabundantly supplied by shipping, to their Lands, to their Seas, for vse, for admiration? Hence hath the *Abassine* or *Prester Iohn* lost his estate, the *Turke* not encreased his by swallowing the rest of Christendome, the *Persian*, the *Mogull* and other mighty *Asian* Potentates haue not bin mighty, howsoeuer sirnamed *Great*; haue beene so long awed, and as it were, imprisoned within their owne shores, there also often braued, assaulted, forced to receiue Lawes and conditions, yea to pay Customes for their owne ships, and prohibited Trade with others by a handfull of *Portugalls*. Hence the *Portugals* themselues crept out of their Straites and obscuritie, and hence the *Castilian* colours haue been so far displayed, and set the rest of the World in this present Maze: Hence our *Edgar*, *Edward* the Third, and Great *Elizabeth*, haue left such memories of them, after them; hence all Maritime States and Kings haue receiued encrease or diminishing; as their Nauies haue beene, so haue they. Yea, without a Nauie, *Salomon* had not beene so meet a Type of Christ, so glorious in Domesticall, Politicall or Ecclesiasticall magnificence.

15. Sauing of expenses and freeing from dangers in forreine Countries.
16. Imployment and breeding of Mariners.
17. Many probabilities by transplantation of cattell, fruits, &c. exemplified by *Spaniards*.

Haile then, al-haile *Virginia*, hope of our decayed Forrests, Nursery of our Timbers, second supply to our shipping, the *succenturiata copia* in distresse of Nauall materials: and those independant on forreine States, disburthened of Taxes, Customes, Impositions, and Suspensions of forreine Princes: yea gainfull not in the ships alone, but in Shipmen and Mariners trained vp and multiplyed by that imployment, with mutuall entercourse of Wares and manifold Commodities. Hee that lookes on the best Corne-fields soone after the sowing, seeth expense and labour without any profit but in expectation. Now is our Seed-time; and if cost and industry want not, *Virginia*, in her Soyle and Climate not only promiseth these materials, there also to be made at easier rates; but infinite other Commodities also which may be transplanted from these and other parts, as the *Spaniards* in their *Indies*, haue giuen vs example. These haue reserued Wines and Oyle, as Staple Commodities to be carried from *Spaine* (that these *Americans* may still haue need of *Spanish* Commodities) which else would easily grow there. They haue againe furnished those parts both from *Spaine* and many other Countries, with Figs, Oranges, Limons, and fruits for present vse and for Merchandize, with Sugar-canes, Gingers, Cattell and other Commodities, yeelding exceeding summes of Treasure to the Planters. And I know not but in a settled *Virginian* Plantation, Sugars, Gingers, Hides, &c. may there prooue as gainfull, as they haue in the *Spanish Indies*, that is, beyond all conceit of ordinarie valuation, and as good as many Mynes.

18. The Countrie, cattell & beasts not only for vse there but Merchandise here.
* Cap. *Smith* tels of 1000. Basses at a draught: M. *Rolfe* of 5000. the least of two foot long, 300. as big as Cod, by Sir *T. Dale*.

Now for the Cattell and Fowles, I might here present their Deere of all sorts, reported to haue three or foure Fawnes at a time, and none vnder two (which some impute to the qualitie of that Countrey, hauing happened likewise to the Goats transported from hence) and were it not for this increase, eyther they must faile, or the Natiues (these sparing neither old nor young, nor old with young, nor obseruing any rule of Season or Reason therein) I might adde Shag-haired Oxen-seene by Sir *Samuell Argoll*, Beauers, Otters, Foxes, Wilde and Ciuet Cats, Muske Rats, and many Beasts which beare good Furres; their large Turkeyes, Cranes, Herons, Partridges, and innumerable other Fowles: fish also of innumerable numbers and manifold kinds, Sturgeon, Porpose, Base, Rock-fish, Carpe, Shad, and the rest. It seemeth to vs incredible, which is related of the both numbers * and excellencie at one draught taken. As for the varietie of Corne, the excellencie also and multiplication to 1500. or 2000. for one stalke of Maiz, the vsefulnesse, their succeeding-exceeding Haruests, their Roots, Herbs, Pulse, and the rest, I referre to all the Writers in that

that Argument, and to as many as haue beene Eye-witnesses themselues to be Relaters.

Were it but a fishing trade, yet his vnderstanding is contemptible, that thinkes contemptibly of it. He that should reade Doctor *Dees* relations of so many hundred Busses, and *Flemmish* sailes on the *English*, and *Spanish*, on the *Irish* coasts: or what Master *Gentleman* hath related of the Commodities raised that way by the *Holanders*, summed to millions of pounds in Herring, Cod and Ling: and that which others relate of 3600. saile of Fishermen in *Holand* and *Zeland*, with other things of like nature gathered together by Captaine *Smith* in his *New Englands Trials*, with the experiments of that coast also (part of our *Virginian* subiect, shall see, as greatest bodies composed of least parts, so greatest summes raised out of least and meanest meanes, that being dundant in tale, which seemeth wanting in weight. Once, the impregnable wals of the vnited Prounces are their Ships (whereof some reckon small and great of all sorts 20000,) and their principall and most generall Trade is Fishing, which is the Seminary of their Mariners of which some haue reckoned aboue 100000. and summed their returnes thence growing to 7000000. pounds in a yeare. I am none of *Neptunes* Secretaries; yet know this, that there is no fishing to the Sea, and no Country so strong by Sea as that which findeth most employment in this kinde, where no exportation of treasure, no custome, no consumption and exhausting of commodities can be quarelled. Thus then, whether we consider Wines, Silkes, and other the appurtenances of our pleasures, as Dies, Drugges, Gummes, Sugars, Ginger, Furres, and the like, which cost this Kingdome yearely some-hundreths of thousands of our pounds: or whether wee reckon those more staple and necessary commodities for Shipping, and all sorts of Timber, Cordage, and other like, no lesse costly, *Virginia* inuiteth our hopes, and couenanteth to bestow them on the industrious: so that we shall saue those treasures and costs that way expended, shall lesse depend on other Nations, lesse feare imbarguing, detention, impost; yea, shall from other Nations raise by returne of our excesse in these kindes great Summes, besides the furnishing of the Kingdome with greater encrease of Shipping, Marriners, and innumerable employments, and the securing and enriching the Ports, both of *Ireland* and *England*. As for Tobacco I haue said little of it, because it is so generally knowne (which yet is said to be worth to *Spaine* 100000. pounds yearely; and that (I grieue to speak it) from the fume-some-froth-spirits of *England*) & the abundance brought from *Virginia* and *Summer Ilands* (*inopes nos copia fecit*) exceedeth the Market: and because so many by immoderate vse thereof are corrupted here at home, and the present benefit thereby accrewing in quicke returne, hindreth designes of better consequence there. And thus much of *Virginias* present or very probable Commodities: to which we may adde the hopes in future times by finding there as good vent for our Wools and Clothes, both to the *English* and ciuilized *Indian*, as the *Spaniards* doe in their *Indies* by their Wines and Oyle, of which I haue already said that they permit not the generall growth in their *Indian* plantations for the continuance and necessitie of commerce with *Spaine*. And who seeth not the exceeding benefit which may arise by compleat commerce, in venting our owne superfluities of Men; of others, and specially the principall of *English* Commodities, Cloth and Wooll, with the Gospel of our Lord Iesus; and returning from thence, Clapboord, Pipe-staues, Cauiare, Oade, Madder, Salt, Cordage, Pitch, Tarre, Sope-ashes, Pot-ashes, Cotton-wools, Gaules, Furres, Hops, Hides, Gummes, Dyes, Gingers, Sugars, Silkes, Wines, Iron, Timbers, Fish, Ships, Mariners, Merchants, and a World of the Worlds most vseful good things thorow an open Sea, obnoxious to no forreine Potentate, from and to known and secure Ports and Harbours?

It is also not only vsefull at all times, but necessary to these times, as to transport superfluous numbers from hence to *Virginia*, so to cure the diseases of the times caused by the wants of Monies (the life of trading, and sinewes of a great State) attended with wants of sale for the Merchant, and consequently of Clothiers and other subordinate professions; want of worke for Spinsters, Weauers, and innumerable poorer Trades and Handicraftsmen; want of trading for Citizens (neither hath such a generall breaking beene euer knwone, so many shops in the principall limmes and streets of this Citie, yea, in Cheapside the faire face, yea, in the eye of that beauteous face, the Gold-Smiths Row (where besides so many shoppes conuerted to other Trades, I haue told this last Winter betwixt Friday-street and Bread-street the third part shut vp) want of employment for decayed Gentlemen, both the elder Vnthrifts and younger Gallants; which want of moneyes and store of wants thence issuing, is in greatest part caused by the Merchandizes sought and bought in other Countries, whereby our Moneyes fall into forraine Whirle-pooles without hopes of recouery; whereas if our Trade lay (as we see the *Spanish*) with our owne Colonies and Plantations else-where, wee should hold them still current in our owne Nation, and draw others to bring to vs both Wares and Moneyes from other Regions for the Commodities aforesaid. And thus should the *Vices* of the Times be remedied, and the vices of men or vicious men finde from Tobacco, Silkes, Wines and other excesses (like the sting of Scorpions from the Oyle of Scorpions) a cure thence, whence they receiued their wounds; and so many ruptures should eyther be preuented or healed; prouisions also procured for employment of honest and humble pouertie at home, and the inordinate spirits of others tamed by the Sea, and trained at labour to better Discipline.

19. Benefits by fishing. D. D. *Brit. Monarchie.*

Et quæ non præsunt singula, multa iuuant.

20. Tobacco. A Booke presented to the Parliament by Master *Bennet*. It is said that some maliciously father all their bad Tobacco on *Virginia* and *Bermudas*, and the good from thence, on *Spanish* growth

21. Hopes of future Trade for clothes & other *English* commodities.

22. Manifold necessities of these times.

I adde

25. Neceſſarie for ſtrengthening other Plantations.

I adde further, that the proſecution of the *Virginian* Plantation, is both profitable and neceſſary for the ſtrengthning of the Plantations already begun in *Summer Ilands*, *New England*, and *New found Land*, and that other expected in *New Scotland*.

24. Probabilities of a South Sea paſſage & manie manie commodities thereby.

Now if we adde the hopefull paſſage to the South Sea, that one argument is more then all the reſt, if our eyes ſhall once be bleſſed with that deſired ſight. For the trade of the whole world is then made compendious, all the rich trades of the Eaſt *Indies* are obuious and neerer hand, and no force is able to ſcoure ſo large a Coaſt as that Weſterne ſhoare of all *America*, and ſecure it from our trading. Hence, if we finde not golden Countries before not poſſeſſed by other *Chriſtians* (whereof alſo Sir *Francis Drakes Noua Albion* ſo long ſince ſubiected by voluntary ſurrender to the *Engliſh* Crowne, hath giuen vs hope) yet trade will bring the Mines of the Weſt into our ſhips, and the Spices and other rich Merchandize of the Eaſt into our ſhops at eaſier charge, and therefore ſaleable at eaſier rates.

25. Neceſſitie of maintaining *Virginia* in caſe of war forced by others.

But this Deſigne of the South Sea may ſeeme deſperate, and the Argument ridiculous. I ſhall therefore indeuour to giue better light therein, and withall to adde another Argument as weightie as it, and greater then all exceptions.

I may adde alſo the caſe of Warre, which I deſire not; but which may happen, and *Bellona* may euen now ſeeme pregnant and alreadie conceiued, whoſe abortion might be wiſhed, if neceſſitie adde not honour to the lawfulneſſe. I but propound a caſe poſſible. The moſt certaine, honorable, and beauteous front of Peace, hath a backe part of Warre, and therefore in ſecureſt Peace, Prudence is not ſo ſecure, but ſhe armeth her ſelfe againſt feares of War, forewarning and forearming men by the Sword drawne to preuent the drawing of Swords, and eyther eſchewes it, or reaps good out of it.

South Sea why ſo called.

It is not vnknowne what expenſes *England* hath ſuſtained in, and euer ſince Sir *Sebaſtian Cabots* firſt Diſcouerie, as in thoſe of Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, *Burrough*, *Pet* and *Iackman* by the North-eaſt, of *Hudſon*, *Poole*, *Fotherby*, and diuers other Nauigations by the North; of Sir *Martine Frobuſher*, Captaine *Danies*, Sir *Thomas Button*, Maſter *Knight*, *Hudſon*, *Hall*, *Baffin*, and other manifold Diſcoueries by the North-weſt, all ſeeking a compendious paſſage to *Cathay*, and to the Eaſt *Indies*. The Reaſons which mooued them were far more hopefull then that of *Columbus*, which found notwithſtanding far better and ſpeedier ſucceſſe. Succeſſe is a ſeruile Argument, for Senſe rather then for Reaſon, and in this whole *Virginian* proiect, I ſpeake to *Engliſh* Aduenturers, and not to pettie Pedlers, or *Virginian* Sauages, to ſuch whoſe eyes are in their heads and not in their hands: *Careat ſucceſſibus opto, Quiſquis ab euentu facta notanda putet.* Yet hath not Succeſſe beene wholy fruſtrate, yea both Reaſon and Senſe plead for a Paſſage, and *Virginias* vſefulneſſe therein.

I will not bring vncertaine teſtimonies of a *Portugall* taken in a Carrike in Queene *Elizabeths* dayes, and of another *Portugall* in *Guinie*, which affirmed to Sir *Martine Frobuſher* that hee had paſt it; nor of *Garcia Loaiſa*, which is ſaid by the Coaſt of *New-found-land* to haue gone to the *Moluccas*; nor of *Vaſco Coronado* in his Letter to the Emperour *Charles*, and other antiquated Witneſſes of Antiquitie.

* See ſup. the end of the 4. Booke: & *Dermers* Letter in this.

I haue already in due place produced * *Thomas Cowles*, *Iuan de Fuca*, *Thomas Dermer*, Sir *Thomas Button*, Maſter *Brigges*, beſides the conſtant and generall report of all the Sauages from *Florida*, to the great Riuer of *Canada*. Now for the hopes of *Virginia* by a South-Sea Diſcouery, how neere is *England* that way to the Trade of both *Indies*, that is, of all the remoter World? It ſtands midway betwixt vs and the moſt frequented Ports of the Weſt, which perhaps may ſhortly come to full age and ſue out her Liuerie, how euer hitherto kept in cloſe Wardſhip, and debarred the rights of common humanite, that is, the commerce with other Nations, without diſcerning Friend and Foe. Strange iealouſie and worthy of iealous Suſpicion! to admit Trade in all *European* Ports, not *Siuill* and *Madrid* excepted, and to prohibit the ſame in all the Eaſt and Weſt, where it can leſſe be prohibited! there to repute all in nature of Pyrats, and accordingly to make prize of ſhips, goods, and men which ſhall attempt to ſayle that vaſt Ocean, or offer Trade in any of thoſe Habitations! But leauing that to conſideration of my Betters, in the Eaſt both *Engliſh* and *Dutch* haue maintayned their iuſt Trade by force, which by vniuſt force was denied, and haue paid themſelues largely for all loſſes ſuſtayned by the Inſultings or Aſſaultings of thoſe Monopolians, with gaine, with honour: that trade being almoſt denied to thoſe iniurious deniers, their owne reputation and traffique now bleeding, which would haue cut the throates of all others aduentures, of all other aduenturers. I neither propheſie, nor exhort vnto the like in the Weſt: Our prudent and potent Mother *Elizabeth* wan renowne and wealth in their owne harbours and Cities at home, and no leſſe in the remoteſt of their Lands and Seas. Yea, the South Sea by furtheſt compaſſe was neere to her long and iuſt armes, and their *Cacaplata* and Saint *Anne*, with other their richeſt Ships and Ports were ranſacked by *Engliſh Cacafuegos*, and the charges of thoſe warres borne by thoſe enemies which cauſed them. *Nulla ſalus bello, pacem te poſcimus omnes.* He whoſe words and workes hath euer beene *Beati pacifici*, knowes beſt when and how to exact his and the Worlds right, in the World, of which God hath granted a Monopoly to no man; and (if others can embrace the whole Globe with diſperſed habitations) not to ſuffer his long arme

to

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to be shortned, and the strong armes of his to be pinioned, and forced to accept of a bounded and limited commerce in a little corner at others pleasure. Once, in iust and euen peace, *Virginia* stands fit to become *Englands* Factor in *America*; if warr should happen, both it and *Bermuda* are fit Sentinels and Scouts, yea fit Searchers and Customers, fit Watch-towers and Arsenals to maintaine right against all wrong-doers. And for the South Sea, if a passage be found neere vnto *Virginia*, as Master *Dermer* was confident vpon relations (as he writ to me) of a thousand witnesses, wee then see *Virginias* lap open, yeelding her Ports and Harbours for the Easterne treasures to be the neerest way conueied by the West. Yea if it be more remote, as *Chacke* and *Fuca* relate, yet hath *Virginia* an vsefull neighbourhood both for sicke men, weatherbeaten Ships, and prouisions exhaust in long Voyages, to make them fitter for returne. And if such passage were not at all, yet the Mountaines of *Virginia* cannot but send Riuers to that Sea; so that as the wealth of *Peru* is brought to *Panama*, and thence by Land conueied to the Ports of this Sea, so may the wealth of the South Sea, and the Regions of the West of *America* be that way passed to *English* hands. The like may be said of the Ilands of *Salomon*, the South vnknowne Continent, which after-times may discouer (probably as rich as the rest) that I mention not the knowne Regions of the East already traded. And although the passage be not yet perfectly knowne, yet may the seasons and fittest opportunities and prouisions for that discouery be most easie from *Virginia*: and there, if crossed with stormes or other diasters, they may finde securest refuge and refreshing. And if (which God auert) we may not haue the wares of peace, yet the peace of warres (that is, a fit rendeuous and retiring place, where to cheere and hearten, to repaire and supply vpon all occasions) is there offered, by the aduantages of both Seas. For in both, that vast body must needes be of slow motion, where the limmes are so disioynted, and one member vnfit to helpe another by remoteneese. And if it should but force the aduersary to maintaine Garrisons in his Ports on both sides, to secure them from inuasion, and a double Nauie of War in both Seas, the one to secure the Coasts, the other to secure his Shippes in the South Sea passing from the *Philippinas*, or from one Port to another; and in the North Sea to wafte his Treasures and Merchandise into *Europe*, the wings of that Eagle would be so pulled with such costs, that hee could not easily make inuasiue flight vpon his neighbours in these parts; yea, both those and these Dominions would be exposed to the easier inuasions of others. *Tam Marte, quam Mercurio*, in Peace and Warre, so vsefull may *Virginia* and *Bermuda* be to this Kingdome.

Now if any say *Medice cura teipsum*, and alleadge that they themselues are not able to stand against an enemy: I answere, first, for *Bermuda*, or *Summer Ilands*, that little body is all heart, and hath the strength of Nature and Art conspiring her impregnableneese. For the Rockes euery way haue so fortified the scituation, that she would laugh at an Armada, at a World of Ships; where the straight passage admits not two Ships abreast to enter, and hath ten Forts with Ordnance to entertaine them. She feares no rauishment, and as little needes she famishment, so that vnlesse God for our sinnes, or the Diuell by the worst of sinnes, treason, and the worst of his Sonnes, some *Iudas*, expose her to the Enemy, she can know no other loue or Lord but *English*. And for *Virginia* against the Sauages greatest fright, Captaine *Smith* maintained himselfe without losse, with saine with thirty eight men: against others she hath so fit places for fortification; so fit meanes and materials to secure her, as eye-witnesses report, that the worst of enemies to be feared is *English* backwardneese or frowardneese, like *Sampsons* Foxes either drawing backe, or hauing fire at their tongues ends.

Now if Queene *Elizabeth* of glorious memory, were able from *England* onely to annoy her enemies, so great and potent, so much and farre: what may we in Gods name hope of a *New England*, *New found Land*, *Bermuda* and *Virginia* already planted with *English*? When vpon newes of the fall of that great Northen Starre, the Duke of *Braganzas* brother, spake of her as the *Iesuites* had slandered; hold your peace brother, said the Duke himselfe (one* then present related this to me) had it not beene for her Religion (for which wee most honour her, for which God did most blesse her) she might iustly haue beene ranked with the ancients *Romans*: *England* is a small thing, as the Map sheweth, to *Spaine*, and yet we durst not looke out of doores for her and hers. Thus worthily that worthy man, of the Worthy of women in her time. Great and glorious *Elizabeth*! how didst thou contemne the Iberian threates? How didst thou inuert, diuert, subuert their attempts? How victoriously didst thou euade their *ininsible* Inuasion? how didst thou inuade the Inuaders, at their gates, in their ports? how didst thou meete them in the Atlanticke, pursue them to the South, to the *Indian* Seas, and round about the World? How did the skie, windes, waues serue to a higher prouidence in thy deliueries, in thy triumphs? how often were the prodigious Carrikes of the East, and prodigall Vessels of the West, either staid at home for feare, or driuen to fort-couert by the way, or costly wafted on their way, or burned in the way, or sunke out of the way, or carried quite away to visite the *English* shoares, and adorne the Trophees of great and glorious *Elizabeth*? Rouze vp your braue spirits *English* hearts in loyall subiection to your Royall Soueraign: be ready to offer right, feare not to suffer wrong: seeke the good, and see the goods which *Virginia* offers. Here could I wilder my selfe in thickets of arguments,

* M. *Thomas Turner* an *English* Merchant liuing then in *Portugall* in name of an *Almaine*.

Q. Elizabeths praises.

ments, and could Muſter more motiues and more neceſſarily concluding for *Virginias* aduancement, if that which we deſire not be enforced on vs, then I haue already numbred in plantation and commerce: Yea almoſt all thoſe former arguments are preſſed of neceſſity, or offer their ſeruice voluntarily, ſome more, others no leſſe ſeruiceable that way, then to publike peace and traffique, which alſo are ſecureſt when they neede not feare a Warre.

The honour of Religion defended by the *Defender of the Faith*; of our Nation, King, Kingdome; the Materials of Ships, Mariners, Armes, Victuals; Fiſhing, Merchandiſe, and Prize ſubſeruent to each Voyage, that one may ſupply if the other faile; in croſſed Voyages, a conuenient receptacle for refreſhing; fit place of ſtay in not fitting and vnſeaſonable ſeaſons: a ſafe repoſitory for ſpoiles gotten in expectation of greater purchaſe: a redreſſe to weatherbeaten and ſtorme-diſtreſſed Ships: a refuge to ſuch as the enemy hath battered and endangered: an Hoſpitall for ſicke, wounded, and preſently vnſeruiceable Mariners and Souldiers: a ſtorehouſe to repaire Timbers, Tackling, and other prouiſions to Ships and Men: a fit meane (in ſupplying vs from thence with neceſſaries) to keepe thoſe Monies in our owne hands, whereby we are deſtitute of the principall ſinewes of warre, yea perhaps the enemy armed againſt vs: a ſchoole and training place for our youth to endure labour and hardſhip, and to prepare them like the *Iewes* in *Nehemiahs* time, to vſe the Sword with one hand, and inſtruments of labour in the other: an exerciſe to breede Men for longer Voiages: a backedoore to breake out ſuddenly on the enemy: an ambuſhment, whiles Ships from hence & thence ſhal at once be expected, and he which flees the one ſhall fall into the other: a redoubling of our forces when they meete: a ſafe harbour in *Bermuda* or in *Virginia* for a hundred ſailes, or many more, to awaite all opportunities: a place likely to yeelde to men of merit entertainment and reward: a place yeelding opportunity by trade there to weaken our poſſible or probable enemies, to whom now wee ſeeke for trade, and conſequently to weaken them by the want of our Commodities, and to adde a double ſtrength to our ſelues: a place commodious to preuent warre by diuerting it, to diuert it by preuenting: to ſubuert the enemies Plantations by ſudden aſſaults, or force them to coſtly Gariſons: to euert their Merchandiſing by trade ſuſpended, ſurprized, or defended with chargeable wattage: to interuert their intelligence and profits: to inuert the hearts of Malecontents, and thoſe hands which feare now curbeth and bridleth: to conuert to our parts thoſe which maintaine a fugitiue and wilde enmity with them: to auert the profits of their Mines by other imployments: and in a word, to make that vſe of others againſt them, which their examples haue taught vs in acquiring the great Empires of *Mexico* and *Peru*, with other parts of *America*, which without the helpe of *Indians* againſt *Indians*, banding themſelues with a contrary faction, ſuch handfuls had neuer beene able to haue effected: What ſhall I ſay more? If others impotence and importunities force a War, *Virginia* and *Summer Ilands* ſeeme to this *Engliſh* body as two *American* hands, eares, feete; two eyes for defence: two Keyes (as before is ſaid) for offence: two Armes to get, encompaſſe, embrace: two Fiſts to ſtrike: the Sword and Dagger; Ship and Pinnace; Caſtle and Rampire, Canon & Muſket, Arſenale and Peere, and whatſoeuer God ſhall pleaſe to giue to humaine induſtry, who giues all things of free grace, but to ſuch to whom he hath giuen grace freely to ſeeke them; and is alway a facile and eaſie giuer, but to them onely which loue not their eaſe and idle pleaſure. And although I am no Secretary of Gods Counſell for the *Indies*, yet euent hath reuealed thus much of his will, that no other *Chriſtian* Nation hath yet gotten and maintained poſſeſſion in thoſe parts, but the *Engliſh*: to whom therefore wee may gather their decreed ſeruiceableneſſe in Peace, aduantagiouſneſſe in Warre, and opportunity for both, to be both Magazine and Bulwarke, and ready euen by naturall ſcituation to *ſit on the skirts* of whatſoeuer enemies, which paſſe from *America* to *Europe*.

Acoſta l.3.c.4. 5.6.7. Oniedo Summary & Gen. hiſt. l.2. Herera. Deſcri. of Ind. c.2.3.

Three *Spaniſh* witneſſes, *Acoſta*, *Oniedo*, and *Herrera*, haue related this, in deſcribing the courſe of that Nauigation; yea, all experience, the Heauens alſo and Elements ſubſcribe to it. For ſuch is the ſtatute of the windes, which all Shipping in that Sea muſt obey: they muſt goe one way and returne another. To the *Indies* the courſe from *Europe* is by the *Canaries*, and thence entring the Tropike, they meete with the *Briſes*, which are perpetuall Eaſterne windes, or I know not what impetuoſity by the motion of the heauens breathed into the lower aire betwixt the Tropikes, and preſſing all vapours and exhalations vnto that ſeruice in one or other point Eaſterly: which force the Ships to returne neerer the *American* coaſt there to ſeeke as it were ſome alloy of that impetuous motion (euen as you ſee Water-men in the *Thames* rowing againſt the tide, to couet neere the ſhoare where the tide is weakeſt) and thence paſſing the Tropike to ſeeke Weſterly windes, which from twenty ſeuen to thirty ſeuen doe there vſually remaine, as wee ſee in Eddies cauſed by ſtronger motions. Thus the *Spaniſh* Ships on the South Sea make one way from *Acapulco* to the *Philippinas*, which is the Tropicke; and another without in the height of *Iapan*, to returne. And thus in the *Atlanticke* the Ships from their ſeuerall ports come to the *Hauana* in *Cuba*, and thence muſt take their courſe neere to *Virginia* and *Summer Ilands*, to finde the *Azores*: in which way, from thence it is eaſie for *Engliſh* Ships (not far from their owne home or Ports) to diſperſe themſelues in expectation of a ſurpriſall.

The briſes and courſe of Nauigation.

Eddy windes.

The want of ſuch helpes in Queene *Elizabeths* glorious times, enforced our men of Warre ſtill

to

to awaite both for the *Indian* Carrickes, and all *American* Ships, houering about the *Azores* Ilands subiect to the *Spanish* Crowne, where they neither had harbour in stormes, nor could in any wanes refresh themselues with water, victuals, or other prouisions but by force; where a greater and stronger Armada of the enemy waited to wafte home their Ships returning; where it often hapned that the Ships could not so soone be descried, but they gat either into some Port, and vnder some Fort which secured them; or else there ran themselues aground, and sauing what they could with their persons, fired the rest, so to sacrifice it to *Neptune* or *Vulcan*, rather then permit it to *English* hands. Neither had the *English* any neere Port where to supply themselues in any distresse, or exhaustion of prouisions, but must necessarily returne home for *England*, if not (as sometimes) perishing in the way, with little or perhaps no prize attained. Likewise in long Voyages, as to the East *Indies*, and to the South Sea, hauing no harbour to friend, euery disease proued mortall to their Voyage, and forced at lest a returne, that is, a miscarrying of the designe, if not of themselues: whereas, such a refuge as *Virginia* and *Summer Ilands* might either haue recouered the Voyage intended, or refreshed and inabled them to make as good a purchase vpon the enemy, making him to pay their charges, perhaps with more gaine then the first intents could haue produced. Examples will make this more euident.

Disaduantage to our Ships of warre by want of some such Plantation as this is and may be: whence many Voyages were frustrated in part or wholly.

S. Seb. Sabot.

And first to begin with the first of our great Discouerers; Sir *Sebastian Cabot*, and Sir *Thomas Pert*, were set forth by King *Henry* the eight (as before is mentioned) in a Voyage of *American* Discouery, a Ship of which Fleete comming from the coast of *Brasil* to *Domingo* (*Ouiedo* mentions it in the *Spanish* stile, branding them with Piracy, yet laieth nothing to their charge but discouery and offer of trade, paying with Pewter dishes for what they tooke) was thence repelled *Anno* 1517. and obtained some prouisions at Saint *Iohn*, from whence in their returne to *England*, *Ouiedo* thinkes they perished: at least the Voyage miscarried, as appeareth by Master *Thornes* and Master *Edens* testimony thereof, for want of prouisions. The like happened to Master *Hores* Voyage, described in Master *Hakluit Anno* 1536. when want of victuals made them eate one another, and at last to steale a *French* Ship, in which they returned.

Anno 1517. *Ouiedo. Gen. hist. l. 19. c. 13.*

Master *Hore.* 1536.

Anno 1564. Sir *Iohn Hawkins* hauing made a profitable Voyage by sale of *Negros* on the coast Townes of *America*, was driuen to seeke relieue of the *French* (then planted in *Florida*, rooted thence not long after by *Spanish* butchery) And in another Voyage 1567. incurred by perfidious treachery of the *Spaniards*, a most lamentable disaster. He then sailed in the *Iesus* of *Lubecke*, hauing to his consorts, the *Minion*, the *William* and *Iohn*, the *Iudith*, the *Angell* and the *Swallow*. Hauing gotten *Negros* in *Guinnee* and made his market in the *Spanish Indies*, he put in for relieue at Saint *Iohn de Vlhua*. Whiles his Fleete was there, the *Spanish* Fleete came thither with their new Viceroy, which he could easily haue kept out of the harbour; but there being then no Warres betwixt *England* and *Spaine*, certaine Articles were concluded betwixt them; from which the Viceroy perfidiously resulting, with close trechery (contrary to his faith plighted) assaulted the *English* with a strong power on the sudden: the issue whereof was the firing, drowning, taking many of the *English*, whom they put also to execrable tortures. Onely the *Minion* and *Iudith* of that whole Fleete escaped, if it be an escaping to auoide *Scylla* and rush on *Charibdis*. For they were so shaken in fight first, after with stormes, lastly and worst of all, with famine, that they were forced to expose a hundred and foureteene men to the mercy of cruell elements, crueller Sauages, cruellest *Spaniards*, who exercised in the Inquisition with bondage, rackes, whips, fires, famishments, *& plurima mortis imago*, what the other had spared; so that of a hundred and foureteene not aboue the odde foure, and those foure after *Odysses* of wandrings, and *Iliades* of miseries returned home from the foure corners of the World. Had Sir *Iohn Hawkins* had a *Virginian* opportunity of refreshing, the first danger should not haue needed, and the last had not proued worse then the first: that exposing being not farre from the *Virginian* shoare, and the current fitting to carry him thither. Sir *Francis Drake* was then Captaine of the *Iudith*, and repaied that courtesie to the *Spaniards* after, who to shew the fesibility of such refreshing *Anno* 1585. hauing sacked Saint *Iago*, *Domingo*, *Carthagena*, and Saint *Augustine*, returned by *Virginia* to relieue the Colony there planted by Sir *W. Raleigh*.

Sir *Io. Hawkins.* 1564. 1567.

Spanish perfidie

Spanish cruelties

Anno 1591. Captaine *George Raymund* in the *Penelope*, Captaine *Foxcroft* in the *Merchant Royall*, and Captaine *Lancaster* in the *Edward Bonaduenture*, set forth a Voyage intended for the East *Indies*. Their Company were so weakened with sickneſse, that the Viceadmirall was sent backe from *Soldanha* with sicke men. The Admirall was lost, the Rereadmirall returned, and for want of prouisions put ouer from Saint *Helena* to *Trinidad*, in hope of relieſe. Yet being there disappointed, they intended to get to *Newfoundland*, but being crossed with stormes in the way, and forced backe to Port *Ricco*, the Ship was driuen away and lost not far from *Mona*, whiles the famished Company were seeking refreshing (which how easily had a *Bermuda* or *Virginia* supplied, had an *English* plantation flourished there?) Sir *Iames Lancaster* and the rest being forced to return after much misery, in *French* Ships for *France*, and thence home.

Cap. *Lancaster* 1591.

Anno 1596. the *Beare*, the *Beares Whelpe*, and the *Beniamin*, were set forth for *China* vnder the command of Captaine *Beniamin Wood*. Frier *Ioaen dos Santos* mentions both the two former of *Raymund* and *Lancaster*, and two also of these seene on the coast of *Mozambique*. *Bartolome Leonardo*

Cap. *Ben. Wood* 1596. *Santos. Æthiopia Orientalis.*

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nardo de Argensola in his Booke, printed at *Madrid* 1609. hath published the Letter of the *Chinese* Visitor of *Chinchéo*, in which he writeth to *Don Pedro de Acunna*, Gouernour of the *Philippinas*, that the King of *China* had done two *Sangleys* to death, for shewing the hauen to these two *English* Ships: and *Acunna* describes that the *English* were Pyrates, &c. after the *Spanish* wont. These Ships were vnheard of in *England*, vntill a Letter of *Alcasar de Villa Sennor*, Auditor of *Domingo*, writ to the King his Master, being by an *English* Ship intercepted, gaue intelligence of one of those two Ships which distressed for want of necessaries, by mortality, had foure men only left aliue in her, which seeking reliefe, put themselues into their Boate, and comming on shoare in the Iland *Vtias*, not farre from *Domingo*, with Iewels and great riches, confessed that they had taken three *Portugall* prizes. The *Spaniards* at first receiued them on good conditions, but some villaines seeing their wealth, murthered them, for which this Auditor had sentenced *Roderigo de Fuentes*, with others, as his Letter to the King of *Spaine* importeth. Now had there then beene a *Virginian* or *Bermudan* Plantation, how easily might they haue attained thither (the Boat at least) and escaped that butchery? I could hither adde instructions from the *English Indian* Ships 1604. and 1608. from Captaine *Fenton* 1582. from the Earle of *Cumberlands* Voyages before related, in the yeares 86. 89. 91. 93. 96. 97. and from Master *Candish*, Master *Davis*, and others.

But we haue made too long a *Virginian* Voyage, hauing no better freight then Arguments, which the Times doe now promise, if not worthy wise mens approbation, yet good mens indulgence; where in a weake body, and manifold weighty imployments, the willingnesse of a heart truely *English*, sincerely *Christian*, may seeme tolerable, if not commendable; pardonable if not plausible.

East *Indie* societie.

Another labour remaines to set downe rules and proiects of best fecibility and accomplishing this noble worke, but I am onely a Freeman, no Councellour of that Plantation, and haue neither Lands there, nor other aduenture therein, but this of my loue and credit, which with the allegiance to my Soueraigne, and desire of the publike good of this Kingdome, is more to me then all the treasures of *America*. I seeke the good and not the goods of *England* and *Virginia*. I follow the hand of God, which haue giuen *England* so many rights in *Virginia*, right naturall, right nationall, right by first discouery, by accepted trade, by possession surrendred voluntarily, continued constantly, right by gift, by birth, by bargaine and sale, by cession, by forfeiture in that late damnable trechery and massacre, and the fatal possession taken by so many murthered *English*. Gods bounty before, his iustice now hath giuen vs *Virginia*, that we should so in iudgement remember mercy, as to giue *Virginia* againe to God, in Christian acknowledgement of his goodnesse and mercy, of his word and workes, and in our owne more serious conuersion to prepare that of *Virginia*. God goeth before vs in making this designe honorable to Religion, to Humanity, to our Ancestors, to our King, to our Kingdome. God goeth before vs, and hath giuen *Virginia* so rich a portion, to allure and assure our loues; in multiplying our people, and thereby our necessities enforcing a vent: in endowing *Virginia* with so large a iointure, so temperate, so commodious for the climate compared with other Countries, beyond other Countries in her own diuerfified Lands, Seas, Riuers; in so fertile a soyle, in so strong, sweete, stately, delicate Woods and Timbers, in her naturall hopes of Wines, of Silkes, of the bodies of Natiues seruile and seruiceable: in Drugges, Irons, and probability also of other Mines; in all materials for Shipping, and other buildings: God goeth before vs in offering that meane to saue that which wee seeke and spend in other (perhaps enemies) Countries; to breede vp Marriners, to train vp Souldiers, to exercise labourers, by transportation of *English* and *European* creatures to plant another *England* in *America*, enriched with the best things of *Europe*; to giue vs Fish, Tobacco, and other present improuements as earnest of future better hopes; and that in these times, which haue so manifold necessities thereof, in regard of monies, men, and trades decayed, in regard of neighbour plantations, in the probabilities of a South-Sea glory, and in the case of obtruded warre, obtruding on vs absolute necessity, and including and concluding euery way so manifold vse. God the Father, Sonne and holy Ghost, which goe before vs in these things, if not in miraculous *fire and cloudy pillars*, (as when *Israel* went to *Canaan*) yet in the light of reason, and right consequence of arguments; come into vs and fillvs with the spirit of wisedome and vnderstanding, the spirit of counsell and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge, and the feare of the Lord (I may adde the spirit of vnity and counsell) that he may vouchsafe to goe with vs, and we with him, and after him to *Virginia*, *Amen*, O *Amen*. Be thou the Alpha and Omega of *Englands* Plantation in *Virginia* O GOD.

The Conclusion.

Briefe recapitulation of the most remarkable premisses.

Ex. 13.

Esa. 11.

The end of the ninth Booke.

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ENGLISH DISCOVERIES AND PLANTATIONS IN NEW ENGLAND AND NEW-FOVND-LAND; WITH THE PATENT AND VOYAGES TO NEW-SCOTLAND: Relations also of the *Fleets set forth by Queene* Elizabeth against the *Spaniards*.

THE TENTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

A briefe Relation of the Discouerie and Plantation of New-England; *and of sundry Accidents therein occurring, from the yeere of our Lord* 1607. *to this present* 1622. *Published by the President and Counsell, and dedicated to the Princes Highnesse here abbreuiated.*

WHen this Designe was first attempted, some of the present Company were therein chiefly interessed; who being carefull to haue the same accomplished, did send to the discouery of those Northern parts a braue Gentleman, Cap. *Henry Challons*, with two of the Natiues of that Territorie, the one called *Maneday*, the other *Assecomet*. But his misfortunes did expose him to the power of certaine strangers, enemies to his proceedings, so that by them, his Company were seized, the ships and goods confiscated, and that Voyage wholly ouerthrowne.

This losse, and vnfortunate beginning, did much abate the rising courage of the first Aduenturers; but immediately vpon his departure, it pleased the Noble Lord Chiefe Iustice, Sir *Iohn Popham* Knight, to send out another shippe, wherein Captayne *Thomas Hanam* went Commander, and *Martine Prinne* of *Bristow* Master, with all necessary supplyes, for the seconding of Captayne *Challons* and his people; who arriuing at the place appointed, and not finding that Captayne there, after they had made some Discouerie, and found the Coasts Hauens, and Harbours answerable to our desires, they returned. Vpon whose Relation the Lord Chiefe Iustice, and we all waxed so confident of the businesse, that the yeere following euery man of any worth, formerly interessed in it, was willing to ioyne in the charge for the sending ouer a competent number of people to lay the ground of a hopefull Plantation.

1. Cap. *Challons*.
2. Cap. *Hanam* sent by Lord Chiefe Iustice *Popham*.

Hereupon Captaine *Popham*, Captaine *Rawley Gilbert*, and others were sent away with two ships, and an hundred Landmen, Ordnance, and other prouisions necessary for their sustentation and defence; vntill other supply might be sent. In the meane-while, before they could returne,

3. Cap. *Popham* & Cap. *Gilbert*.

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Sir *Iohn Pophams* death.

it pleased God to take vs from this worthy member, the Lord Chiefe Iustice, whose sudden death did so astonish the hearts of the most part of the Aduenturers, as some grew cold, and some did wholly abandon the businesse. Yet Sir *Francis Popham* his Sonne, certaine of his priuate friends, and other of vs, omitted not the next yeere (holding on our first resolution) to ioyne in sending forth a new supply, which was accordingly performed.

But the ships arriuing there, did not only bring vncomfortable newes of the death of the Lord Chiefe Iustice, together with the death of Sir *Iohn Gilbert*, the elder Brother vnto Captaine *Rawley Gilbert*, who at that time was President of that Councell: But found that the old Captaine *Popham* was also dead; who was the onely man (indeed) that died there that Winter, wherein they indured the greater extremities; for that, in the depth thereof, their Lodgings and stores were burnt, and they thereby wondrously distressed.

Captaine *Pophams* death.

This calamitie and euill newes, together with the resolution that Captaine *Gilbert* was forced to take for his owne returne (in that he was to succeed his Brother, in the Inheritance of his Lands in *England*) made the whole Company to resolue vpon nothing but their returne with the ships; and for that present to leaue that Countrey againe, hauing in the time of their abode there (notwithstanding the coldnesse of the season, and the small helpe they had) built a prettie Barke of their owne, which serued them to good purpose, as easing them in their returning.

Death of the Plantation.

The arriuall of these people here in *England*, was a wonderfull discouragement to all the first vndertakers, in so much as there was no more speech of setling any other Plantation in those parts for a long time after: only Sir *Francis Popham* hauing the ships and prouision, which remayned of the Company, and supplying what was necessary for his purpose, sent diuers times to the Coasts for Trade and fishing; of whose losse or gaines himselfe is best able to giue account.

Sir *Fr. Popham.*

Frenchmen plant there.

Our people abandoning the Plantation in this sort as you haue heard; the *Frenchmen* immediately tooke the opportunitie to settle themselues within our limits; which beeing heard of by those of *Virginia*, that discreetly tooke to their consideration the inconueniences that might arise, by suffering them to harbour there, they dispatched Sir *Samuel Argall*, with Commission to displace them, which he performed with much discretion, iudgement, valour, and dexteritie. For hauing seized their Forts, which they had built at Mount *Mansell*, Saint *Croix*, and *Port Reall*, he carried away their Ordnance; he also surprised their Ship, Cattle, and other Prouisions, which he transported to the Colonie in *Virginia*, to their great benefit. And hereby hee hath made a way for the present hopefull Plantation to be made in *Noua Scotia*, which we heare his Maiestie hath lately granted to Sir *William Alexander* Knight, one of his Maiesties most Honorable Councell of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, to be held of the said Crowne, and that not without some of our priuities, as by approbation vnder writing may and doth appeare. Whereby it is manifest that wee are so farre from making a Monopoly of all those Lands belonging to that Coast (as hath beene scandalously by some obiected) *That wee wish that many would vndertake the like.*

Sir *Sa. Argall.*

Noua Scotia.

In this *Interim* there were of vs who apprehended better hopes of good that might ensue by this attempt, being thereunto perswaded, both by the Relations of our people that had indured the many difficulties whereunto such actions are subiected, chiefly in the Winter Season; and likewise by the informations giuen them by certaine of the Natiues, that had beene kept a long time in their hands; wherefore we resolued once more to trie the veritie thereof, and to see if possibly we might finde some thing that might induce a fresh resolution to prosecute a Worke so pious and so honourable. And thereupon they dispatched Captayne *Hobson*, of the Ile of *Wight*, together with Captayne *Herley*, Master *Iohn Matthew*, Master *Sturton*, with two Sauages, the one called *Epenow*, the other *Manawet*; with Commission and directions fit for them to obserue and follow, the better to bring to passe what was expected. But as in all humane affaires, there is nothing more certaine, then the vncertaintie thereof; so fell it out in this; for a little before such time as they arriued vpon the Coast with the foresaid Sauages, who were Naturals of those parts, it happened there had beene one *Hunt* (a worthlesse fellow of our Nation, set out by certaine Merchants for loue of gaine, who, not content with the commoditie he had by the fish, and peaceable Trade he found among the Sauages, after he had made his dispatch, and was ready to set sayle more Sauage-like then they) seized vpon the poore innocent creatures, that in confidence of his honestie had put themselues into his hands. And stowing them vnder Hatches, to the number of twentie foure, carried them into the Straits, where he sought to sell them for slaues, and sold as many as he could get mony for. But when it was vnderstood from whence they were brought, the Friers of those parts took the rest from them, and kept them to be instructed in the Christian Faith; and so disappointed this vnworthy fellow of the hopes of gaine he conceiued to make by this new and Deuillish proiect.

Cap. *Hobson* imployed with Cap. *Herley*, &c. 1611.

Hunts Sauage hunting of Sauages.

Friers charitie.

This being knowne by our two Sauages, formerly spoken of, they presently contracted such an hatred against our whole Nation, as they immediately studied how to be reuenged; and contriued with their friends the best meanes to bring it to passe; but *Manawet* dying in a short time after the shippes arriuall there, and the other obseruing the good order, and strong guard our people

Wicked effects of wickednes.

people kept, ſtudied only how to free himſelfe out of our hands, and thereupon laid the plot very orderly, and indeed effected his purpoſe, although with ſo great hazard to himſelfe and friends, that laboured his reſcue, that Captayne *Hobſon* and his whole Company imagined hee had beene ſlaine. And though in the recouery of his bodie they wounded the Maſter of our ſhip, and diuers other of our Company, yet was not their Deſigne without the ſlaughter of ſome of their people, and the hurts of other, compaſſed, as appeared afterward.

Hereupon Captaine *Hobſon* and his Company, conceiuing the end of their attempt to bee fruſtrate, reſolued without more adoe to returne, and ſo thoſe hopes, that charge and Voyage was loſt alſo, for they brought home nothing but the newes of their euill ſucceſſe of the vnfortunate cauſe thereof, and of a Warre now new begun betweene the Inhabitants of thoſe parts, and vs. A miſerable comfort for ſo weake meanes as were now left, to purſue the concluſion of ſo tedious, an Enterpriſe.

While this was a working, we found the meanes to ſend out Captaine *Iohn Smith* from *Plimmouth*, in a ſhip, together with Maſter *Dermer*, and diuers others with him, to lay the foundation of a new Plantation, and to try the fiſhing of that Coaſt, and to ſeeke to ſettle a Trade with the Natiues: But ſuch was his misfortune, as being ſcarce free of our owne Coaſt, he had his Maſts ſhaken ouer-boord by ſtormes and tempeſts, his ſhip wonderfully diſtreſſed, and in that extremitie forced to come backe againe; ſo as the ſeaſon of the yeere being almoſt ſpent, wee were of neceſſitie enforced to furniſh him with another ſhip, and taking out the prouiſion of the firſt, diſpatched him away againe, who comming to the height of the Weſterne Ilands, was chaſed by a *French* Pirate, and by him made Priſoner, although his ſhip in the night eſcaped away, and returned with the loſſe of much of her prouiſion, and the ouerthrow of that Voyage, to the ruine of that poore Gentleman Captayne *Smith*, who was detayned Priſoner by them, and forced to ſuffer many extremities, before he got free of his troubles. Cap. *I. Smith*

Notwithſtanding theſe Diſaſters, it pleaſed God ſo to worke for our incouragement againe, as he ſent into our hands *Taſquantum*, one of thoſe Sauages that formerly had beene betrayed by this vnworthy *Hunt* before named, by whoſe means there was hope conceiued to worke a peace betweene vs, and his friends, they beeing the principall Inhabitants of that Coaſt, where the fire was kindled. But this Sauage *Taſquantum*, being at that time in the *New-found-land* with Captaine *Maſon*, Gouernour there for the vndertakers of that Plantation: Maſter *Dermer* (who was there alſo, and ſometimes before imployed as wee haue ſaid by vs, together with Captayne *Iohn Smith*) found the meanes to giue vs intelligence of him, and his opinion of the good vſe that might bee made of his Employment, with the readineſſe of Captayne *Maſon*, to further any of our Attempts that way, eyther with Boates or other prouiſion neceſſarie, and reſoluing himſelfe to goe from thence, aduiſed vs to ſend ſome to meete with him at our vſuall place of fiſhing; to ayde him in his indeuour, that they ioyning together, might bee able to doe what he hoped would be very acceptable vnto all wel-wiſhers of that buſineſſe. Vpon this newes, we diſpatched the next ſeaſon Cap. *Rocraft*, with a company for that purpoſe, in hope to haue met with Captaine *Dermer*; but the care and diſcretion of Cap. *Maſon* was ſuch, finding Captayne *Dermers* reſolution to goe beyond his meanes, that he perſwaded him firſt to go for *England*, that prouiding himſelfe there, as was requiſite, hee might proceed in time expedient, which counſell he obſerued (as fit it was) although our expectation of his ioyning with Captaine *Rocraft* was thereby diſappointed. Yet ſo it happened, that Captaine *Rocraft* at his arriuall in thoſe parts, met with a *French* Barke that lay in a Creeke a fiſhing, and trading, which hee ſeized on, and ſent home the Maſter and Company in the ſame ſhip which hee went out in. Cap. *Maſon* Gouernor in *New found land* Plantation. Cap. *Rocraft*. *French* ſeized.

With this Barke and his owne Company, he meant to keepe the Coaſt that Winter quarter, being very well fitted both with Salt, and other neceſſaries for his turne: but as this was an Act of extremitie (the poore man being of our owne Religion) ſo ſucceeded it accordingly. For in a ſhort time after, certaine of this Captaynes Company, conſpired together to cut his throate, and to make themſelues Maſters of the whole ſpoyle, and ſo to ſeeke a new Fortune where they could beſt make it. This Conſpiracie being diſcouered to the Captayne, he let it go on, till the time that it ſhould haue beene put in execution, when hee caught them in their owne traine, and ſo apprehended them in the very inſtant that they were purpoſed to begin their Maſſacre. Conſpiracie.

But after hee had preuented the miſchiefe, and ſeized vpon the Malefactors, hee tooke to his conſideration what was beſt to bee done with them. And being loth by himſelfe to diſpatch them as they deſerued, hee reſolued to put them a ſhoare, thinking by their hazard, that it was poſſible they might diſcouer ſomething, that might aduance the publike; and ſo giuing them ſome Armes for their defence, and ſome victuall for their ſuſtentation, vntill they knew better how to prouide for themſelues, hee left them a place called *Sawaguatock*, where they remayned not long, but got from thence to *Menehighon*, an Iland lying ſome three leagues in the Sea, and fifteene leagues from that place, where they remayned all that Winter, with bad lodging, and worſe fare, yet came all ſafe home ſaue one ſickely man, which dyed there, the reſt returned with the Shippe wee ſent for *Rocrafts* ſupply and prouiſion, to make a Fiſhing Voyage. Conſpirators laſt *Sawaguatock* *Menehighon*.

After

After theſe fellowes were landed, the Captaine finding himſelfe but weakely man'd, and his Ship to draw too much water to Coaſt thoſe places, that by his inſtructions hee was aſſigned to diſcouer, hee reſolued to goe for *Virginia*, where he had liued a long time before, and had (as hee conceiued) many friends, that would helpe him with ſome things that hee had occaſion to vſe. Arriuing there, he was not deceiued of his expectation; for Sir *Samuel Argall* being their Gouernour, and one that reſpected him much for his owne ſake was the readier to helpe him, in regard of the good hee wiſhed to the buſineſſe wherein he was imployed.

But all this could not preuaile, for after that Sir *Samuel Argall* came from thence (his departure, being more ſudden then was expected) it fell out that the new Gouernour entred the Harbour: and finding *Rocraft* ready to bee gone, ſent to him to command him to come aboord to ſpeake with him, which hee readily obeyed, as ſoone as hee could fit his boat and men for that purpoſe. And ſo leauing his Barke with her great Anker at head, and taking with him the halfe of his company, he was forced to ſtay aboard the new Gouernors Ship that night. In the meane while a ſtorme ariſing, our Barke wanting hands to doe their labour, droue a ſhoare, and there ſunke. But yet the Gouernour and Captaine ſo laboured the next day, when they knew thereof, as that they freed her againe, but that occaſion forced our Captain to ſtay ſo long in the Countrey to fit himſelfe a new, as in the interim a quarrell fell out betweene him and another of that place; ſo as *Rocraft* was ſlaine, and the Barke ſunke the ſecond time, and finally diſabled from yeelding vs any benefit to this preſent.

Barke ſunke.

Rocraft ſlaine.

But we not knowing this diſaſter, and Captain *Darmer* arriuing with his Sauage out of *Newfound land*, diſpatched him away the next ſeaſon, in a Ship wee ſent againe for the fiſhing buſineſſe, and aſſigned him a company to ioyne with *Rocraft* and his people. Captain *Darmer* arriuing there, and not finding *Rocraft*, was a little perplexed, and in doubt what to doe: yet hearing by thoſe Mutiners which hee found there, that hee was gone for *Virginia*; he was hopefull of his returne; and liued in that expectation, till ſuch time as he heard (by a Ship that came from thence to fiſh for the Colony) the confuſion of his fortune, and the end of his miſery in this world. Then hee determined to take the Pinnace, that the yeere before was aſſigned to *Rocraft*, for him to make the Trade with, and with her to proceed on his deſigne, and ſo embarked himſelfe and his prouiſion and company in her. And leauing the Fiſher-men to their labour, he coaſted the ſhoare from thence, ſearching euery Harbour, and compaſſing euery Cape-land, till hee arriued in *Virginia*; where hee was in hope to meet with ſome of the prouiſion, or company of *Rocraft*, to help to ſupply him of what hee wanted; as alſo to lay a Decke vpon his Pinnace, that before had not any, and now was taught by experience the neceſſitie of hauing that defect ſupplied.

Cap. *Darmers* voiage.

Neceſſitie of a Deck in Pinnaces of diſcouerie.

But thoſe hopes failed him (all being before that time ruined and diſperſed) ſo farre, as he ſaw it in vaine to hope for helpe by that meanes, and therefore attempted to make the beſt of what hee had of his owne. And going to ſet his men a worke, they all in few dayes after their arriuall, fell ſicke of a diſeaſe which hapned at that time in the Countrey, ſo as now he was not onely forced to be without hope of their helping of him, but muſt labour himſelfe all hee could to attend and ſuſtaine them; but ſo God fauoured him, that they recouered, and in time conuenient he diſpatched his buſineſſe there, and put himſelfe to Sea againe, reſoluing to accompliſh in his iourney backe to *New-England*, what in his laſt Diſcouery he had omitted. In his paſſage he met with certaine *Hollanders*, who had a trade in *Hudſons* Riuer ſome yeeres before that time, with whom he had conference about the ſtate of that coaſt, and their proceedings with thoſe people: whoſe anſwere gaue him good content. Hee betooke himſelfe to the following of his buſineſſe, diſcouering many goodly Riuers, and exceeding pleaſant and fruitfull Coaſts and Ilands, for the ſpace of eightie leagues from Eaſt to **Weſt**, for ſo that Coaſt doth range along, from *Hudſons* Riuer to Cape *Iames*.

Hollanders in *Hudſons* Riuer.

Darmers diſcoueries.

Now after wee had found by Captaine *Rocrafts* relation made the yeere before, the hopes hee conceiued of the benefits that Coaſt would afford, towards the vpholding of the charge for ſetling our Plantation, by reaſon of the commodities ariſing by Fiſhing and Furres, if a courſe might bee taken for the managing of that buſineſſe, as was fit for ſuch a deſigne; as well as for the aduancement of the publike good of our whole Nation, and ſatisfaction of euery well diſpoſed perſon that had a will to be interreſſed therein. It was held to be moſt conuenient to ſtrengthen our ſelues by a new Grant to bee obtained from his Royal Maieſty: the rather, finding that thoſe of *Virginia* had by two ſeuerall Patents ſetled their bounds, and excluded all from intermedling with them that were not free of their Company; and had wholly altered the forme of their Gouernment, from the firſt ground layed for the managing the affaires of both Colonies, leauing vs as deſperate, and our buſineſſe as abandoned. Theſe conſiderations (as is ſaid) together with the neceſſitie of ſetling our affaires, bounds and limits, diſtinct from theirs, made vs reſolue to petition his Maieſtie for the renewing of our Grant. By which time the rumour of our hopes was ſo publikely ſpread abroad, and the commodities of the Fiſh and Trade ſo looked into, as it was deſired that all that Coaſt might bee made free, as well to thoſe of *Virginia*, as to vs to make their commoditie: How iuſt or vniuſt that motion was, wee will not argue, ſeeing the buſineſſe is ended. By this meanes our proceedings were interrupted, and wee queſtioned about it; firſt, by the

New Patent thought on.

Counſell

Counsell of *Virginia*, whom wee thought to haue beene fully satisfied therein, before wee could haue way giuen vs for a new Patent, both parties hauing beene heard by certaine of the Lords of the Councell; and the businesse by them so ordered, as wee were directed to proceed and to haue our Grant agreeable to the libertie of the *Virginia* Company, the frame of our gouernment excepted; but this order not being liked of, it was againe heard and concluded. Lastly, the Patent being past the Seale, it was stopt vpon new suggestions to the *King*, and by his Maiesty referred to the Councel to be setled, by whom the former Orders were confirmed, the difference cleered, and we orderred to haue our Patent deliuered vs.

These disputes held vs almost two yeeres, so as all men were afraid to ioyne with vs, and we thereby left hopelesse of any thing more, than that which our owne fortunes would yeeld to aduance our proceedings, in which time so many accidents hapned vnto vs at home and abroad, that wee were faine to giue order by the Ships wee sent a fishing, for the retiring of Master *Dermer* and his people, vntill all things were cleered, and wee better prouided of meanes to goe through with our designe: But this worthy Gentleman confident of the good likely to ensue, and resolutely resoluing to pursue the ends he aymed at, could not be perswaded to looke backe, as yet; and so refusing to accept our offer, began againe to prosecute his Discouery, wherein he was betrayed by certaine new Sauages, who sodainly set vpon him, giuing him fourteene or fifteene wounds; but by his valour and dexteritie of spirit hee freed himselfe out of their hands, yet was constrained to retire into *Virginia* againe the second time, for the cure of his wounds, where he fell sicke of the infirmities of that place, and thereof dyed: so ended this worthy Gentleman his dayes, after he had remained in the discouery of that Coast two yeeres, giuing vs good content in all hee vndertooke; and after hee had made the peace betweene vs and the Sauages, that so much abhorred our Nation for the wrongs done them by others, as you haue heard: but the fruit of his labour in that behalfe wee as yet receiue to our great commoditie, who haue a peaceable Plantation at this present among them, where our people both prosper and liue in good liking, and assurednesse of their neighbours, that had beene formerly so much exasperated against vs, as will more at large appeare hereafter.

Dermer betrayed by Sauages. *See sup.* his owne letter to me.

His death.

Peaceable Plantation by his meanes.

But hauing passed all these storms abroad, and vndergone so many home-bred oppositions, and freed our Patent, which wee were by order of State assigned to renew, for the amendment of some defects therein contained, wee were assured of this ground more boldly to proceed on than before; and therefore wee tooke first to consideration, how to raise the meanes to aduance the Plantation. In the examination thereof, two wayes did first offer themselues: The one was the voluntary contribution of the Patentees; The other, by an easie ransoming of the freedomes of those that had a will to partake only of the present profits arising by the Trade and Fishing vpon the Coast. The first was to proceed from those Noble-men, and others that were Patentees, and they agreed by order among themselues to disburse a hundred pounds a piece, for the aduancement of such necessary businesse as they had in hand. The second was to bee accomplished by setling such liberties and orders in the Westerne Cities and Townes, as might induce euery reasonable man, in, and about them, affecting the publike good, or a regular proceeding in the businesse of Trade, to embrace an vniformitie, and to ioyne a communitie or ioynt stock together, &c.

Patent renewed.

BVt this Countrey, what by the generall and particular situation is so temperate, as it seemeth to hold the golden meane, and indeed is most agreeable to the nature of our owne, which is made manifest by experience, the most infallible proofe of all assertions; insomuch as our people that are setled, enioy their life and health much more happily then in other places; which can be imputed to no other cause, then to the temperature of the Climate. Now as the Clime is found to be so temperate, so delicate and healthfull, both by reason and experience; such is the soile also, some parts thereof yeelding wonderfull increase, both of Corne, the Natiues haue most vse of; as also of our owne, of all sorts: with infinite varietie of nourishing Rootes, and other Hearbs and Fruits common among them, but rare with vs. Besides, the Coast doth abound with most conuenient Hauens and Harbors, full of singular Ilands fit for Plantation; repleniſhed with Plants and Wood of all sorts; as Oake, Cedars, Spruce, Fir, Pyne, Walnut, Chestnut, Elme, Sassafras, Plum-trees, and Calamus Aromaticus, &c.

Temperate Climate.

Fertile Soile.

Commodious Coast.

The people are tractable (if they be not abused) to commerce and Trade withall, and as yet haue good respect of vs. The Seas are stored with all kindes of excellent Fish, and in many places vpon the Coast, fit to make Salt in. The Countrey aboundeth with diuersitie of wilde Fowle, as Turkies, Partridges, Swans, Cranes, wild Geese of al sorts, wild Ducks of three sorts, many Doues, especially when Strawberries are ripe.

Fowle.

There are seuerall sorts of Deere in those parts, and some that bring forth two, three, and foure young at once, which is a manifest proofe of the fertilitie of the Soile, or temper of the Clime, or both together. There is also a certaine Beast, that the Natiues call a *Mosse*, hee is as big bodied as an Oxe, headed like a fallow Deere, with a broad Palme, which hee mues euery yeere, as doth the Deere, and neck like a Red Deere, with a short Mane running downe along the Ranes of his back, his haire long like an Elke, but esteemed to be better then that for Sadlers vse, he hath likewise

Deere.

The Mosse a strange Beast described.

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wiſe a great bunch hanging downe vnder his throat, and is of the colour of our blacker ſort of fallow Deere, his legs are long, and his feet as big as the feet of our Oxen, his taile is longer then the Single of a Deere, and reacheth almoſt downe to his Huxens, his skinne maketh very good Buffe, and his fleſh is excellent good food, which the Natiues vſe to Ierkin and keepe all the yeere to ſerue their turne, and ſo proues very ſeruiceable for their vſe. There haue beene many of them ſeene in a great Iland vpon the Coaſt, called by our people *Mount Manſell*, whither the Sauages goe at certaine ſeaſons to hunt them; the manner whereof is by making of ſeuerall fires, and ſetting the Countrey with people, to force them into the Sea, to which they are naturally addicted, and then there are others that attend them in their Boates with Bowes and weapons of ſeuerall kindes, wherewith they ſlay and take at their pleaſure. And there is hope that this kind of Beaſts may be made ſeruiceable for ordinary labour, with Art and Induſtry.

Mount *Manſell*

How they take the Moſſe or Muſſe.

Commodities.

The knowne Commodities of that Countrey are Fiſh of ſeuerall ſorts, rich Furres, as Beauers, Otters, Martins, blacke Fox, Sables, &c. There are likewiſe plentie of Vines, of three kinds, and thoſe pleaſant to the taſte, yet ſome better then other. There is Hempe, Flax, Silkgraſſe, ſeuerall veines of Ironſtone, commodities to make Pitch, Roſen, Tarre; Deale-boords of all ſorts, Spars, Maſts, for Ships of all burdens; in a word, there comes no commoditie out of *France*, *Germany*, or the *Sound*, but may be had there with reaſonable labour and induſtry.

Seuerall Plantations along the Coaſt.

Further, wee haue ſetled at this preſent ſeuerall Plantations along the Coaſt, and haue granted Patents to many more that are in preparation to bee gone with all conueniencie. Thoſe of our people that are there haue both health and plenty, ſo as they acknowledge there is no want of any thing, but of induſtrious people, to reape the commodities that are there to be had, and they are indeed ſo much affected to the place, as they are loth to bee drawne from thence, although they were directed to returne to giue ſatisfaction to thoſe that ſent them, but choſe rather to performe that office by Letters, together with there excuſe for breach of their duty in that behalfe. And thus you ſee there is no labour well imployed, but hath his reward at one time or other. Theſe incouragements haue imboldned vs to proceed to the ingaging of our ſelues for the building of ſome Ships of good burden, and extraordinary mould, to lie vpon the Coaſt for the defence of Merchants and Fiſhermen that are imployed there, as alſo to Waft the Fleets, as they goe to and from their Markets: and wee purpoſe from henceforth to build our ſhipping there, where wee find all commodities fit for that ſeruice, together with the moſt opportune places that can bee deſired.

Laſtly, finding that we haue ſo far forth preuailed, as to wind our ſelues into familiaritie with the Natiues (which are in no great number) along the Coaſt, for two hundred Leagues together, wee haue now diſpatched ſome of our people of purpoſe, to dyue into the bowels of the Continent, there to ſearch and finde out what Port, or Place, is moſt conuenient to ſettle our mayne Plantation in, where wee meane to make the Reſidencie of our State and Gouernment, as alſo to bee aſſured what other commodities may bee rayſed for the publike, and priuate benefit of thoſe that are dealers in that buſineſſe, and willing to bee intereſſed in any the Lands there: Whither is gone this yeere already, for Trade and Fiſhing onely, thirtie Saile of the better ſort of Ships belonging to the Weſterne parts, beſides thoſe who are gone for tranſportation of the Planters, or ſupply of ſuch as are already planted, whoſe returne (as is ſuppoſed) will amount (at the leaſt) to thirty thouſand pound, the greater part whereof comes home in Bullion. And therefore as touching the third happineſſe of theſe parts, which is the Sea, there needeth no other greater commendation, then this benefit of Fiſhing aſſured vnto vs by common Experience; although it affords many other hopes, both in regard of the facilitie of the Nauigation, the boldneſſe of the Coaſt, the conueniencie of Roades, Hauens and Harbors, for performance of all manner of imployments; yet is there alſo found Showes of Pearle, Ambergreece, great numbers of Whales, and other merchantable meanes to raiſe profit to the induſtrious Inhabitants or diligent Traders.

Thirtie ſaile 1622.

CHAP. II.

The Voyage of M. HENRY CHALLONS *intended for the North Plantation of* Virginia, 1606. *taken by the way, and ill vſed by* Spaniards: *written by* IOHN STONEMAN *Pilot.*

ON Tueſday the twelfth of Auguſt, 1606. M. *Henry Challons* Gentleman ſet forth from *Plimouth*, in our ſmall Ship of the burthen of fiftie fiue Tunnes or thereabout, called the *Richard* of *Plimouth*. Wherein went twentie nine *Engliſhmen*, and two of the fiue Sauages (whoſe names were *Mannido* and *Aſſacomoit*) which were brought into *England* the yeere before out of the North parts of *Virginia*, from our goodly Riuer by him thrice diſcouered, called in the Latitude of

of 43. degrees, 20. minutes were imployed for a farther discouery of these Coasts: And if any good occasion were offered, to leaue as many men as wee could spare in the Country. Being victualled for eleuen or twelue moneths, at the charges of the Honourable Sir *Iohn Popham* Knight, Lord chiefe Iustice of *England*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* Knight, Captaine of the Fort of *Plimouth*, together with diuers other worshipfull Knights, Gentlemen and Merchants of the West Countrye: *Iohn Stoneman* of *Plimouth* being Pilot, who had beene in the foresaid parts of *Virginia* the yeere before, with *George Waymouth*: The Masters name was *Nicholas Hine* of *Cockington*, neere *Dartmouth*;

The last day of August wee fell with the Ile of *Madera*, where we watered and refreshed our selues, and stayed three dayes, being very kindly vsed by the Inhabitants. The third day of September wee departed from thence, passing betweene *Gomora* and *Palma*, two of the *Canary* Iles, and from thence were driuen by contrary winds, to take a more Southerly course then we intended, and so spent more then sixe weekes before wee could recouer any of the Ant-Iles. The first that wee could recouer, was the Ile of Saint *Lucia*, in the Latitude of 14. degrees, 20. minutes, where we refreshed our selues with Wood and Water. And saw certaine of the Sauages there, about fortie or fiftie, came vnto vs at our Ship in one of their Cannoas, bringing vnto vs Tobacco, Potatos, Plantins, and *Cassaui* Bread, the which Sauages had slaine more then fortie of our Nation, the yeere before 1605. as after wee vnderstood by *Philip Glasco*, and *Miles Pett*, being two of Captaine *Nicholas*, Saint *Iohns* company, which was there treacherously slaine among the rest.

Madera.

Saint *Lucia.*

Fortie *English* slaine by Sauages. 1605. See the storie, *sup. pag.* 1255.

Hauing stayed heare three dayes, about the two and twentieth of October we departed thence to the Northward. And in passing by the Ile of *Dominica*, wee chanced to see a white Flag put forth on the shoare, whereat maruelling, wee supposed that some Christians had sustained shipwrack their. And forthwith a Cannoa came off from the shoare towards vs, which when they came neere, being very little wind, we layed our Ship by the lee and stayed for them a little, and when they were come within a little distance of the Ship, wee perceiued in the Cannoa a Friar, who cried aloud in the Latine tongue, saying, I beseech, as you are Christians, for Christ his sake to shew some mercy and compassion on mee, I am a Preacher of the Word of God, a Friar of the Order of *Franciscus* in *Smill*, by name Friar *Blasius*. And that hee had beene there sixteene moneths a Slaue vnto those Sauages; and that other two Friars which were of his company they had murthered and throwne into the Sea. We demanded of him then, how he got so much fauour to preserue his life, his Brethren being murthered: Hee answered, because hee did shew the Sauages how to fit them Sayles for their Cannoas, and so to ease them of much labour often in rowing, which greatly pleased the Sauages as appeared, for wee saw them to vse sayles in their Cannoas, which hath not beene seene before.

Dominica.

Friar *Blasius* his request.

Then we demanded of him where they had this Linnen Cloth to make those Sayles: hee answered, That about two yeeres before that, three Gallions comming to the West *Indies* were cast away on the Ile of *Gwadalupa*, where abundance of Linnen Cloth and other Merchandise was cast on shoare. We demanded farther, what was the cause of his being in this place, and how he came thither: he answered, That the King of *Spaine* did euery yeere, send out of euery great Monastery certaine Friars into the remote parts of the *Indies*, both to seeke to conuert the Sauages, as also to seeke out what benefits or commodities might be had in those parts, and also of what force the Sauages were of, and what number of them were in the seuen Ant-Iles, *viz.* Saint *Vincent Grenado*, Saint *Lucia*, *Matualina*, *Dominica*, *Gwadalupa*, *Aisey*. The which the said Friar *Blasius* said he had diligently noted and obserued, and did hope to make perfect relation of such great benefits and riches as was to be drawne from thence, as he doubted not but would bee greatly accepted of his King, if hee might liue to returne to declare it: For, said hee, I haue seene in one Riuer discending from the Mountaines in the Ile of *Dominica*, the Sand to glitter like Gold or find Copper, whereupon I tooke some of it, and chewed it betweene my teeth, and found it perfect Mettall, the Sauages noting me, began to haue some iealousie of me, so as I durst not take any farther notice of it, neither would they suffer him forward to come neere to that place. And farther hee said, That if the great plentie of diuers Fruits and Roots fit for mans sustenance were perfectly knowne, together with the Sugar-canes that they haue in those Iles, and the fertilitie of the soyle he thought it would be very shortly inhabited; and as for the number of Sauages there, as neere as we could vnderstand, was scarce one thousand of all sorts of men, women, and children in all the said seuen Iles.

Three Gallions lost at *Guadalupa.*

Causes of yeerly sending of Friars out of *Spaine.*

Gold in *Dominica.*

Now, being moued with pitie at the lamentable complaint, and humble suit of this distressed Friar, wee tooke him into our Ship, and sent away the Sauages much discontented. And from thence wee sayled to the Ile of Saint *Iohn De-port-rico*, where on the nine and twentieth of October, wee arriued on the Southside, and forthwith sent the Friar on shoare, and deliuered him to two Headsmen, which most thankfully receiued him, and of their courtesie brought vs a fat Cow, and proferred vs more with Hogs, Calues, or any thing else that they could procure vs in recompence of the good deed done to the Friar.

They land the Friar on *Port Rico.*

Wee departed from thence, and sayled out betweene the Iles of Saint *Iohn De-portrico*, and

Hispa-

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Hispaniola standing away to the Northward. And leauing the great shoalds called *Abrioio*, on our Larboord side, being in the Latitude of 21. and 22. degrees, from thence Westward, our course North North-west, and North-west and by North, vntill wee were in the Latitude of 27. degrees or better, and about one hundred and eightie leagues from Saint *Iohn de Port Rico*.

In this place hauing had a very great storme of Wind and Raine continuing fiftie sixe houres and more before on the tenth day of Nouember, about ten of the clocke in the morning, suddenly we found our selues in the middest of a Fleet of eight Sayle of ships in a very thicke fogge of mist and raine, so as we could not see them before they were very neere, and within shot of them, wherein three of them were on the wind-ward of vs, on a third and fourth more to lee-ward: those at the wind-ward came rome vnto vs, and shot at vs, requiring vs to speake with their Admirall. When we saw that by no meanes we could auoid them, but that they would speake with vs, we put abroad our Colours, and went toward the Admirall, before wee came vnto him, he likewise strooke downe our Sayle, and came vnder his lee, demanding his pleasure: the other ship which first shot vs, all our Sayles being downe, and shot our mayne Sayle in pieces lying on the Decke.

They by vnhappy hap fall amongst Spanish ships.

And forthwith the Admirall came on boord of vs, with two and twentie men in their ships Boate with Rapiers, Swords, and halfe-pikes. We being all in peace stood readie to entertayne them in peace. But assoone as they were entred on boord of vs, they did most cruelly beate vs all, and wounded two of our Company in the heads with their Swords, not sparing our Captayne nor any. Also they wounded *Assacomoit*, one of the Sauages aforesaid, most cruelly in seuerall places in the bodie, and thrust quite through the arme, the poore creature creeping vnder a Cabbin for feare of their rigour: and as they thrust at him, wounding him, he cried still. King *Iames*, King *Iames*, King *Iames* his ship, King *Iames* his ship. Thus hauing beaten vs all downe vnder the Deckes, presently they beat vs vp againe, and thrust vs ouer-boord into their Boate, and so sent vs on boord of the Admirall ship. Neither would they suffer any of vs to speake a word, to shew the cause of our passing the Seas in these parts. Neyther regarded they any thing, our Commission which the Captayne held forth vnto them in his hand: vntill that the Admirall with the Company of foure other of the ships, had rifled, spoyled, and deliuered all the Merchandize and goods of the ship among them: which beeing done, they also diuided vs beeing thirtie persons in all into the said fiue ships, by seuen, six, fiue, and foure to a ship.

They are borded, taken and abused.

King Iames his name little respected by Spaniards.

Three of the former eight Sayle made Sayle away, and neuer came neere vs, neither were partakers of our spoyle. Then they also repayred our Maine Sayle which was torne with the shot aforesaid, and put their men into her. And after because they could not make her to sayle well, they tooke two of our men, and put into her to helpe them, the other fiue ships and our ship kept company two or three dayes together. After this they separated themselues either from other, not through any tempest or storme, but through wilfull negligence or simple Ignorance, by shaping contrary courses the one from the other. So as not two of them kept company together. My selfe and sixe more of our company in the Vice-Admirall (of the burthen of one hundred and eightie tunnes; called the *Peter* of *Siuill*, the Captaynes name was *Andreas Barbesa*) beeing alone, and hauing lost the company of the Fleet, continued our course vntill the middle of December: at which time being about twentie leagues off from the Ile of *Santa Maria*, one of the Iles of the *Azores*, the Vice-Admiral and the whole company disliking the great Ignorance of the Pilot, because he had told them ten dayes before that he was very neere the Hands, and had waited all this time, and could find any of them, entreated me very earnestly to shew my skill. And the Pilot himselfe brought mee his Instruments, and besought mee most earnestly to assist him, and to appease the company. Whereunto by there much importunitie I yeelded. And by Gods assistance on Christmasse Eeue, after our *English* account, I brought them safe to the Barre of Saint *Lucas*, being the first ship of the whole Fleet that arriued there.

One of the ships of this Fleet, by the great Ignorance of the *Spanish* Masters, Pilots, and Mariners was driuen beyond all the Coast of *Spaine*, into *Burdeaux* in *Gascoyne*, In which shippe the Officers of the Admiraltie of *France*, finding foure of our *Englishmen* prisoners vnder the Deckes in hold; to wit, Master *Daniell Tucker*, who was our Cape Merchant, *Pierce Gliddon* and two others, did very friendly set them at libertie; and the said *Daniel Tucker* presently arrested the *Spanish* ship and goods beeing of great value, which of long time remayneth vnder arrest.

French courtesie.

The good Duke of *Medina* hearing of the arriuall of certaine *English* prisoners taken here, the Coast of the West *Indies*, sent command to the Captaynes of the *Spanish* ships, to bring foure of the chiefest to be brought before him. Whereupon my selfe, Master *Thomas* Saint *Iohn*, *Iohn Walrond* our Steward, and *William Stone* our Carpenter were brought before him. The ship wherein Master *Challons* was, was not yet come.

Master *Danid Newill* an *Englishman* dwelling in Saint *Lucas*, was appointed our Interpretor. And then the Duke required me vpon my oath to yeeld a true and faithfull answere, according to the whole state and manner of our Voyage and proceedings, which I did, according to the former Relation afore written, whereupon his Excellencie replyed vnto the *Spanish* Captaynes

which

which had brought vs, saying, if this bee true which this *Englishman* affirmeth, you haue greatly wronged these men. And so commanded them to prouide meate, drinke, and fit lodging for vs, and to bring vs againe the next day before him. They sent vs neuertheleſſe to *Sivill*, where wee were brought to a *Dutchmans* house, called *Signior Petro*, where we were reasonably lodged, and entertayned that night.

The next morning being New yeeres day we were brought before the President of *Sivill*, at the Contractation, who hearing of our comming, and not vouchsafing to speake with vs, sent foure Officers to vs, and cast vs into Prison. Where for the space of fiue dayes wee had publike allowance, but such as poore men which were there Prisoners, also did of their mercie bestow on vs. At length after many humble Sutes, and earneſt Petitions exhibited to the President, we had a Riall of Plate allowed to each man a day, which is sixe pence *English*, which by reason of the dearth of all sorts of victuall in those parts, will not goe so far as three pence in *England*. Their imprisonment.

And so at seuerall times, within one moneth after eleuen more of our Company were committed to Prison, as they came home, whereof our Captaine was one. Notwithstanding that the good Duke of *Medina* had discharged both him and all those of his Company, which came into *Spaine* with him, and willed him to goe home to the Court of *England*, or to the Court of *Spaine* where he thought to haue best reliefe for his poore imprisoned Company. Whereupon *Nicholas Hine* our Master, and two more of our men wisely foreseeing what was like to bee the issue, made haste away out of the Citie, and so got passage and escaped into *England*.

Before the comming of our Captaine to *Sivill*, my selfe and eleuen more of my Company were examined before the President of the Contractation: who finding no iust cause of offence in vs, did often earnestly examine me of the manner and situation of the Countrie of *Virginia*, together with the Commodities and benefit thereof. And after the comming of our Captaine, they likewise examined him to the same purpose. We answered both to one purpose, according to our Commission in writing, which the *Spaniards* at our taking at Sea, had preserued and deliuered vp vnto the hands of the President. Within few dayes after, they gaue our Captaine and Master *Thomas*, Saint *Iohn*, libertie of mayne Prison, vpon the securitie of two *English* Merchants, which were Master *William Rapier*, and Master *Iohn Pocksford*, whereof the later is dwelling and maried in *Sivill*. The rest of the Company being one and twentie in Prison, continued still in miserable estate. And about two moneths after, *Robert Cooke* of *London* one of our Company fell sick of a Flixe, whereof he languished three moneths and more, and by no meanes that wee could make, could get him forth to bee cured, although wee spent more then sixtie Rials in Supplicaues and Sites to get him out. At length being dead, they caused his bodie to bee drawne vp and downe the Prison by the heeles, naked, in most contemptible manner, crying, Behold the *Lutheran*, as fiue others of our Company beeing then in Prison beheld: and so laid him vnder the Conduit, and powred water into his dead bodie. This done, they cut off his Eares, Nose and Members, as the *Spaniards* themselues confessed vnto vs, and so conueyed his bodie wee could neuer learne whether, although we proffered them money to haue his dead corps to burie it. Hard hearted *Spaniard*. Cruell inhumanitie.

Shortly after *Nathaniel Humfrie* our Boatswaine was stabbed into the belly with a Knife by a *Spaniard*, which was a slaue in the Prison, and fourteene dayes after dyed, who beeing dead I went vnto the Keeper of the Prison, desiring to buy his dead bodie to burie it, and so for twenty Rials I bought his bodie, and buried it in the field. Then we besought the President for Iustice on this slaue which had slaine our Boatswaine: he demanded what we would haue of the slaue. And we requested, that as he had slaine an honest and worthy man of ours causeleſſe, that hee might die for it according to the Law. The President answered no, but if we would haue him condemned for two or three yeares more to the Gallies he should. For said hee, *The King of* Spaine *will not giue the life of the worſt Slaue that he hath, for the beſt Subiect the King of* England *hath*, and so sent vs away with this answere. Whereupon being out of all hope of Iustice with the President, we repaired vnto the Regent being an Eccleſiasticall man, one of the chiefest Iudges of the Citie, desiring likwise Iustice on the Murtherer aforesaid; who in kind tearmes promised vs Iustice, and so willed vs to retaine Counsell and Atturnies to prosecute our Sute; which wee did accordingly, and so after two moneths Sute, and the cost of more then two hundred Rials on Lawyers, Scribes and other Officers at length we had him hanged by the fauour of the Regent, which otherwise we had neuer obtained. *Spaniſh Presidents respect to the Engliſh.* Honeſt *Spaniards.*

And now I may not omit to shew how I got the libertie to haue the scope of the Citie for my Race to come, and go. Hauing beene three moneths in close Prison with our poore company as aforesaid. At length I got the fauour of two *Englishmen* inhabiting in *Sivill* named *Constantine Collins*, and *Henry Roberts* who did ingage themselues for me. The *Spaniards* were very desirous to haue me to serue their State, and proffered me great wages, which I refused to doe, affirming, that this imployment which I had in hand, was not yet ended vntill which time I would not determine any.

Then the *Alcadie maior* of the Contractation House and diuers others Merchants perswaded me to make them some descriptions and Maps of the Coast and parts of *Virginia*, which I also refused to doe. They being discontent with me, sent mee againe to Prison, where I continued

two and twentie dayes, and then I making meanes vnto my good friends borrowed money, and so gaue diuers bribes vnto the keepers of the Prison, whereupon they gaue mee libertie to goe abroad againe into the Citie at my pleasure. And waiting euery day for some order from the Court of *Spaine* of our discharge, there came none but delayes and prolonging of our troubles and miseries. So as we began almost to despaire of libertie.

At length an honest *Dutch* Merchant dwelling in *Siuill*, named *Hanse Eloyse*, sent vnto mee to speake with me, which when I came vnto him, signified vnto me what he had learned of one of the Iudges of the Contractation: who told him as he reported vnto me, that the *Spaniards* had a great hate vnto me aboue all others, because they vnderstood that I had beene a former Discouerer in *Virginia*, at the bringing into *England* of those Sauages; and that they thought it was by my instigation to perswade our State to inhabit those parts. And because they had receiued so small knowledge of those parts by my confession: and that they could not perswade mee to serue that State, neither would make them any note draught, or descriptions of the Countrie. They resolued to bring to the Racke and torment me, whereby to draw some further knowledge by confession from me, before any discharge might come for vs. The which this honest Merchant considering, and the Innocencie of our case, gaue me to vnderstand. And, wished mee rather to flie and preserue my selfe, then to stand to their mercie on the Racke. I hearing this the next morning, being the three and twentieth of October, suddenly fled from *Siuill*, and with me Master *Thomas* Saint *Iohn* aforesaid, and one other of our Company named *Iames Stoneman* my Brother, whom through great cost and charges bestowed on the Keepers of the Prison a little before I had got forth to bee cured of a Callenture. Thus wee fled from *Siuill*; leauing Master *Henry Challons* our Captaine at libertie vpon sureties, and sixteene more of our Company in close Prison.

From thence on the fiue and twentieth of October, wee came to a Mount in the *Cundado*, where finding no passage by any shipping into *England*, *France* or *Flanders*. Wee trauelled through *Algarnie*, to the Port of *Setunall*, and finding no passage there, wee trauelled to *Lisbone* in *Portugall*. Where wee arriued the one and thirtieth of October, and there found ships readie bound to goe to *England*, but the wind was contrary for fourtgene dayes.

At the time of our abode at *Lisbone*, wee vnderstood that three Carrickes were come from the East *Indies*: whereof one was arriued safely at *Lisbone* tenne dayes before our comming thither. Another was driuen to leeward, and put in *Vego*, as wee heard. The third Carracke beeing at the Ile of *Tercera*, was so leake that they could not bring her home into *Portugall*, but vnloaded her into three of the King of *Spaines* great Armadoes, to bring the goods more safely to *Lisbone*. Which Ships at there comming before the mouth of the Riuer of *Lisbone* in the night within three dayes after my comming thither, were all cast away on certaine shoaldes there called *Oscacbopes*, or as wee commonly call them the *Cachops*, where of nine hundred men, as the *Portugalls* reported, but only thirtie seuen were saued, and of the goods very little at all: because the said ships being cast away on the ebbe. The goods were driuen off into the Sea, the dead bodies of many that were drowned, I my selfe saw cast on the shore with the sundry wrackes of the parts of the Ships Masts and Yards, with other wracke of Caske, Chists, and such like in great abundance.

Three ships cast away.

The fourteenth day of November the winde being faire, wee tooke passage from *Lisbone* in a small Barke belonging to *Bidiford*, called the *Marget*, and on the foure and twentieth of the same we were landed at Saint *Ines* in *Cornwall*, and from thence I hasted to *Plimmouth*, where I shewed vnto Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* and diuers others the Aduenturers, the whole Discourse of our vnhappie Voyage together with the miseries that wee had, and did indure vnder the *Spaniards* hands. And then hasted with all the speed I could toward the Court of *England*, where I was assured to my great comfort, that they either were alreadie, or very shortly should bee deliuered.

Before my departure from *Siuill*, I should haue remembred, that about Whitsontide last there were brought into the Prison of the Contractation there, two young men brought out of the West *Indies*, in one of the Kings Gallions, which were of Captaine *Iohn Legats* company of *Plimmouth*, which departed out of *England*, about the latter end of July 1606. bound for the Riuer of *Amazons*, as hee told me before his going forth, where hee had beene two yeeres before. And comming on the Coast of *Brasil* as those young men (the name of one of them is *William Adams* borne in *Plimpton* neere *Plimmouth*) reported vnto mee, whether falling to the leeward of the Riuer of *Amazons*, or deceiued by his Master they knew not. And not being able to recouer the said Riues, were constrayned to refresh in the West *Indies*, in which time there fell a great disorder betweene the said Captaine *Legat* and his company, so as one of his company, in a broyle within themselues aboard there ship, slue the said Captaine *Legat*, whether in his owne priuate quarrell or with the consent of the rest of the Company, they could not tell mee. But this is the more to bee suspected for that he alwayes in former Voyages dealt very straitly with his company. After his death his company comming to the Ile of *Pinos*, on the Southside of *Cuba*, to refresh themselues, being eighteene persons were circumuented by the trecherie of the *Spaniards*, and were there betrayed, and taken Prisoners: and within foure dayes after, of eigh-

Cap. *Iohn Legat of Plimmouth.* Mutines Cap. *Legat* slaine by his mutinous crew, which knew not when they had done to bring home their ship, and so stumbled on *Spanish* Iusticers. I haue heard him much commended for a proper and expert Sea-man.

eighteene persons, fourteene were hanged the other foure being youths were saued to serue the *Spaniards*, whereof, two of them, refusing to serue longer in there ships, were put into the Prison at *Smith*, the other two remayne still as slaues to the *Spaniards*.

This I had the rather noted to the end, that it may be the better considered what numbers of ships and men haue gone out of *England*, since the conclusion of peace betweene *England* and *Spaine*, in the way of honest Trade and Traffique, and how many of them haue miserably miscarried. Hauing beene slaine, drowned, hanged or pittifully captiued, and thrust out of their ships and all their goods.

READER, I had by me the Voyage of Captaine Thomas Hanham, *(written by himselfe) vnto* Sagadahoc: *also the written Iournals of Master* Raleigh Gilbert *which stayed and fortified there in that vnseasonable Winter (fit to freeze the heart of a Plantation) of* Iames Dauies, Iohn Eliot, *&c. but our voluminousnesse makes me afraid of offending nicer and queasier stomackes: for which cause I haue omitted them, euen after I had with great labour fitted them to the Presse: as I haue also done a written large Tractate of* Mawaushen, *and the Voyage of Master* Edward Harlie *(one of the first Planters with Cap.* Popham) *and* Nicholas Hobson *to those parts* 1611. *with diuers Letters from Cap.* Popham *and others. You must obserue, that it was in those times called by the name of* Virginia, *and the Northerne Plantation or Colonie. But Captaine* Smith *(a man which hath so many Irons in our fire) presented a Booke of the Countrie to Prince* Charles *his Highnesse, with a Map of the Countrey, who stiled it (as our hopes are, he will one day make it)* New England, *and altered the Sauage names of places to* English. *Hee made one Voyage thither, Anno* 1614. *and the next yeere beganne another, which taken by* Frenchmen, *he was not able to make vp: but in testimonie of his loue to his Countrey here, and of his hopes there hath written diuers Bookes, One called* A Description of New England *(in which his said Voyages are described, with the description of the Countrey and many Arguments to incite men to that vndertaking; which I had also prepared for the Presse, but for the former feares haue omitted) the other called* New Englands Trials *twice or thrice printed, out of which I haue added thus much, that the World may see the benefit to bee made by fishing, and may also be better acquainted with the successe and succession of* New Englands *Affaires.*

CHAP. III.

Extracts of a Booke of Captaine IOHN SMITH, *printed* 1622. *called* New Englands *tryalls, and continuing the Storie thereof, with Motiues to the businesse of fishing there.*

The benefit of fishing, as Master *Dee* reporteth in his Brittish *Monarchie.*

HE saith that it is more then foure and fortie yeeres agoe, and it is more then fortie yeeres since he writ it, that the Herring Busses out of the *Low-countries*, vnder the King of *Spaine*, were fiue hundred, besides one hundred *Frenchmen*, and three or foure hundred Sayle of *Flemmings*.

The Coasts of *Wales* and *Lancashire* was vsed by three hundred Sayle of strangers.

Ireland and *Baltemore* fraughted yeerly three hundred Sayle of *Spaniards*, where King *Edward* the Sixt intended to haue made a strong Castle, because of the Strait, to haue Tribute for fishing.

Blacke Rocke was yeerely fished by three or foure hundred Sayle of *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, and *Biskiners*.

Master Gentleman, *and many Fisher-men and Fish-mongers, with whom I haue conferred, reports*

The *Hollanders* raise yeerely by Herring, Cod, and Ling, 3000000. pounds.

English and *French* by Salt-fish, Poore Iohn, Salmons, and Pilchards, 300000. pounds.

Hamborough and the Sound, for Sturgion, Lobsters and Eeles, 100000. pounds.

Cape *Blanke* for Tunny and Mullir, by the *Biskiners* and *Spaniards*, 30000. pounds.

But diuers other learned experienced Obseruers say, though it may seeme incredible, That the Duke of *Medina* receiueth yeerely tribute of the Fishers for Tunny, Mullit and Purgos, more then 10000. pounds.

Lubeck hath seuen hundred Ships: *Hamborough* six hundred: *Embden* lately a Fisher Towne, one thousand foure hundred, whose Customes by the profit of fishing hath made them so powerfull as they bee.

Holland and *Zealand*, not much greater then *Yorkeshire*, hath thirtie walled Townes, foure

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hundred Villages, 20000. saile of Ships and Hoyes; thirtie sixe thousand are Fisher-men, whereof one hundred are Doggers, seuen hundred Pinkes and Wel-boates, seuen hundred Frand Boates, Britters and Tode-boats, with one thousand three hundred Busses, besides three hundred that yeerely fish about *Yarmouth*, where they sell their Fish for Gold; and fifteene yeeres ago they had more then 116000. Sea-faring men.

The fishing shippes doe take yeerely two hundred thousand Last of fish, twelue barrels to a Last, which amounted to 3000000. pounds by the Fishermens price, that fourteene yeeres agoe did pay for their Tenths 300000. pound; which venting in *Pumerland, Sprussia, Denmarke, Lefland, Russia, Swethland, Germany, Netherlands, England*, or else-where, &c. make their returnes in a yeere about 7000000. pounds; and yet in *Holland* they haue neither matter to build ships, nor Merchandize to set them forth; yet by their industrie they as much increase, as other Nations decay. But leauing these vncertainties as they are, of this I am certaine:

That the Coast of *England, Scotland*, and *Ireland*, the North Sea, with *Ireland* and the Sound, *New-found-land*, and Cape *Blanke*, doe serue all *Europe*, as well the Land Townes as Ports, and all the Christian shipping, with these sorts of Staple fish which is transported, from whence it is taken, many a thousand mile, *viz.* Herring, Salt-fish, Poore Iohn, Sturgion, Mullit, Tunny, Porgos, Cauiare, Buttargo.

Now seeing all these sorts of fish, or the most part of them, may be had in a Land more fertile, temperate, and plentifull of all necessaries for the building of ships, Boates, and houses, and the nourishment of man; the Seasons are so proper, and the fishings so neere the habitations, we may there make, that *New England* hath much aduantage of the most of those parts, to serue all *Europe* far cheaper then they can, who at home haue neither Wood, Salt, nor Food, but at great rates; at Sea nothing but what they carrie in their ships, an hundred or two hundred leagues from their habitation.

But *New Englands* fishings is neere land, where is helpe of Wood, Water, Fruites, Fowles, Corne, or other refreshings needfull; and the *Terceras, Mederas, Canaries, Spaine, Portugall, Prouance, Sauoy, Sicilia*, and all *Italy*, as conuenient Markets for our dry fish, greene fish, Sturgion, Mullit, Cauiare, and Buttargo, as *Norway, Swethland, Littuania*, or *Germany*, for their Herring, which is here also in abundance for taking; they returning but Wood, Pitch, Tarre, Sope-ashes, Cordage, Flaxe, Waxe, and such like Commodities: we, Wines, Oyles, Sugars, Silkes, and such Merchandize as the Straits affoord, whereby our profit may equalize theirs; besides the increase of shipping and Mariners. And for proofe hereof:

Proofe 1. 1614. With two ships sent out at the charge of Captaine *Marmaduke Roydon*, Captaine *George Langam*, Master *Iohn Buley* and *W. Skelton*, I went from the *Downes* the third of March, and arriued in *New England* the last of April, where I was to haue stayed but with ten men to keepe possession of those large Territories. Had the Whales proued, as curious information had assured mee and my Aduentures, (but those things failed.) So hauing but fortie fiue men and boyes, we built seuen Boates, thirtie seuen did fish; my selfe with eight others ranging the Coast, I tooke a plot of what I could see, got acquaintance of the Inhabitants; 1100. Beuer skinnes, a hundred Martines, and as many Otters. Fortie thousand of dry fish wee sent for *Spaine*, with the Salt-fish, traine Oyle and Furres, I returned for *England* the eighteenth of Iuly, and arriued safe with my Company the latter end of August. Thus in sixe moneths I made my Voyage out and home; and by the labour of fiue and fortie, got neere the value of fifteene hundred pounds in those grosse Commodities. This yeere also one went from *Plimmouth*, set out by diuers of the Ile of *Wight*, and the West Countrie, by the directions and instructions of Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, spent their victuals, and returned with nothing.

Proofe 2. 1615. The *Virginia* Company vpon this sent foure good ships; and because I would not vndertake it for them, hauing ingaged my selfe to them of the West, the Londoners entertained the men that came home with me. They set sayle in Ianuary, and arriued there in March; they found fish enough vntill halfe Iune, fraughted a ship of three hundred tunnes, went for *Spaine*, which was taken by the *Turkes*; one went to *Virginia* to relieue that Colonie, and two came for *England* with the greene fish, traine Oyle and Furres within six moneths.

Proofe 3. 1615. In Ianuary with two hundred pounds in cash for aduenture, and six Gentlemen well furnished, I went from *London* to the foure Ships was promised, prepared for mee in the West Countrey, but I found no such matter; notwithstanding at the last, with a labyrinth of trouble I went from *Plimoth*, with a Ship of two hundred Tunnes, and one of fiftie: when the fishing was done onely with fifteene I was to stay in the Countrey; but ill weather breaking all my Masts, I was forced to returne to *Plimoth*, where rather then lose all, reimbarking my selfe in a Barke of sixtie Tuns, how I escaped the *English* Pyrats and the *French*, and was betrayed by foure *Frenchmen* of War, I refer you to the description of *New England*: but my Vice-Admirall, notwithstanding the lateneese of the yeere, setting forth with me in March, the *Londoners* in Ianuary, shee arriued in May, they in March, yet came home well fraught in August, and all her men well, within fiue moneths, odde dayes.

Proofe 4. 1616. The *Londoners* ere I returned from *France*, for all their losse by the *Turkes*, which was valued about

bout foure thousand pounds sent two more in Iuly; but such courses they tooke by the *Canaries* to the West *Indies*, it was ten moneths ere they arriued in *New England*, wasting in that time their seasons, victuall, and health, yet there they found meanes to refresh themselues, and the one returned, neere fraught with Fish and Traine, within two moneths after.

From *Plimoth* went foure Ships, onely to Fish and Trade, some in February, some in March, one of two hundred Tuns got thither in a moneth, and went full fraught for *Spaine*, the rest returned to *Plimoth* well fraught, and their men well, within fiue moneths, odde dayes. *Proofe 5. 1616.*

From *London* went two more, one of two hundred Tuns, got thither in sixe weekes, and within sixe weekes after, with fortie foure men and boyes was full fraught, and returned againe into *England* within fiue moneths and a few dayes; the other went to the *Canaries* with dry fish, which they sold at a great rate, for Rials of eight, and as I heard turned Pyrats. *Proofe 6. 1616.*

I being at *Plimoth* prouided with three good Ships, yet but fifteene men to stay with me in the Countrey, was Wind-bound three moneths, as was many a hundred saile more, so that the season being past, the Ships went for *New-found-land*, whereby my designe was frustrate; which was to me and my friends no small losse, in regard whereof here the Westerne Commissioners, in the behalfe of themselues and the rest of the Company, contracted with me by Articles indented vnder our hands, to be Admirall of that Country during my life, and in the renewing of their Letters Patents so to be nominated, halfe the fruites of our endeuours theirs, the rest our owne; being thus ingaged; now the businesse doth prosper, some of them would willingly forget mee; but I am not the first they haue deceiued. *Proofe 7. 1617.*

There was foure good Ships prepared at *Plimoth*, but by reason of their disagreement, the season so wasted, as onely two went forward, the one being of two hundred Tunnes, returned well fraught for *Plimoth*, and her men in health, within fiue moneths; the other of eightie Tuns, went for *Bilbow* with dry fish, and made a good returne. In this voyage *Edward Rowcroft*, alias *Stallings*, a valiant Souldier, that had beene with mee in *Virginia*, and seuen yeeres after went with mee from *Plimoth* towardes *New England*, with *Thomas Darmer*, an vnderstanding and an industrious Gentleman to inhabite it; all whose names, with our proceedings, you may read at large in my description of *New England*, vpon triall before the Iudge of the Admiraltie, how when wee had past the worst, for pure cowardise the Master and Sailer ran away with the Ship and all I had, and left mee alone among eight or nine *Frenchmen* of War, in the yeere 1615. This *Stallings* went now againe in these Ships, and hauing some wrong offered him in *New England* by a *Frenchman*, he tooke him, and as he writ to mee, he went with her to *Virginia* with fish, to trade with them for such commodities as they might spare; hee knew both these Countries well, yet hee promised mee the next Spring to meete mee in *New England*; but the Ship and he perished in *Virginia*. *Proofe 8. 1618.*

This yeere againe, diuers Ships intending to goe from *Plimoth*, so disagreed, as there went but one of two hundred Tunnes, who stayed in the Countrey about six weekes, with thirtie eight men and boyes, had her fraught, which shee sold at the first peny, for two thousand one hundred pounds, besides the Furs: so that euery poore Sayler, that had but a single share, had his charges, and sixteene pound ten shillings, for his seuen moneths worke. M. *Thomas Darmer*, hauing liued about a yeere in *New-found-land*, returning to *Plimoth*, went for *New England* in this Ship, and not onely confirmes what I haue writ, but so much more approued of it, that he stayed there with fiue or six men in a little Boat; finding two or three *Frenchmen* among the Sauages, who had lost their Ships, augmented his company, with whom hee ranged the Coast to *Virginia*, where he was kindly welcommed and well refreshed; thence returned to *New England* againe, where hauing beene a yeere, in his backe returne to *Virginia*, he was so wounded by the Sauages, hee dyed vpon it, them escaped were relieued at *Virginia*. Let not men attribute their great aduentures and vntimely deaths to vnfortunatenesse, but rather wonder how God did so long preserue them, with so small meanes to doe so much, leauing the fruites of their labours, to bee an encouragement to those our poore vndertakings; and this for aduantage as they writ vnto mee, that God had laid this Countrey open for vs, and slaine the most part of the Inhabitants by cruell Wars and a mortall disease; for where I had seene one hundred or two hundred people, there is scarce ten to bee found. From *Pembrocks* Bay, to *Harrintons* Bay, there is not twentie; from thence to Cape *Anne*, some thirtie; from *Taulbuts* Bay to the Riuer *Charles*, about fortie, and not any of them touched with any sicknesse, but one poore *Frenchman* that dyed. *Proofe 9. 1619.*

For to make triall this yeere, there is gone sixe or seuen sayle from the West Countrey, onely to fish, three of whom are returned, and as I was certainly informed, made so good a voyage, that euery Sayler for a single share had twentie pounds for his seuen moneths worke, which is more then in twentie months hee should haue gotten, had he gone for wages any where. Now, though all the former Ships haue not made such good voyages, as they expected, by sending opinionated vnskilfull men, that had not experienced diligence to saue that they tooke, nor take that there was; which now patience and practise hath brought to a reasonable kinde of perfection: in despite of all detractors and calumniations, the Country yet hath satisfied all, the defect hath bin in their vsing or abusing it, not in it selfe nor mee. *Proofe 10. 1620*

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A Plantation in *New England.* *Proofe* 11. 1620

VPon these inducements, some few well disposed Gentlemen and Merchants of *London* and other places prouided two Ships, the one of one hundred and sixtie Tuns, the other of seuentie; they left the Coast of *England* the three and twentieth of August, with about one hundred and twentie persons, but the next day the lesser Ship sprung a leake, that forced their returne to *Plimouth*, where discharging her and twentie Passengers, with the great Ship, and a hundred persons besides Sailers, they set saile againe the sixth of September, and the ninth of Nouember fell with Cape *Iames*; but being pestred nine weekes in this leaking vnwholsome Ship, lying wet in their Cabbins, most of them grew very weake and weary of the Sea, then for want of experience ranging to and againe sixe weekes before they found a place they liked to dwell on, forced to lie on the bare ground without couerture in the extremitie of Winter, fortie of them dyed, and sixtie were left in very weake estate at the Ships comming away, about the fifth of April following, and arriued in *England* the sixth of May.

Proofe 12. 1620 Immediately after her arriuall from *London*, they sent another of fiftie fiue Tuns to supply them, with thirtie seuen persons, they set saile in the beginning of Iuly, but being crossed by Westerly winds, it was the end of August ere they could passe *Plimouth*, and arriued at *New Plimouth* in *New England* the eleuenth of Nouember, where they found all the people they left in April, as is said, lusty and in good health, except six that dyed. Within a moneth they returned here for *England*, laden with Clapboord, Wainscot, and Walnut, with about three Hogsheads of Beauer skins, and some Saxefras, the thirteenth of December, and drawing neere our Coast, was taken by a *Frenchman*, set out by the Marquis of *Cera* Gouernour of Ile *Dew*, on the Coast of *Poyton*, where they kept the Ship, imprisoned the Master and Companie, tooke from them to the value of about fiue hundred pounds; and after fourteene dayes sent them home with a poore supply of Victuall, their owne being deuoured by the Marquis and his hungry seruants; they arriued at *London* the fourteenth of Februarie, leauing all them they found and carried to *New England*, well and in health, with victuall and Corne sufficient till the next Harueſt.

The Copie of a Letter sent by this Ship.

A Letter from *New Plimoth.*

LOuing Cousin, at our arriuall at New Plimoth *in* New England, *wee found all our Friends and Planters in good health, though they were left sicke and weake with very small meanes, the* Indians *round about vs peaceable and friendly, the Countrey very pleasant and temperate, yeelding naturally of it selfe great store of fruits, as Vines of diuers sorts in great abundance; there is likewise Walnuts, Chesnuts, Small-nuts and Plums, with much varietie of Flowers, Roots, and Herbs, no lesse pleasant then wholsome and profitable: no place hath more Goose-berries, and Straw-berries, nor better; Timber of all sorts you haue in* England, *doth couer the Land, that affords Beasts of diuers sorts, and great flockes of Turkies, Quailes, Pigeons and Partridges: Many great Lakes abounding with Fish, Fowle, Beauers, and Otters. The Sea affoords vs a great plentie of all excellent sorts of Sea-fish, as the Riuers and Iles doth varietie of wild Fowle of most vsefull sorts. Mynes we find to our thinking, but neither the goodnesse nor qualitie wee know. Better Grasse cannot be then the* Indian *Corne, of we will plant it vpon as good ground as a man need desire. Wee are all Free-holders, the rent day doth not trouble vs, and all those good blessings we haue, of which and what wee list in their seasons for taking. Our company are for most part very religious honest people; the Word of God sincerely taught vs euery Sabbath: so that I know not any thing a contented mind can here want. I desire your friendly care to send my Wife and Children to mee, where I wish all the Friends I haue in* England, *and so I rest*

Your louing Kinsman *William Hilton.*

Proofe 13. 1622 From the West Countrey went ten or twelue Ships to Fish, which were all well fraughted; those that came first at *Bilbow*, made seuenteene pounds a single share, besides Beauer, Otters, and Martins skins; but some of the rest that came to the same Ports, that were already furnished, so glutted the Market, their price was abated, yet all returned so well contented, they are a preparing to goe againe.

For this yeere 1622. There is gone from the West of *England* onely to fish, thirtie fiue Ships, and about the last of April two more from *London*, the one of one hundred Tuns, the other of thirtie, with some sixtie Passengers to supply the Plantation with all necessary prouisions. Now though the *Turke* and *French* hath beene somewhat too busie, would all the Christian Princes but bee truly at vnitie, as his Royall Maiesty our Soueraigne Lord and King desireth, seuentie saile of good Ships were sufficient to fire, the most of his Coasts in the *Leuant*, and make such a guard in the straits of *Hellespont*, as would make the Great *Turke* himselfe more afraid in *Constantinople*, then the smallest Red Crosse, crosses the Seas would be, either of any *French*, *Piccaroon*, or the Pyrates of *Argere*.

An Abstract of Letters sent from the Colony in *New England*, Iuly sixteene, 1622.

Since the newes of the Massacre in Virginia, *though the* Indians *continue their wonted friendship, yet*

we

are wee more wary of them then before; for their hands haue beene embrued in much English *bloud, onely by too much confidence, but not by force.*

Here I must intreat a little your fauours to digresse. They did not kill the *English*, because they were Christians, but for their weapons and commodities, that were rare nouelties; but now they feare we may beat them out of their Dens, which Lions and Tygers would not admit but by force. But must this be an argument for an *Englishman*, or discourage any either in *Virginia* or *New England?* No: for I haue tried them both. For *Virginia*, I kept that Countrey, with thirtie eight, and had not to eate but what we had from the Sauages. When I had ten men able to goe abroad, our Common-wealth was very strong: with such a number I ranged that vnknowne Countrey fourteene weekes; I had but eighteen to subdue them all, with which great Army I stayed sixe weeks before their greatest Kings habitations, till they had gathered together all the power they could; and yet the *Dutchmen* sent at a needlesse excessiue charge did helpe *Powhatan* how to betray mee.

Of their numbers wee were vncertaine; but those two honourable Gentlemen, Captaine *George Percie*, and Captaine *Francis West*, two of the *Phittiplaces*, and some other such noble Gentlemen and resolute spirts bore their shares with me, and now liuing in *England*, did see me take this murdering *Opechankanough*, now their Great King by the long lock on his head, with my Pistoll at his breast, I led him among his greatest forces, and before wee parted, made him fill our Barke of twentie Tuns with Corne. When their owne wants was such, I haue giuen them part again in pitty, & others haue bought it again to plant their fields. For wronging a Souldier but the value of a peny, I haue caused *Powhatan* send his own men to *Iames* Town to receiue their punishment, at my discretion. It is true in our greatest extremity they shot me, slue three of my men, and by the folly of them that fled tooke me prisoner; yet God made *Pocahontas* the Kings Daughter the meanes to deliuer me: and thereby taught mee to know their treacheries to preserue the rest. It was also my chance in single combate to take the King of *Paspahegh* prisoner, and by keeping him, forced his subiects to worke in Chaines, till I made all the Countrey pay contribution, hauing little else whereon to liue.

Opechancanough taken in the midst of his armie, as *Atabalipa* was by *Pizarro*.

Twice in this time I was their President, & none can say in all that time I had a man slain: but for keeping them in that feare I was much blamed both there and heere: yet I left fiue hundred behind mee that through their confidence in sixe monethes came most to confusion, as you may reade at large in the description of *Virginia*. When I went first to those desperate designes, it cost me many a forgotten pound to hire men to goe; and procrastination caused more runne away then went. But after the Ice was broken, came many braue Voluntaries: notwithstanding since I came from thence, the Honorable Company haue beene humble Suters to his Maiestie to get Vagabonds and condemned men to goe thither; nay, so much scorned was the name of *Virginia*, some did chuse to be hanged ere they would goe thither, and were: yet for all the worst of spite, detraction and discouragement, and this lamentable Massacre, there are more honest men now suters to goe, then euer haue been constrained knaues; and it is not vnknowne to most men of vnderstanding, how happy many of those Callumners doe thinke themselues, that they might bee admitted, and yet pay for their passage to goe now to *Virginia*: and had I but meanes to transport as many as would goe, I might haue choice of ten thousand that would gladly bee in any of those new places, which were so basely contemned by vngratefull base minds.

To range this Countrie of *New England*, in like manner I had but eight, as is said, and amongst their bruite conditions I met many of their silly incounters, and without any hurt, God be thanked: when your West Countrie men were many of them wounded, and much tormented with the Sauages that assaulted their Ship, as they did say themselues, in the first yeare I was there 1614. and though Master *Hunt* then Master with me, did most basely in stealing some Sauages from that coast to sell, when he was directed to haue gone for *Spaine*, yet that place was so remote from *Capawuck*, where *Epenow* should haue fraughted them with Gold Ore, that his fault could be no cause of their bad successe, howeuer it is alledged for an excuse. I speake not this out of vain glory, as it may be some gleaners, or some was neuer there, may censure mee: but to let all men be assured by those examples, what those Sauages are that thus strangely doe murder and betray our Countrie men. But to the purpose.

What is already writ of the healthfulnesse of the ayre, the richnesse of the soyle, the goodnesse of the Woods, the abundance of Fruits, Fish, and Fowle in their season, they still affirme that haue beene there now neer two yeeres, and at one draught they haue taken one thousand Basses, and in one night twelue hogsheads of Herring. They are building a strong Fort, they hope shortly to finish, in the interim they are well prouided: their number is about a hundred persons, all in health, and well neere sixtie Acres of ground well planted with Corne, besides their Gardens well replenished with vsefull fruits; and if their Aduenturers would but furnish them with necessaries for fishing, their wants would quickly bee supplied. To supply them this sixteenth of October, is going the Paragon, *with sixtie seuen persons, and all this is done by priuate mens purses. And to conclude in their owne words, should they write of all plenties they haue found, they thinke they should not be beleeued.*

For the twentie sixe sayle of Ships, the most I can yet vnderstand is M. Ambrose Iennens *of* London, *and*

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and Master Abraham Iennens *of* Plimmoth *sent (their* Abraham) *a Ship of two hundred and twentie Tunn, and the* Nightingale *of* Porchmouth *of a hundred: whose fish at the first penie came to 3150 pounds: in all they were fiue and thirty saile: and wherein* New found Land *they shared sixe or seuen pounds for a common man, in* New England *they shared foureteene pounds; besides six* Dutch *and* French *Ships made wonderfull returnes in Furres.*

1622. Thus you may see plainely the yearely successe from *New England* (by *Virginia*) which hath bin so costly to this Kingdome, and so deare to me, which either to see perish or but bleede, pardon me though it passionate me beyond the bounds of modesty, to haue bin sufficiently able to foresee it, and had neither power nor meanes how to preuent it. By that acquaintance I haue with them, I may call them my children, for they haue bin my Wife, my Hawkes, my Hounds, my Cards, my Dice, and in totall my best content, as indifferent to my heart as my left hand to my right: and notwithstanding all those miracles of disasters haue crossed both them and me, yet were there not one *Englishman* remaining (as God be thanked there is some thousands) I would yet begin againe with as small meanes as I did at the first; not for that I haue any secret encouragement from any I protest, more then lamentable experiences: for all their Discoueries I can yet heare of, are but Pigs of my owne Sowe; nor more strange to me then to heare one tell mee he hath gone from *Billings* gate and discouered *Greenwich, Graues end, Tilberry, Quinborow, Lee* and *Margit*, which to those did neuer heare of them, though they dwell in *England*, might be made seeme some rare secrets and great Countries vnknowne, except the Relation of Master *Dirmer*. But to returne: It is certaine, from *Cannada* and *New England* within these sixe yeares, hath come neere 20000. Beuer Skins. Now had each of those Ships transported but some small quantitie of the most increasing Beasts, Fowles, Fruites, Plants and Seedes, as I proiected, by this time their increase might haue bin sufficient for a thousand men. But the desire of present gaine (in many) is so violent, and the endeuours of many vndertakers so negligent, euery one so regarding their priuate gaine, that it is hard to effect any publicke good, and impossible to bring them into a body, rule, or order, vnlesse both authority and money assist experiences. It is not a worke for euery one to plant a Colony; but when a House is built, it is no hard matter to dwell in it. This requireth all the best parts of art, iudgement, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence and experience to doe but neere well: your home-bred ingrossing proiectors shall finde there a great difference betwixt saying and doing. But to conclude, the Fishing will goe forward if you plant it or no; whereby a Colonie may be transported with no great charge, that in a short time might prouide such fraughts to buy of vs there dwelling, as I would hope no Ship should goe or come empty from *New England*.

The charge of this is onely Salt, Nets, Hookes, Lines, Kniues, Irish Rugs, course Cloath, Beades, Glasse, and such like trash, onely for fishing and trade with the Sauages, beside our owne necessary prouisions, whose endeuours will quickly defray all this charge: and the Sauages haue intreated me to inhabite where I will. Now all these Ships, till this last yeare, haue bin fished within a square of two or three leagues, and not one of them all would aduenture any further, where questionlesse fiue hundred saile may haue their fraught better then in *Island, New found Land*, or elsewhere, and be in their markets before the other can haue their fish in their Ships, becaus *New Englands* fishing begins with February, the other not till mid May: the progression hereof tends much to the aduancement of *Virginia* and the *Bermudas*, whose emptie Ships may take in their fraught there, and would be a good friend in time of neede to the Inhabitants of *New found Land*, &c.

CHAP. IIII.

A Relation or Iournall of a Plantation setled at Plimoth *in* New England, *and proceedings thereof; Printed 1622. and here abbreuiated.*

Sep. 6. 1620. WEdnesday the sixt of September, the Winde comming East North-east, a fine small gale, we loosed from *Plimoth*, hauing bin kindely entertained and curteously vsed by diuers friends there dwelling, and after many difficulties in boisterous stormes, at length by Gods prouidence vpon the ninth of Nouember following,

No. 9. Cape Cod. by breake of the day we espied Land, which we deemed to be Cape *Cod*, and so afterward it proued. Vpon the eleuenth of Nouember, we came to an anchor in the Bay, which is a good harbour and pleasant Bay, circled round, except in the entrance, which is about foure miles ouer from land to land, compassed about to the verie Sea with Oakes, Pines, Iuniper, Sassafras, and other sweete Wood: it is a harbour wherein 1000. saile of Ships may safely ride; there wee relieued our selues with Wood and Water, and refreshed our people, while our Shallop was fitted to coast the Bay, to search for an habitation: there was the greatest store of Fowle that euer we saw.

And

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And euerie day we ſaw Whales playing hard by vs, of which in that place, if wee had inſtruments and meanes to take them, we might haue made a verie rich returne, which to our great griefe we wanted. Our Maſter and his Mate, and others experienced in fiſhing, proteſſed, wee might haue made three or foure thouſand pounds worth of Oyle; they preferred it before *Greenland* Whale-fiſhing, and purpoſe the next winter to fiſh for Whale here: for Cod we aſſaied, but found none, there is good ſtore no doubt in their ſeaſon. Neither got we anie fiſh all the time we lay there, but ſome few little ones on the ſhoare. We found great Muſsles, and verie fat and full of Sea Pearle, but we could not eate them, for they made vs all ſicke that did eate, as well ſailers as paſſengers; they cauſed to caſt and ſcoure, but they were ſoone well againe. The Baie is ſo round and circling, that before we could come to anchor, we went round all the points of the Compaſſe. We could not come neere the ſhoare by three quarters of an *Engliſh* mile, becauſe of ſhallow water, which was a great preiudice to vs, for our people going on ſhoare were forced to wade a Bow ſhoote or two in going aland, which cauſed manie to get colds and coughs, for it was manie times freezing cold weather. Ill Landing.

This day before we came to harbour, obſeruing ſome not well affected to vnitie and concord, but gaue ſome appearance of faction, it was thought good there ſhould be an aſſociation and agreement, that we ſhould combine together in one bodie, and to ſubmit to ſuch gouernment and Gouernours, as we ſhould by common conſent agree to make and chooſe, and ſet our hands to this that followes word for word.

IN the name of God, Amen. We whoſe names are vnderwritten, the loyall Subiects of our dread Soueraigne Lord King *Iames*, by the grace of God of Great *Britaine, France*, and *Ireland* King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Hauing vndertaken for the glorie of God, and aduancement of the Chriſtian faith, and honor of our King and Countrie, a Voiage to plant the firſt Colonie in the Northerne parts of *Virginia*, doe by theſe preſents ſolemnely and mutually in the preſence of GOD and one of another, couenant and combine our ſelues together in a ciuill bodie politike, for our better ordering and preſeruation, and furtherance of the ends aforeſaid; and by vertue hereof to enact, conſtitute, and frame ſuch iuſt and equall Lawes, Ordinances, acts, conſtitutions, offices from time to time, as ſhall be thought moſt meete and conuenient for the generall good of the Colonie: vnto which wee promiſe all due ſubmiſſion and obedience. In witneſſe whereof we haue here vnder ſubſcribed our names. Cape *Cod* eleuenth of Nouember, in the yeare of the raigne of our Soueraigne Lord King IAMES, of *England, France* and *Ireland*, 18. and of *Scotland* 54. *Anno Domini* 1620.

The ſame day ſo ſoone as we could we ſet aſhoare fifteene or ſixteene men, well armed, with ſome to fetch Wood, for we had none left; as alſo to ſee what the Land was, and what Inhabitants they could meete with, they found it to be a ſmall necke of Land: on this ſide where we lay is the Bay, and the furtheſt ſide the Sea: the ground or earth, ſand hils, much like the Downes in *Holland*, but much better: the cruſt of the earth a Spits depth, excellent blacke earth: all woodded with Oakes, Pines, Saſſafras, Iuniper, Birch, Holly, Vines, ſome Aſh, Walnut; the Wood for the moſt parts open and without vnder-wood, fit either to goe or ride in: at night our people returned, but found not anie perſon, nor habitation, and laded their Boate with Iuniper, which ſmelled verie ſweete and ſtrong, and of which wee burnt the moſt part of the time we lay there.

Munday the thirteenth of Nouember, we vnſhipped our Shallop, and drew her on land, to mend and repaire her, hauing bin forced to cut her downe in beſtowing her betwixt the decks, and ſhe was much opened with the peoples lying in her, which kept vs long there, for it was fixteene or ſeuenteene daies before the Carpenter had finiſhed her: our people went on ſhoare to refreſh themſelues, and our women to waſh, as they had great neede: but whileſt wee lay thus ſtill, hoping our Shallop would be readie in fiue or ſix daies at the furtheſt, but our Carpenter made ſlow worke of it, ſo that ſome of our people impatient of delay, deſired for our better furtherance to trauaile by Land into the Countrie, which was not without appearance of danger, not hauing the Shallop with them, nor meanes to carrie prouiſion, but on their backes, to ſee whether it might be fit for vs to ſeate in or no, and the rather becauſe as we ſailed into the Harbour, there ſeemed to be a Riuer opening it ſelfe into the maine Land; the willingneſſe of the perſons was liked, but the thing it ſelfe, in regard of the danger was rather permitted then approued, and ſo with cautions, directions, and inſtructions, ſixteene men were ſet out with euery man his Musket, Sword, and Corſlet, vnder the conduct of Captaine *Miles Standiſh*, vnto whom was adioyned for counſell and aduiſe, *William Bradford*, *Stephen Hopkins*, and *Edward Tilley*.

Wedneſday the fifteenth of Nouember, they were ſet a ſhoare, and when they had ordered themſelues in order of a ſingle File, and marched about the ſpace of a mile, by the Sea they eſpied fiue or ſix people, with a Dogge, comming towards them, who were Sauages, who when they ſaw them, ran into the Woods and whiſtled the Dogge after them, &c. Firſt, they ſuppoſed them to be Maſter *Iones*, the Maſter and ſome of his men, for they were a ſhoare, and knew of their comming: but after they knew them to be *Indians* they marched after them into the Wood, Sight of Sauages.

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Woods, least other of the *Indians* should lye in Ambush: but when the *Indians* saw our men following them, they ran away with might and maine; and our men turned out of the Wood after them, for it was the way they intended to goe, but they could not come neere them. They followed them that night about ten miles by the trace of their footings, & saw how they had come the same way they went, and at a turning perceiued how they ranne vp an hill, to see whether they followed them. At length night came vpon them, and they were constrained to take vp their lodging, so they set forth three Sentinels, and the rest, some kindled a fire, and others fetched Woods & there held our Randeuous that night. In the morning so soone as we could see the trace, we proceeded on our iournie, and had the tracke vntill wee had compassed the head of a long creake, and there they tooke into another Wood, and we after them, supposing to finde some of their dwellings, but we marched thorow Boughes and Bushes, and vnder Hils and Vallies, which tore our verie Armour in peeces, and yet could meete with none of them, nor their houses, nor finde any fresh water, which we greatly desired, and stood in neede off, for we brought neither Beere nor Water with vs, and our victuals was onely Bisket and *Holland* Cheese, and a little Bottell of Aquauite, so as we were sore a thirst. About ten a clocke we came into a deepe Valley, full of brush, wood-gaile, and long grasse, through which wee found little paths or tracts, and there we saw a Deere, and found Springs of fresh Water, of which we were hartily glad, and sat vs downe and drunke our first *New England* Water, with as much delight as euer we drunke drinke in all our liues.

A Deere and water.

When we had refreshed our selues, we directed our course full South, that wee might come to the shoare, which within a short while after we did, and there made a fire, that they in the Ship might see where we were (as wee had direction) and so marched on towards this supposed Riuer: and as we went in another Valley, we found a fine cleere Pond of fresh water, being about a Musket shot broad, and twise as long: there grew also many small Vines, and Fowle and Deere haunted there; there grew much Safafras: from thence we went on and found much plain ground about fiftie Acres, fit for the Plow, and some signes where the *Indians* had formerly planted, their Corne: after this, some thought it best for neareneese of the Riuer to goe downe and trauaile on the Sea sands, by which meanes some of our men were tired, and lagged behinde, so we stayed and gathered them vp, and strucke into the Land againe; where we found a little path to certaine heapes of Sand, one whereof was couered with old Mats, and had a woodden thing like a Morter whelmed on the top of it, and an earthen pot laid in a little hole at the end thereof; we musing what it might be, digged and found a Bowe, and as we thought, Arrowes, but they were rotten; We supposed there were many other things, but because we deemed them graues, we put in the Bow againe and made it vp as it was, and left the rest vntouched, because we thought it would be odious vnto them to ransacke their Sepulchers. We went on further and found new stubble of which they had gotten Corne this yeare, and many Walnut trees full of Nuts, and great store of Strawberries, and some Vines; passing thus a field or two, which were not great, we came to another, which had also bin new gotten, and there wee found where an house had beene, and foure or fiue old Plankes laied together; also we found a great Kettle, which had beene some Ships kettle and brought out of *Europe*; there was also an heape of sand, made like the former, but it was newly done, wee might see how they had padled it with their hands, which we digged vp, and in it we found a little old Basket full of faire *Indian* Corne, and digged further, and found a fine great new Basket full of very faire Corne of this yeare, with some sixe and thirty goodly eares of Corne, some yellow, and some red, and others mixt with blew, which was a very goodly sight: the Basket was round, and narrow at the top, it held about three or foure bushels, which was as much as two of vs could lift vp from the ground, and was very handsomely and cunningly made: But whilst we were busie about these things, we set our men Sentinell in a round ring, all but two or three which digged vp the Corne. Wee were in suspence, what to doe with it, and the Kettle, and at length after much consultation, we concluded to take the Kettle, and as much of the Corne as wee could carry away with vs: and when our Shallop came if we could finde any of the people, and came to parley with them, wee would giue them the Kettle againe, and satisfie them for their Corne.

Sepulchers.

Kettle and Corne found.

So we tooke all the Eares, and put a good deale of the loose Corne in the Kettle, for two men to bring away one Staffe; besides, they that could put away into their Pockets filled the same; the rest wee buried againe, for we were so laden with Armour that we could carry no more. Not farre from this place we found the remainder of an old Fort, or Palizado, which as we conceiued had beene made by some Christians, this was also hard by that place which we thought had been a Riuer, vnto which we went and found it so to be, diuiding it selfe into two armes by an high banke, standing right by the Cut or Mouth which came from the Sea, that which was next vnto vs was the lesse, the other arme was more then twice as big, and not vnlike to bee an Harbour for Ships; but whether it be a fresh Riuer, or onely an indraught of the Sea, wee had no time to discouer, for we had commandement to be out but two dayes. Here also we saw two Canoas, the one on the one side, the other on the other side, we could not beleeue it was a Canoa, till we came neere it, so we returned, leauing the further discouery hereof to our Shallop, and came that night backe

Palizado.

They returne.

backe againe to the fresh water pond, and there we made our randeuous that night, making a great fire, and a Baricado to windward of vs, and kept good watch with three Sentinels all night, euery one standing when his turne came, while fiue or sixe inches of Match was burning. It proued a very rainie night. In the morning we tooke our Kettle and sunke it in the Pond, and trimmed our Muskets, for few of them would goe off because of the wet, and so coasted the Wood againe to come home, in which we were shrewdly puzled, and lost our way; as we wandred we came to a tree, where a yong Spire was bowed downe ouer a Bowe, and some Acornes strewed vnderneath; *Stephen Hopkins* said, it had beene to catch some Deere, so, as we were looking at it, *William Bradford* being in the Reare, when he came looking also vpon it, and as he went about, it gaue a sodaine ierke vp, and he was immediately caught by the legge: It was a very pretty deuise, made with a Roape of their owne making, and hauing a noose as artificially made, as any Roper in *England* can make, and as like ours as can be, which wee brought away with vs. In the end wee got out of the Wood, and were fallen about a mile too high aboue the creake, where we saw three Buckes, but we had rather haue had one of them. We also did spring three couple of Partridges; and as we came along by the creake, we saw great flockes of wilde Geese and Duckes, but they were very fearefull of vs. So we marched some while in the Woods, some while on the Sands, and other while in the Water vp to the knees, till at length we came neere the Ship, and then we shot off our Peeces, and the long Boate came to fetch vs: Master *Iones* and Master *Carwer* being on the shoare, with many of our people, came to meete vs. And thus wee came both weary and welcome home, and deliuered in our Corne into the store, to be kept for seede, for we knew not how to come by any, and therefore was very glad, purposing so soone as we could meete with any of the Inhabitants of that place, to make them large satisfaction.

Deuise to catch Deere.

When our Shallop was fit indeede, before she was fully fitted, for there was two daies worke after be stowed on her, there was appointed some foure and twenty men of our owne, and armed, then to goe and make a more full discouery of the Riuers before mentioned. Master *Iones* was desirous to goe with vs, and tooke such of his Saylers as he thought vsefull for vs, so as we were in all about foure and thirty men. We made Master *Iones* our Leader, for we thought it best herein to gratifie his kindnesse and forwardnesse. When we were set forth, it proued rough weather and crosse windes, so as we were constrained, some in the Shallop, and others in the long Boate, to row to the neerest shoare the winde would suffer them to goe vnto, and then to wade out aboue the knees; the winde was so strong as the Shallop could not keepe the water, but was forced to harbour there that night, but we marched six or seuen miles further, and appointed the Shallop to come to vs as soone as they could. It blowed and did snow all that day and night, and frose withall; some of our people that are dead tooke the originall of their death here. The next day about eleuen a clocke our Shallop came to vs, and we shipped our selues, and the winde being good, we sailed to the Riuer we formerly discouered, which we named *Cold Harbour*, to which when we came we found it not Nauigable for Ships, yet we thought it might be a good harbour for Boates, for it flowes there twelue foot at high water. We landed our men betweene the two creekes, and marched some foure or fiue miles by the greater of them, and the Shallop followed vs vntill night grew on, and our men were tired with marching vp and downe the steepe Hils, and deepe Vallies, which lay halfe a foote thicke with Snow: Master *Iones* wearied with marching, was desirous we should take vp our lodging, though some of vs would haue marched further, so we made there our Randeuous for that night, vnder a few Pine trees, and as it fell out we got three Geese and six Duckes to our Supper, which we eate with Souldiers stomacks, for we had eaten little all that day. We marched to the place where we had the Corne formerly, which place we called *Corne-hill*, & digged & found the like, of which we were very glad: we also digged in a place a little farther off, & found a bottle of Oyle, we went to another place which we had seen before & digged and found more Corn, *viz.* two or three Baskets full of *Indian* wheat, and a bag of Beans, with a good many of faire wheat-eares; whilst some of vs were digging vp this, some others found another heape of Corn, which they digged vp also, so as we had in all about ten Bushels, which will serue vs sufficiently for Seede. And sure it was Gods good prouidence that we found this corn, for else we knew not how we should haue done, for we knew not how we should finde, or meete with any of the *Indians*, except it be to doe vs a mischiefe. Also we had neuer in all likelihood seene a graine of it, if we had not made our first iourney; for the ground was now couered with Snow, and so hard frosen, that we were faine with our Curtlaxes and shore Swords, to hew and carue the ground a foote deepe, and then wrest it vp with leauers, for we had forgot to bring other Tooles: whilst we were in this imploiment, foule weather being towards, M. *Iones* was earnest to goe aboord, but sundry of vs desired to make further discouery, and to finde out the *Indians* habitations, so we sent home with him our weakest people, and some that were sicke, and all the Corne, and eight more of vs staied still, and lodged there that night, & desired that the Shallop might returne to vs next day, and bring vs some Mattockes and Spades with them.

Cold Harbour.

Note.

Frost and Snow.

When we had marched fiue or six miles into the Woods, and could find no signes of any people, wee returned againe another way, and as we came into the plaine ground, wee found a place like a grauе, but it was much bigger and longer then any wee had yet seene. It was also couered with boords, so as wee mused what it should be, and resolued to dig it vp; where we found, first a

Mat,

Sepulchre opened.

Mat, and vnder that a faire Bow, and there another Mat, and vnder that a Boord about three quarters long, finely carued and painted, with three Tynes, or broches on the top, like a Crowne; also betweene the Mats we found Bowles, Trayes, Dishes, and such like Trinkets; at length wee came to a faire new Mat, and vnder that two Bundles, the one bigger, the other lesse, we opened the greater and found in it a great quantitie of fine and perfect Red Powder, and in it the bones and skull of a man. The skull had fine yellow haire still on it, and some of the flesh vnconsumed; there was bound vp with a Knife, a Packneedle, and two or three old Iron things. It was bound vp in a Saylers Canuas Casacke, and a payre of Cloth Breeches; the Red Powder was a kind of Embaulment, and yeelded a strong, but no offensiue smell; It was as fine as any Flower. We opened the lesse bundle likewise, and found of the same Powder in it, and the bones and head of a little childe, about the legges, and other parts of it was Bound strings, and Bracelets of fine white Beads; there was also by it a little Bow, about three quarters long, and some other olde knackes: we brought sundry of the pretiest things away with vs, and couered the Corps vp againe. After this, we digged in sundry like places, but found no more Corne, nor any things else but graues: Whilest we were thus ranging and searching, two of the Saylers, which were newly come on the shoare, by chance espied two houses, which had beene lately dwelt in, but the people were gone. They hauing their Peeces, and hearing no body, entred the houses, and tooke out some thing, and durst not stay but came again & told vs; so some seuen or eight of vs went with them, and found how wee had gone within a flight shot of them before. The houses were made with long young Sapling Trees bended, and both ends stucke into the ground; they were made round, like vnto an Arbour, and couered downe to the ground with thicke and well wrought Mats, and the doore was not ouer a yard high, made of a Mat to open: the Chimney was a wide open hole in the top, for which they had a Mat to couer it close when they pleased, one might stand and goe vpright in them; in the midst of them were foure little Trunches knockt into the ground, and small sticks laid ouer, on which they hung their Pots, and what they had to seeth: round about the fire they lay on Mats, which are their Beds. The Houses were double matted, for as they were matted without, so were they within, with newer and fairer Mats. In the Houses wee found Woodden Bowles, Trayes and Dishes, Earthen Pots, Hand-baskets made of Crab-shells, wrought together: also an *English* Payle or Bucket, it wanted a Baile, but it had two Iron Eares: there was also Baskets of sundry sorts, bigger, and some lesser, finer, and some courser: some were curiously wrought with Blacke and White in prettie workes, and sundry other of their household stuffe: wee found also two or three Deeres Heads, one whereof had been newly killed, for it was still fresh; there was also a company of Deeres Feete, stucke vp in the Houses, Harts Hornes, and Eagles Clawes, and sundry such like things there was: also two or three Baskets full of parched Acornes, pieces of Fish, and a piece of a broyled Herring. We found also a little Silke Grasse, and a little Tobacco Seed, with some other Seeds which wee knew not: without was sundry bundles of Flags, and Sedge, Bull-rushes, and other stuffe to make Mats; there was thrust into an hollow Tree, two or three pieces of Venison, but wee thought it fitter for the Dogges then for vs: some of the best things wee tooke away with vs, and left the houses standing still as they were. Much disputation fell out about the place where wee should abide; and a Company was chosen to goe out vpon a third Discouery (whilest some were imployed in this Discouery, it pleased God that Mistris *White* was brought a bed of a Sonne, which was called *Peregrine*.)

Two houses.

Houshold stuffe.

Third discouerie.

Wednesday the 6xt of December we set out, being very cold and hard weather, we were a long while after wee launched from the Ship, before wee could get cleere of a Sandy Point, which lay within lesse then a furlong of the same. In which time, two were very sicke, and *Edward Tilley* had like to haue sounded with cold; the Gunner was also sicke vnto Death (but hope of trucking made him to goe) and so remained all that day, and the next night; at length wee got cleare of the Sandy Point, and got vp our Sayles, and within an houre or two wee got vnder the weather shoare, and then had smoother water and better sayling, but it was very cold, for the water froze on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of Iron: wee sayled sixe or seuen leagues by the shoare, but saw neither Riuer nor Creeke, at length wee met with a tongue of Land, being flat off from the shoare, with a Sandy point, wee bore vp to gaine the Point, and found there a faire Income or Rode, of a Bay, being a league ouer at the narrowest, and some two or three in length, but wee made right ouer to the Land before vs, and left the discouerie of this Income till the next day: as wee drew neere to the shoare, wee espied some ten or twelue *Indians*, very busie about a blacke thing, what it was wee could not tell, till afterwards they saw vs, and ran to and fro, as if they had beene carrying something away, wee landed a league or two from them, and had much adoe to put a shoare any where, it lay so full of flat Sands: when wee came to shoare, we made vs a Barricado, and got fire Wood, and set out our Sentinells, and betooke vs to our lodging, such as it was; wee saw the smoake of the fire which the Sauages made that night, about foure or fiue miles from vs: in the morning wee diuided our Company, some eight in the Shallop, and the rest on the shoare went to discouer this place, but we found it onely to be a Bay, without either Riuer or Creeke comming into it. This place the most were minded wee should call, the *Grampus Bay*, because wee found many of them there: we followed the track of the *Indians* bare

Extreme cold.

Grampus Bay. They found *Grampuses* dead, two inches thicke of fat, and fiue or six paces long.

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feet a good way on the Sands, at length we saw here they strucke into the Woods by the side of a Pond, as we went to view the place, one said, he thought he saw an *Indian*-house among the Trees, so went vp to see: and here we and the Shallop lost sight one of another till night, it being now about nine or ten a clocke; so we lite on a path, but saw no house, and followed a great way into the Woods, at length we found where Corne had been set, but not that yeere; anon we found a great burying place, one part whereof was incompassed with a large Palizado, like a Church-yard, with young spires foure or fiue yards long, set as close one by another as they could two or three foot in the ground; within it was full of Graues, some bigger and some lesse, some were also paled about, and others had like an *Indian*-house made ouer them, but not matted; those Graues were more sumptuous then those at *Corne-hill*, yet we digged none of them vp, only viewed them and went our way: without the Palizado were Graues also, but not so costly. We went ranging vp and downe till the Sunne began to draw low, and then we hasted out of the Woods, that we might come to our Shallop. By that time we had done, and our Shallop come to vs it was within night, and we fed vpon such victualls as we had, and betooke vs to our rest after we had set out our watch. About midnight we heard a great and hideous cry, and our Sentinell called, *Arme, Arme*. So we bestirred our selues and shot off a couple of Muskets and noise ceased: we concluded, that it was a company of Wolues & Foxes, for one told vs he had heard such a noise in *New-found-land*. About fiue a clocke in the morning we began to be stirring, vpon a sudden wee heard a great & strange cry which we knew to be the same voices, though they varied their notes; one of the company being abroad came running in, and cried, *They are men, Indians, Indians*; and withall, their Arrowes came flying amongst vs, our men ran out with all speed to recouer their Armes. The cry of our enemies was dreadfull, especially, when our men ran out to recouer their Armes, their note was after this manner, *Woath woach ha ha hach woach*: our men were no sooner come to their Armes, but the enemy was readie to assault them.

There was a lustie man, and no whit lesse valiant, who was thought to be their Captain, stood behind a Tree within halfe a Musket shot of vs, and there let his Arrowes flie at vs; hee stood three shots off a Musket, at length one tooke as he said full ayme at him, after which he gaue an extraordinarie cry and away they went all, wee followed them about a quarter of a mile, but wee left sixe to keepe our Shallop, for wee were carefull of our businesse. Wee tooke vp eighteene of their Arrowes, which wee had sent to *England* by Master *Iones*, some whereof were headed with brasse, others with Harts horne, and others with Eagles clawes; many more no doubt were shot, for these wee found were almost couered with leaues: yet by the speciall prouidence of God, none of them either hit or hurt vs. On Munday we found a very good Harbour for our shipping, we marched also into the Land, and found diuers corne Fields and little running Brookes, a place verie good for scituation, so we returned to our Ship againe with good newes to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts. A good Harbour.

This Harbour is a Bay greater then Cape *Cod*, compassed with a goodly Land, and in the Bay two fine Ilands vninhabited, wherein are nothing but Woods, Okes, Pines, Wal-nut, Beech, Sasifras, Vines, and other Trees which we know not. This Bay is a most hopefull place, innumerable store of Fowle, and excellent good, and cannot but be of Fish in their seasons: Skote, Cod, Turbot and Herring we haue tasted of, abundance of Musles the greatest and best that euer we saw; Crabs and Lobsters, in their time infinite: It is in fashion like a Cikle or Fish-hooke.

The eighteenth we went along the Coast in the Woods, some seuen or eight mile, but saw not an *Indian*, nor an *Indian* house, onely we found where formerly had beene some Inhabitants, and where they had planted their Corne: wee found not any Nauigable Riuer, but foure or fiue small running Brookes of very fresh water, that all run into the Sea. The Land for the crust of the earth is a spits depth, excellent blacke mould and fat in some places; two or three great Okes, but not very thicke, Pines, Walnuts, Beech, Ash, Birch, Hasell, Holley, Asp, Sasifras, in abundance, and Vines euery where, Cherry-trees, Plum-trees, and many other which we know not; many kinds of Hearbs we found here in Winter, as Strawberry leaues innumerable, Sorrell, Yarow, Caruell, Brook-lime, Liuer-wort, Water-cresses, great store of Leeks and Onyons, and an excellent strong kind of Flax and Hempe. Here is Sand, Grauell, and excellent Clay, no better in the World, excellent for Pots, and will wash like Sope, and great store of Stone, though somewhat soft, and the best water that euer we drunke, and the Brookes now begin to be full of Fish; that night many being weary with marching, we went aboord againe.

The nineteenth of December, after our landing and viewing of the places, so well as we could we came to a conclusion, by most voyces, to set on the Maine Land, on the first place, on an high ground, where there is a great deale of Land cleered, and hath beene planted with Corne three or foure yeeres agoe, and there is a very sweet Brook runs vnder the Hill side, and many delicate Springs of as good water as can be drunke, and where wee may harbour our Shallops and Boates exceeding well, and in this Brooke is much good Fish in their seasons. On the further side of the Riuer also much Corne ground cleered, in one Field is a great Hill, on which wee point to make a plat-forme, and plant our Ordnance, which will command all round about, from thence we may see into the Bay, and far into the Sea, and we may see thence Cape *Cod*.

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Saturday the three and twentieth, ſo many of vs as could went on ſhore, felled and carried timber, to prouide themſelues ſtuffe for building. Munday the fiue and twentieth, wee went on ſhoare, ſome to fell timber, ſome to ſawe, ſome to riue, and ſome to carry, ſo no man reſted all that day.

Munday the fiue and twentieth, being Chriſtmaſſe day, we began to drinke water aboord, but at night the Maſter cauſed vs to haue ſome Beer, and ſo on boord we had diuers times now & then ſome Beere, but on ſhoare none at all. Wee tooke notice how many Families they were, willing all ſingle men that had no wiues to ioyne with ſome Family as they thought fit, that ſo wee might build fewer houſes, which was done, and we reduced them to nineteene Families; to greater Families we allotted larger plots, to euery perſon halfe a Pole in breadth, and three in length, and ſo Lots were caſt where euery man ſhould lie, which was done, and ſtaked out; we thought this proportion was large enough at the firſt, for Houſes and Gardens to impale them round, conſidering the weakeneſſe of our people, many of them growing ill with colds, for our former Diſcoueries in froſt and ſtormes, and the wading at Cape *Cod* had brought much weakneſſe amongſt vs, which increaſed euery day more and more, and after was the cauſe of many of our deaths.

Friday and Saturday wee fitted our ſelues for our labour, but our people on ſhoare were much troubled and diſcouraged with rayne and wet that day, being very ſtormy and cold; wee ſaw great ſmoakes of fire made by the *Indians*, about ſix or ſeuen miles from vs as wee coniectured.

Thurſday the fourth of Ianuarie, Captaine *Miles Standiſh*, with foure or fiue more, went to ſee if they could meete with any of the Sauages in that place where the fires was made, they went to ſome of their houſes, but not lately inhabited, yet could they not meet with any; as they came home, they ſhot at an Eagle and killed her, which was excellent meat; It was hardly to be diſcerned from Mutton.

Tueſday the ninth of Ianury, was a reaſonable faire day, and wee went to labour that day in the building of our Towne, in two rowes of houſes for more ſafetie: wee diuided by lot the plot of ground whereon to build our Towne: After the proportion formerly allotted, we agreed that euery man ſhould build his owne houſe, thinking by that courſe men would make more haſt then working in common: the common houſe, in which for the firſt we made our Rendeuous, being neere finiſhed, wanting only couering, it being about twentie foot ſquare, ſome ſhould make morter, and ſome gather thatch, ſo that in foure daies halfe of it was thatched, froſt and foule weather hindered vs much; this time of the yeare ſeldome could we worke halfe the weeke.

On the twelfth day, *Iohn Goodman* and *Peter Browne* at dinner time tooke their meat in their hands, and would go walke and refreſh themſelues, ſo going a little off they find a Lake of water, and hauing a great Maſtiffe bitch with them, and a Spannell; by the water ſide they found a great Deere, the Dogs chaſed him, and they followed ſo far as they loſt themſelues, and could not find the way backe, they wandred all that afternoone being wet, and at night did freeze and ſnow, they were ſlenderly apparelled, and had no weapons but each one his Cicle, nor any victualls, they ranged vp and downe and could finde none of the Sauages habitations. When it drew to night they were much perplexed, for they could find neither harbour nor meat, but in froſt and ſnow, were forced to make the Earth their bed, and the Element their couering, and another thing did very much terrifie them; they heard as they thought two Lions roaring exceedingly for a long time together, and a third, that they thought was very neere them: ſo not knowing what to doe, they reſolued to climbe vp into a Tree as the ſafeſt refuge, though that would proue an intollerable cold lodging. They ſtood at the Trees roote, that when the Lions came they might take their opportunitie of climbing vp, the Bitch they were faine to hold by the necke, for ſhee would haue beene gone to the Lion; but it pleaſed God ſo to diſpoſe, that the wild Beaſts came not: ſo they walked vp and downe vnder the Tree all night, it was an extreame cold night; ſo ſoone as it was light they trauelled againe, paſſing by many Lakes, and Brookes, and Woods, and in one place where the Sauages had burnt the ſpace of fiue miles in length, which is a fine Champion Countrey, and euen. In the afternoon it pleaſed God from an high Hill, they diſcouered the two Iles in the Bay, and ſo that night got to the Plantation, being ready to faint with trauell and want of victualls, and almoſt famiſhed with cold, *Iohn Goodman* was faine to haue his ſhooes cut off his feet they were ſo ſwelled with cold, and it was a long while after ere hee was able to goe. The houſe was fired occaſionally by a ſparke that flew into the thatch, which inſtantly burnt it all vp, but the roofe ſtood and little hurt; the moſt loſſe was Maſter *Carners* and *William Bradfords*, who then lay ſicke in bed, and if they had not riſen with good ſpeed, had beene blowne vp with powder: but through Gods mercy they had no harme; the houſe was as full of beds as they could lie one by another, and their Muskets charged, but bleſſed be God there was no harme done

Munday the fifteenth day, it rained much all day, that they on ſhip-boord could not goe on ſhoare, nor they on ſhoare doe any labour but were all wet. Tueſday, Wedneſday, Thurſday, were very faire Sun-ſhiny daies, as if it had beene in April, and our people ſo many as were in health wrought chearefully. The nineteenth day wee reſolued to make a Shed, to put our common prouiſion in, of which ſome were already ſet on ſhoare, but at noone it rained that wee could not worke.

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worke. This day in the euening, *Iohn Goodman* went abroad to vse his lame feet, that were pitty-fully ill with the cold hee had got, hauing a little Spannell with him, a little way from the Plantation, two great Wolues ran after the Dog, the Dog ran to him, and betwixt his legs for succour, he had nothing in his hand, but tooke vp a sticke and threw at one of them and hit him, and they presently ran both away, but came againe; he got a Paile boord in his hand, and they sate both on their tailes, grinning at him a good while and went their way and left him. Two great Wolues.

Saturday the seuenteenth day in the morning, we called a meeting for the establishing of Military Orders amongst our selues, and we chose *Miles Standish* our Captaine, and gaue him authoritie of command in affayres.

Saturday the third of March, the wind was South, the morning mystie, but towards noone warme and faire weather: the Birds sang in the Woods most pleasantly; at one of the clocke it thundred, which was the first we heard in that Countrey, it was strong and great claps, but short, but after an houre it rayned very sadly till midnight. Wednesday the seuenth of March, the wind was full East, cold, but faire. Thunder.

Friday the sixteenth, there presented himselfe a Sauage, which caused an Alarum, he very boldly came all alone and along the houses straight to the Randeuous, where we intercepted him, not suffering him to goe in, as vndoubtedly he would out of his boldnesse hee saluted vs in *English*, and bad vs welcome, for he had learned some broken *English* amongst the *Englishmen* that came to fish at *Monhiggon*, and knew by name the most of the Captaines, Commanders, and Masters, that vsually come; he was a man free in speech, so farre as he could expresse his minde, and of a seemly carriage, we questioned him of many things, he was the first Sauage we could meet with, all; hee said he was not of those parts, but of *Morattiggon*, and one of the *Sagamores* or Lords thereof, had beene eight moneths in these parts, it lying hence a daies saile with a great wind, and fiue dayes by Land: he discoursed of the whole Countrey, and of euery Prouince, and of their *Sagamores*, and their number of men, and strength. The wind beginning to rise a little, wee cast a Horsemans Coat about him, for he was starke naked, only a leather about his waste, with a fringe about a span long, or little more; he had a Bow and two Arrowes, the one headed, and the other vnheaded; he was a tall straight man, the haire of his head blacke, long behind, only short before, none on his face at all; he asked some Beere, but we gaue him Strong-water and Bisket, and Butter, and Cheese, and Pudding, and a piece of a Mallerd; all which he liked wel, and had bin acquainted with such amongst the *English*, he told vs the place where we now liue, is called, *Patuxet*, and that about foure yeeres agoe all the Inhabitants died of an extraordinary plague, and there is neither man, woman, nor child remaining, as indeed we haue found none, so as there is none to hinder our possession, or to lay claime vnto it. All the afternoone we spent in communication with him, we would gladly haue been rid of him at night, but he was not willing to goe this night, then we thought to carry him on ship-boord, wherwith hee was wel content and went into the Shallop, but the wind was high and water scant, that it could not returne backe. We lodged that night at *Steuen Hopkins* house, and watched him: the next day he went away back to the *Massoyts*, from whence he said he came, who are our next bordering neighbours; they are sixtie strong, as he saith. The *Nausites* are as neere South-east of them, and are a hundred strong, and those were they of whom our people were encountered, as we before related. They are much incensed and prouoked against the *English*, and about eight moneths agoe slew three *Englishmen*, and two more hardly escaped by flight to *Monhiggon*; they were Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* his men, as this Sauage told vs, as he did likewise of the *Huggery*, that is, *Fight*, that our discouerers had with the *Nausites*, and of our Tooles they were taken out of the Woods, which we willed him should be brought againe, otherwise we would right our selues. These people are ill affected towards the *English*, by reason of one *Hunt*, a Master of a Ship, who deceiued the people, and got them vnder colour of trucking with them, twentie out of this very place where we inhabite, and seuen men from the *Nausites*, and carried them away and sold them for Slaues, like a wretched man (for twentie pound a man) that care not what mischiefe he doth for his profit. Conference with Sauages. *Patuxet.* People all dead of a plague. *Massoyts.* *Nausites.* *Hunts* wickednesse.

Saturday in the morning we dismissed the Sauage, and gaue him a Knife, a Braceler, and a Ring; he promised within a night or two to come again, & to bring with him some of the *Massoyts* our neighbours, with such Beauers skins as they had to trucke with vs. Saturday and Sunday reasonable faire dayes. On this day came againe the Sauage, and brought with him fiue other tall proper men, they had euery man a Deeres skin on him, and the principall of them had a wild Cats skin, or such like on the one arme: they had most of them long hosen vp to their groynes, close made; and aboue their groynes to their waste another leather, they were altogether like the *Irish* trouses; they are of complexion like our *English Gipseys*, no haire or very little on their faces, on their heads long haire to the shoulders, onely cut before; some trussed vp before with a feather, broad wise, like a fan, another a Fox taile hanging out: these left (according to our charge giuen him before) their Bowes and Arrowes a quarter of a mile from our Towne, we gaue them entertainment as we thought was fitting them. They did eate liberally of our *English* victuals, they made semblance vnto vs of friendship and amitie; they sang and danced after this manner like Anticks; they brought with him in a thing like a Bow-case (which the principall of them had about Sauages described.

about his waſt) a little of their Corne pounded to powder, which put to a little water they eate: he had a little Tobacco in a bag, but none of them drunke but when he liſted, ſome of them had their faces painted blacke, from the forehead to the chin, foure or fiue fingers broad; others after other faſhions, as they liked: they brought three or foure Skins, but wee would not trucke with them all that day, but wiſhed them to bring more, and we would trucke for all, which they promiſed within a night or two, and would leaue theſe behind them, though wee were not willing they ſhould, and they brought all our Tooles againe which were taken in the Woods, in our mens abſence, ſo becauſe of the day we diſmiſſed them ſo ſoone as we could. But *Samoſet* our firſt acquaintance, either was ſicke, or fained himſelfe ſo, and would not goe with them, and ſtaied with vs till Wedneſday morning: Then we ſent him to them, to know the reaſon they came not according to their words, and we gaue him an Hat, a paire of Stockings and Shooes, a Shirt, and a piece of Cloth to tye about his waſt.

Thurſday the 22. of March, was a very faire warme day. About noone we met againe about our publike buſineſſe, but we had ſcarce beene an houre together, but *Samoſet* came againe, and *Squanto*, the onely Natiue of *Patuxat*, where wee now inhabite, who was one of the twentie Captiues that by *Hunt* were carried away, and had beene in *England*, and dwelt in *Cornhill* with Maſter *Iohn Slanie* a Merchant, and could ſpeake a little *Engliſh*, with three others, and they brought them ſome few Skins to trucke, and ſome Red Herrings newly taken and dried, but not ſalted, and ſignified vnto vs, that there Great Sagamore *Maſſaſoyt* was hard by, with *Quadequina* his brother, and all their men. They could not well expreſſe in *Engliſh* what they would, but after an houre the King came to the top of an Hill ouer againſt vs, and had in his trayne ſixtie men, that we could well behold them, and they vs: wee were not willing to ſend our Gouernour to them, and they vnwilling to come to vs, ſo *Squanto* went againe vnto him, who brought word that wee ſhould ſend one to parley with him, which we did, which was *Edward Winſloe*, to know his mind, and to ſignifie the mind and will of our Gouernor, which was to haue trading and peace with him. Wee ſent to the King a paire of Kniues, and a Copper Chaine, with a Iewell at it. To *Quadequina* we ſent likewiſe a Knife and a Iewell to hang in his eare, and withall a Pot of ſtrong water, a good quantitie of Bisket, and ſome Butter, which were all willingly accepted: our Meſſenger made a ſpeech vnto him, that King IAMES ſaluted him with words of Loue and Peace, and did accept of him as his Friend and Alley, and that our Gouernour deſired to ſee him and to trucke with him, and to confirme a Peace with him, as his next neighbour: hee liked well of the ſpeech, and heard it attentiuely, though the Interpreters did not well expreſſe it; after hee had eaten and drunk himſelfe, & giuen the reſt to his company, he looked vpon our Meſſengers Sword and Armor which he had on, with intimation of his deſire to buy it, but on the other ſide, our Meſſenger ſhewed his vnwillingneſſe to part with it: In the end he left him in the cuſtodie of *Quadequina* his brother, and came ouer the Brook, and ſome twenty men following him, leauing all their Bowes and Arrowes behind them. We kept ſix or ſeuen as Hoſtages for our Meſſenger; Cap. *Standiſh* and M. *Williamſon* met the King at the Brook, with halfe a dozen Musketiers, they ſaluted him and he them, ſo one going ouer, the one on the one ſide, and the other on the other, conducted him to an houſe then in building, where wee placed a greene Rug, and three or foure Cuſhions. Then inſtantly came our Gouernour, with a Drum and Trumpet after him, and ſome few Musketiers. After ſalutations, our Gouernour kiſſing his hand, the King kiſſed him, and ſo they ſate downe. The Gouernour called for ſome ſtrong water, and drunke to him, and he drunke a great draught that made him ſweate all the while after; hee called for a little freſh meate, which the King did eate willingly, and did giue his followers. Then they treated of Peace, which was;

The agreements of peace betweene vs and *Maſſaſoyt*.

First, That neither he nor any of his ſhould iniure or do hurt to any of our people. Secondly, & if any of his did hurt to any of ours, he ſhould ſend the offender, that we might puniſh him. Thirdly, that if any of our tooles were taken away when our people were at work, he ſhould cauſe them to bee reſtored, and if ours did any harme to any of his, we would doe the like to them. Fourthly, If any did vniuſtly war againſt him we would aide him; If any did war againſt vs, he ſhould aide vs. Fifthly, He ſhould ſend to his neighbor Confederates, to certifie them of this, that they might not wrong vs, but might be likewiſe compriſed in the conditions of Peace. Sixthly, That when their men came to vs, they ſhould leaue their Bowes and Arrowes behind them, as wee ſhould doe our Peeces when we came to them. Laſtly, that doing thus, King IAMES would eſteeme of him as his Friend and Ally: all which the King ſeemed to like well, and it was applauded of his followers; all the while he ſate by the Gouernour hee trembled for feare. In his perſon hee is a very luſty man, in his beſt yeeres, an able body, graue of countenance, and ſpare of ſpeech: In his attyre little or nothing differing from the reſt of his followers, onely in a great Chaine of white bone Beades about his neck, & at it behind his neck hangs a little bag of Tobacco, which he drank and gaue vs to drinke; his face was painted with a ſad Red like Murry, and oyled both head and face, that hee looked greaſily: All his followers likewiſe, were in their faces in part or in whole painted, ſome Blacke, ſome Red, ſome Yellow, and ſome White, ſome with Croſſes, and other Antick workes, ſome had Skins on them, and ſome naked, all ſtrong, tall men in appearance. The King had his boſome hanging in a ſtring, a great long Knife; he maruelled much at our Trumpet,

and

and ſome of his men would ſound it as well as they could, *Samoſet* and *Squanto*, ſtayed all night with vs, and the King and all his men lay all night in the Wood, not aboue halfe an *Engliſh* mile from vs, and all their wiues and women with them, they ſaid, that within eight or nine daies, they would come and ſet Corne on the other ſide of the Brooke, and dwell there all Summer, which is hard by vs. That night wee kept good watch, but there was no appearance of danger; the next morning diuers of our people came ouer to vs, hoping to get ſome victualls as wee imagined, ſome of them told vs the King would haue ſome of vs come ſee him; Captaine *Standiſh*, and *Iſaac Allerton* went venterouſly, who were welcommed of him after their manner: he gaue them three or foure ground Nuts, and ſome Tobacco. Wee cannot yet conceiue, but that hee is willing to haue peace with vs, for they haue ſeene our people ſometimes alone two or three in the Woods at worke and Fowling, when as they offered them no harme, as they might eaſily haue done, and eſpecially becauſe hee hath a potent Aduerſarie, the *Narowhiganſets*, that are at warre with him, againſt whom hee thinkes wee may bee ſome ſtrength to him, for our Peeces are terrible vnto them. This morning they ſtaied till ten or eleuen of the clocke, and our Gouernour bid them ſend the Kings Kettle, and filled it full of Peaſe, which pleaſed them well, and ſo they went their way.

Friday was a very faire day, *Samoſet* and *Squanto* ſtil remained with vs, *Squanto* went at noon to fiſh for Eeles, at night he came home with as many as hee could well lift in one hand, which our people were glad of, they were fat and ſweete, hee trod them out with his feete, and ſo caught them with his hands without any other Inſtrument. This day we proceeded on with our common buſineſſe, from which we had bin ſo often hindred by the Sauages comming, and concluded both of Militarie Orders, and of ſome Lawes and Orders as we thought behoouefull for our preſent eſtate, and condition, and likewiſe chuſe our Gouernour for this yeere, which was Maſter *Iohn Carver*, a man well approued amongſt vs.

A Iourney to *Packanokik*, the Habitation of the Great King *Maſſaſoyt*.

IT ſeemed good to the Company for many conſiderations, to ſend ſome amongſt them to *Maſſaſoyt*, the greateſt Commander amongſt the Sauages, bordering about vs; partly to know where to find them, if occaſion ſerued, as alſo to ſee their ſtrength, diſcouer the Countrey, prevent abuſes in their diſorderly comming vnto vs, make ſatisfaction for ſome conceiued iniuries to be done on our parts, and to continue the league of Peace and Friendſhip betweene them and vs. For theſe, and the like ends, it pleaſed the Gouernour to make choice of *Steven Hopkins*, and *Edward Winſlow* to goe vnto him, and hauing a fit opportunitie, by reaſon of a Sauage, called *Tiſquantum* (that could ſpeake *Engliſh*) comming vnto vs: with all expedition prouided a Horſemans Coat, of Red Cotton, and laced with a ſlight Lace for a Preſent, that both they and their meſſage might bee the more acceptable amongs them.

1621.

Wee ſet forward the tenth of Iune, about nine a clock in the morning, our guide reſoluing that night to reſt at *Namaſchet*, a Towne vnder *Maſſaſoyt*, and conceiued by vs to be very neere, becauſe the Inhabitants flocked ſo thicke vpon euery ſlight occaſion amongſt vs: but wee found it to bee ſome fifteene *Engliſh* miles. On the way wee found ſome ten or twelue men, women, and children, which had peſtered vs, till wee were wearie of them, perceiuing that (as the manner of them all is) where victuall is eaſilieſt to be got, there they liue, eſpecially in the Summer: by reaſon whereof, our Bay affording many Lobſters, they reſort euery Spring Tide thither: and now returned with vs to *Namaſchet*. Thither we came about three a clocke after noone, the Inhabitants entertaining vs with ioy, in the beſt manner they could, giuing vs a kind of bread, called by them *Maizium*, and the ſpawne of Shads, which then they got in abundance, in ſo much as they gaue vs ſpoones to eate them, with theſe they boyled muſtie Acornes, but of the Shads wee eate heartily. After this they deſired one of our men to ſhoot at a Crow, complaining what damage they ſuſtained in their Corne by them, who ſhooting ſome foureſcore off and killing, they much admired it, as other ſhots on other occaſions. After this *Tiſquantum* told vs wee ſhould hardly in one day reach *Pakanokick*, mouing vs to go ſome eight miles further, where we ſhould find more ſtore and better victuals then there: Being willing to haſten our iourney we went, and came thither at Sunne ſetting, where we found many of the *Namaſchencks* (they ſo calling the men of *Namaſchet*) fiſhing vpon a Ware which they had made on a Riuer which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of Baſſe. Theſe welcommed vs alſo, gaue vs of their fiſh, and we them of our victualls, not doubting but we ſhould haue enough where ere we came. There we lodged in the open fields: for houſes they had none, though they ſpent the moſt of the Summer there. The head of this Riuer is reported to bee not farre from the place of our abode, vpon it are, and haue beene many Townes, it being a good length. The ground is very good on both ſides, it being for the moſt part cleered: Thouſands of men haue liued there, which died in a great plague not long ſince: and pittie it was and is to ſee, ſo many goodly fields, and ſo well ſeated, without men to dreſſe and manure the ſame. Vpon this Riuer dwelleth *Maſſaſoyt*.

Great plague.

The next morning wee brake our faſt, tooke our leaue and departed, being then accompanied with ſome ſixe Sauages, hauing gone about ſixe miles by the Riuer ſide, at a knowne ſhoale place, it being low water, they ſpake to vs to put off our breeches, for wee muſt wade thorow. Here

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let me not forget the valour and courage of some of the Sauages, on the opposite side of the Riuer, for there were remaining aliue onely two men, both aged, especially the one being aboue three-score: These two espying a company of men entring the Riuer, ran very swiftly and low in the grasse to meet vs at the Banke, where with shrill voyces and great courage, standing charged vpon vs with their Bowes, they demanded what wee were, supposing vs to be enemies, and thinking to take aduantage on vs in the water: but seeing wee were friends, they welcommed vs with such food as they had, and we bestowed a small bracelet of Beads on them. Thus farre we are sure the Tide ebbes and flowes.

Hauing here againe refreshed our selues we proceeded in our Iourney, the weather being verie hot for trauell, yet the Countrey so well watered, that a man could scarce be drie, but hee should haue a Spring at hand to coole his thirst, beside small Riuers in abundance: But the Sauages will not willingly drinke, but at a Spring head. When we came to any small Brooke, where no Bridge was, two of them desired to carry vs through of their owne accords, also fearing wee were or would bee wearie, offered to carrie our Peeces, also if wee would lay off any of our clothes, wee should haue them carried: and as the one of them had found more speciall kindnesse from one of the Messengers, and the other Sauage from the other; so they shewed their thankfulnesse accordingly in affording vs all helpe, and furtherance in the Iourney.

As we passed along, we obserued that there were few places by the Riuer, but had beene inhabited, by reason whereof much ground was cleere, saue of weeds which grew higher then our heads. There is much good Timber, both Oake, Walnut-tree, Firre, Beech, and exceeding great Chesnut-trees.

After we came to a Towne of *Massasoyts*, where we eat Oysters and other Fish. From thence we went to *Packanokick*, but *Massasoyt* was not at home, there we staied, he being sent for: when newes was brought of his comming, our guide *Tisquantum* requested that at our meeting, wee would discharge our Peeces, but one of vs going about to charge his Peece, the women and children through feare to see them take vp his Peece, ran away, and could not be pacified, till he laid it downe againe, who afterward were better informed by our Interpreter. *Massasoyt* being come, wee discharged our Peeces, and saluted him, who after their manner kindly welcommed vs, and tooke vs into his house, and set vs downe by him, where hauing deliuered our Message and Presents, and hauing put the Coat on his backe, and the Chaine about his necke, hee was not a little proud to behold himselfe, and his men also to see their King so brauely attired. For answere to our Message, he told vs we were welcome, and he would gladly continue that Peace and Friendship which was betweene him and vs: and for his men they should no more pester vs as they had done: Also, that hee would send to *Paomet*, and would helpe vs with Corne for Seed, according to our request.

This being done, his men gathered neere vnto him, to whom hee turned himselfe, and made a great Speech; they sometime interposing, and as it were, confirming and applauding him in that he said. The meaning whereof was (as farre as wee could learne) thus; Was not hee *Massasoyt* Commander of the Countrey about them? Was not such a Towne his and the people of it? and should they not bring their skins vnto vs. After this manner, he named at least thirtie places, and their answere was as aforesaid to euery one: so that as it was delightfull, it was tedious vnto vs. This being ended, he lighted Tobacco for vs, and fell to discoursing of *England*, and of the Kings Maiestie, maruelling that hee would liue without a Wife. Also hee talked of the *Frenchmen*, bidding vs not to suffer them to come to *Narohiganset*, for it was King IAMES his Countrey, and he also was King IAMES his man. Late it grew, but victualls he offered none; for indeed he had not any, being he came so newly home. So we desired to goe to rest: hee laid vs on the bed with himselfe and his wife, they at the one end and wee at the other, it being onely plankes laid a foot from the ground, and a thinne Mat vpon them. Two more of his chiefe men for want of roome pressed by and vpon vs; so that wee were worse wearie of our lodging then of our iourney.

Royall entertainment.

The next day being Thursday, many of their Sachmis, or pettie Gouernours came to see vs, and many of their men also. There they went to their manner of Games for Skins and Kniues. There we challenged them to shoot with them for Skins: but they durst not; onely they desired to see one of vs shoot at a marke, who shooting with Haile-shot, they wondred to see the marke so full of holes. About one a clocke, *Massasoyt* brought two Fishes that he had shot, they were like Breame, but three times so bigge, and better meat. These being boyled, there were at least fortie looked for share in them, the most eate of them: This meale onely we had in two nights and a day, and had not one of vs bought a Partridge, we had taken our Iourney fasting: Very importunate hee was to haue vs stay with them longer: But wee desired to keepe the Sabbath at home, and feared wee should either bee light-headed for want of sleepe, for what with bad lodging, the Sauages barbarous singing (for they vse to sing themselues asleepe) Lice and Fleas within doores, and Muskeetoes without, wee could hardly sleepe all the time of our being there; we much fearing that if we should stay any longer, we should not bee able to recouer home for want of strength. So that on the Friday morning before Sun-rising, wee tooke our leaue and departed,

Games.

Hungrie fare.

Massasoyt

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Maſſaſoyt being both grieued and aſhamed, that he could not better entertaine vs; and retaining *Tiſquantum* to ſend from place to place to procure trucke for vs: and appointing another, called *Tokamahamon* in his place, whom we had found faithfull before and after vpon all occaſions.

A Voyage made by ten of our men o the Kingdome of *Nauſet*, to ſeek a Boy that had loſt himſelfe in the Woods; with ſuch accidents as befell vs in that Voyage.

THe eleuenth of Iune we ſet forth toward *Nauſet*, the weather being very faire: but ere we had bin long at Sea, there aroſe a ſtorme of winde and raine, with much lightning and thunder, in ſo much that a ſpout aroſe not farre from vs: but God be praiſed, it dured not long, and we put in that night for Harbour at a place called *Cummaquid*, where we had ſome hope to finde the Boy. Two Sauages were in the Boat with vs, the one was *Tiſquantum* our Interpreter, the other *Tokamahamon*, a ſpeciall friend. It being night before we came in, wee Anchored in the middeſt of the Bay, where we were dry at a low water. In the morning we eſpied Sauages ſeeking Lobſters, and ſent our two Interpreters to ſpeake with them, the channell being betweene them; where they told them what we were, and for what we were come, willing them not at all to feare vs, for we would not hurt them. Their anſwere was, that the Boy was well, but he was at *Nauſet*; yet ſince wee were there they deſired vs to come aſhoare and eate with them: which as ſoone as our Boate floated we did: and went ſixe aſhoare, hauing foure pledges for them in the Boate. They brought vs to their *Sachim* or Gouernour, whom they call *Iyanough*, a man not exceeding twenty ſix yeares of age, but very perſonable, gentle courteous, and faire conditioned; indeede not like a Sauage, ſaue for his attyre: his entertainment was anſwerable to his parts, and his cheare plentifull and various.

One thing was very grieuous vnto vs at this place: There was an old Woman, whom wee iudged to be no leſſe then an hundred yeares old, which came to ſee vs becauſe ſhee neuer ſaw *Engliſh*; yet could not behold vs without breaking forth into great paſſion, weeping and crying exceſſiuely. We demanding the reaſon of it, they told vs, ſhe had three Sonnes, who when Maſter *Hunt* was in theſe parts, went aboord his Ship to trade with him, and he carried them Captiues into *Spaine* (for *Tiſquantum* at that time was carried away alſo) by which meanes ſhee was depriued of the comfort of her children in her old age. We told them wee were ſorry that any *Engliſhman* ſhould giue them that offence, that *Hunt* was a bad man, and that all the *Engliſh* that heard of it condemned him for the ſame: but for vs, we would not offer them any ſuch iniury, though it would gaine vs all the Skins in the Countrie. So we gaue her ſome ſmall trifles, which ſomewhat appeaſed her.

After dinner we tooke Boate for *Nauſet*, *Iyanough* and two of his men accompanying vs. Ere we came to *Nauſet*, the day and tide were almoſt ſpent, in ſo much as we could not goe in with our Shallop: but the *Sachim* or Gouernour of *Cummaquid* went aſhoare and his men with him, we alſo ſent *Tiſquantum* to tell *Aſpinet* the *Sachim* of *Nauſet*, wherefore we came. After Sunſet *Aſpinet* came with a great traine, and brought the Boy with him, one bearing him through the water: he had not leſſe then an hundred with him, the halfe whereof came to the Shallop ſide vnarmed with him, the other ſtood aloofe with their Bowe and Arrowes. There he deliuered vs the Boy, behung with Beades, and made peace with vs, wee beſtowing a Knife on him, and likewiſe on another that firſt entertained the Boy and brought him thither. So they departed from vs.

The Boy is reſtored.

Here we vnderſtood that the *Narrohiganſets* had ſpoyled ſome of *Maſſaſoyts* men, and taken him. This ſtrucke ſome feare in vs, becauſe the Colony was ſo weakely guarded, the ſtrength thereof being abroad: But we ſet forth with reſolution to make the beſt haſte home we could; yet the winde being contrary, hauing ſcarce any freſh water left, and at leaſt ſixteene leagues home, we put in againe for the ſhoare. There we met againe with *Iyanough* the *Sachim* of *Cummaquid*, and the moſt of his Towne, both men, women and children with him. Hee being ſtill willing to gratifie vs, tooke a runlet and led our men in the darke a great way for water, but could finde none good; yet brought ſuch as there was on his necke with them. In the meane time the women ioyned hand in hand, ſinging and dancing before the Shallop, the men alſo ſhewing all the kindeneſſe they could, *Iyanough* himſelfe taking a Bracelet from about his necke, and hanging it vpon one of vs. By Gods prouidence we came ſafely home that night.

CHAP. V.

Good newes from New England: *Or, A Relation of things remarkeable in that Plantation; written by* E. WINSLOVV *and here abbreuiated.*

THe good Ship called the *Fortune*, which in the Moneth of Nouember 1621. (bleſſed be God) brought vs a new ſupply of fiue and thirty perſons, was not long departed our Coaſt, ere the Great people of *Nanohigganſet*, which are reported to be many thouſands ſtrong, began to breath forth many threats againſt vs, notwithſtanding their deſired and obtained peace with vs in the fore-going Summer. Inſomuch as the common talke of our neighbour *Indians* on all ſides was of the

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preparation they made to come againſt vs, In reaſon, a man would thinke they ſhould haue now more cauſe to feare vs than before our ſupply came: but though none of them were preſent, yet vnderſtanding by others that they neither brought Armes nor other prouiſions with them, but wholly relied on vs, it occaſioned them to ſleight and braue vs with ſo many threats as they did. At length came one of them to vs, who was ſent by *Conanacus* their chiefe *Sachim* or King, accompanied with one *Tokamahamon* a friendly *Indian*. This Meſſenger inquired for *Tiſquantum* our Interpreter, who not being at home ſeemed rather to be glad then ſorry, and leauing for him a bundle of new Arrowes lapped in a rattle Snakes skinne, deſired to depart with all expedition.

Snakes skin defiance.

When *Tiſquantum* returned, and the Arrowes were deliuered, and the manner of the Meſſengers cariage related, he ſignified to the Gouernour, that to ſend the rattle Snakes skinne in that manner, imported enmitie, and that it was no better then a challenge. Hereupon, after ſome deliberation, the Gouernour ſtuffed the skin with Powder and Shot, and ſent it backe, returning no leſſe defiance to *Conanacus*, aſſuring him if he had Shipping now preſent thereby to ſend his men to *Nanohigganſet* (the place of his abode) they ſhould not neede to come ſo farre by Land to vs: yet withall, ſhewing that they ſhould neuer come vnwelcome or vnlooked for. This meſſage was ſent by an *Indian*, and deliuered in ſuch ſort, as it was no ſmall terrour to this Sauage King, inſomuch as he would not once touch the Powder and Shot, or ſuffer it to ſtay in his Houſe or Countrie. Whereupon the Meſſenger refuſing it, another tooke it vp, and hauing beene poſted from place to place a long time, at length came whole backe againe.

In the meane time, knowing our owne weakeneſſe, notwithſtanding our high words and loftie lookes towards them, and ſtill lying open to all caſualty, hauing as yet (vnder God) no other defence then our Armes, we thought it moſt needfull to impale our Towne, which with all expedition we accompliſhed in the moneth of February, and ſome few dayes, taking in the top of the Hill vnder which our Towne is ſeated, making foure Bulwarkes or ietties without the ordinary circuit of the Pale, from whence we could defend the whole Towne: In three whereof are Gates, and the fourth in time to be. This being done, Captaine *Standiſh* diuided our ſtrength into foure ſquadrons or companies, appointing whom he thought moſt fit to haue command of each: And at a generall Muſter or Training, appointed each his place, gaue each his Company, giuing them charge vpon euery alarum to reſort to their Leaders to their appointed place, and in his abſence, to be commanded and directed by them. That done according to his order, each drew his Company to his appointed place for defence, and there together diſcharged their Muskets. After which they brought their new Commanders to their houſes, where againe they graced them with their ſhot, and ſo departed. Fearing alſo leaſt the enemy at any time ſhould take any aduantage by firing our houſes, Captaine *Standiſh* appointed a certaine Company, that whenſoeuer they ſaw or heard fire to be cryed in the Towne, ſhould onely betake themſelues to their Armes, and ſhould incloſe the houſe or place ſo indangered, and ſtand aloofe on their guard, with their backes towards the fire, to preuent trechery, if any were in that kinde intended. If the fire were in any of the houſes of this guard, they were then freed from it, but not otherwiſe, without ſpeciall command.

Towne impaled.

Long before this time we promiſed the people of *Maſſachuſet* in the beginning of March to come vnto them, and trade for their Furres, which being then come, we began to make preparation for that Voyage. In the meane time, an *Indian*, called *Hobbamocke*, who ſtill liued in the Towne, told vs, that he feared the *Maſſachuſets* or *Maſſachuſeuks* (for they ſo called the people of that place) were ioyned in confederacie with the *Nanohigganeucks*, or people of *Nanohigganſet*, and that they therefore would take this opportunity to cut off Captaine *Standiſh* and his Company abroad: but howſoeuer in the meane time, it was to be feared that the *Nanohigganeucks* would aſſault the Towne at home, giuing many reaſons for his iealouſie, as alſo that *Tiſquantum* was in the confederacy, who we ſhould finde would vſe many perſwaſions to draw vs from our Shallops to the *Indians* houſes for their better aduantage.

Notwithſtanding the forenamed Captaine with ten men, accompanied with *Tiſquantum* and *Hobbamocke*, ſet forwards for the *Maſſachuſets*: but we had no ſooner turned the point of the Harbour, called the *Gurnets noſe* (where being becalmed we let fall our grapnell, to ſet things to rights, and prepare to row) but there came an *Indian* of *Tiſquantums* family, running to certaine of our people that were from home with all eagerneſſe, hauing his face wounded, and the bloud ſtill freſh on the ſame, calling to them to repaire home, oft looking behinde him, as if ſome others had him in chaſe, ſaying that at *Namaſchet* (a Towne ſome fifteene miles from vs) there were many of the *Nanohigganſets*, *Maſſaſſowat* our ſuppoſed friend; and *Conbatant* our feared enemy, with many others, with a reſolution to take aduantage on the preſent opportunity, to aſſault the Towne in the Captaines abſence, affirming that hee receiued the wound in his face for ſpeaking in our behalfe, and by ſleight eſcaped, looking oft backward, as if he ſuſpected them to be at hand. This he affirmed againe to the Gouernour, whereupon he gaue command that three peece of Ordnance ſhould be made ready and diſcharged, to the end that if wee were not out of hearing, we might returne thereat. Which we no ſooner heard, but we repaired homeward with

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all conuenient speede, arming our selues, and making all in readinesse to fight. When wee entred the Harbour, we saw the Towne likewise on their guard, whither we hasted with all conuenient speede. The newes being made knowne vnto vs, *Hobbamock* said flatly that it was false, assuring vs of *Massassowats* faithfulnesse; howsoeuer he presumed he would neuer haue vndertaken any such act without his priuitie, himselfe being a *Pinse*, that is, one of his chiefe Champions or men of valour, it being the manner amongst them not to vndertake such enterprises without the aduice and furtherance of men of that ranke.

The Gouernour caused *Hobbamock* to send his wife with all priuacie to *Puckanokick*, the chiefe place of *Massassowats* residence (pretending other occasions) there to informe her selfe, and so vs, of the right state of things. When she came thither, and saw all things quiet, and that no such matter was or had beene intended, she told *Massassowat* what had hapned at *Plimoth* (by them called *Patuxet*) which when he vnderstood, he was much offended at the carriage of *Tisquantum*, returning many thankes to the Gouernour for his good thoughts of him; and assuring him, that according to their first Articles of peace, hee would send word and giue warning when any such businesse was towards.

Thus by degrees we began to discouer *Tisquantum*, whose ends were onely to make himselfe great in the eyes of his Country-men, by meanes of his neerenesse and fauour with vs, not caring who fell, so he stood. In generall, his course was to perswade them hee could lead vs to peace or warre at his pleasure, and would oft threaten the *Indians*, sending them word in a priuate manner, we were intended shortly to kill them, that thereby he might get gifts to himselfe to worke their peace; insomuch as they had him in greater esteeme then many of their *Sachims*; yea, they themselues sought to him, who promised them peace in respect of vs; yea, and protection also, so as they would resort to him. So that whereas diuers were wont to relye on *Massassowat* for protection, and resort to his abode, now they began to leaue him, and seeke after *Tisquantum*. But when we vnderstood his dealings, we certified all the *Indians* of our ignorance and innocency therein, assuring them till they begun with vs, they should haue no cause to feare. And if any hereafter should raise any such reports, they should punish them as liers and seekers of their and our disturbance, which gaue the *Indians* good satisfaction on all sides. *Tisquantums* trechery.

After this we proceeded in our Voyage to the *Massachusets*, where we had good store of Trade and (blessed be God) returned in safety, though driuen from before our Towne in great danger and extremity of weather. At our returne, we found *Massassowat* at the Plantation, who made his seeming iust Apologie for all former matters of accusation, being much offended and inraged against *Tisquantum*, whom the Gouernour pacified as much as he could for the present. But not long after his departure, he sent a Messenger to the Gouernour, intreating him to giue way to the death of *Tisquantum*, who had so much abused him. But the Gouernour answered; Although he had deserued to dye both in respect of him and vs; yet for our sakes he desired he would spare him, and the rather because without him he knew not well how to vnderstand himselfe, or any other the *Indians*. With this answer the Messenger returned, but came againe not long after, accompanied with diuers others, demanding him from *Massassowat* their Master, as being one of his subiects, whom by our first Articles of peace we could not retaine: yet because hee would not willingly doe it without the Gouernors approbation, offered him many Beuers skins for his consent thereto, saying, that according to their manner, their *Sachim* had sent his owne Knife, and therewith, to cut off his head and hands, and bring them to him. To which the Gouernour answered; It was not the manner of the *English* to sell mens liues at a price, but when they had deserued iustly to die, to giue them their reward, and therefore refused their Beauers as a gift: but sent for *Tisquantum*, who though he knew their intent, yet offered not to flye, but came and accused *Hobbamocke* as the author and worker of his ouerthrow; yeelding himselfe to the Gouernour to be sent or not according as he thought meete. But at the instant, when our Gouernour was ready to deliuer him into the hands of his Executioners, a Boate was seene at Sea to crosse before our Towne, and fall behinde a head-land not farre off: whereupon, hauing heard many rumours of the *French*, and not knowing whether there were any combination betweene the Sauages and them, the Gouernour told the *Indians*, he would first know what Boate that was ere he would deliuer him into their custody. But being mad with rage, and impatient at delay, they departed in great heate.

Here let me not omit one notable (though wicked) practise of this *Tisquantum*, who to the end he might possesse his Countrimen with the greater feare of vs, and so consequently of himselfe, told them we had the plague buried in our store-house, which at our pleasure we could send forth to what place or people we would, and destroy them therewith, though wee stirred not from home. Being vpon the forenamed brabbles sent for by the Gouernour to this place, where *Hobbamock* was & some other of vs, the ground being broke in the middest of the house (whereunder certaine barrels of Powder were buried, though vnknowne to him) *Hobbamock* asked him what it meant? To whom he readily answered; That was the place wherein the plague was buried, whereof he formerly told him and others. After this *Hobbamock* asked one of our people whether such a thing were, and whether we had such command of it? Who answered no; But the Plagy conceit.

the God of the *Engliſh* had it in ſtore, and could ſend it at his pleaſure to the deſtruction of his and our enemies.

This was, as I take it, about the end of May, 1622. At which time our ſtore of victuals was wholly ſpent, hauing liued long before with a bare and ſhort allowance: The reaſon was, that ſupply of men before mentioned, which came ſo vnprouided, not landing ſo much as a barrell of Bread or Meale for their whole Company, but contrariwiſe receiued from vs for their Ships ſtore homeward. Neither were the ſetters forth thereof altogether to be blamed therein, but rather certaine amongſt our ſelues, who were too prodigall in their writing and reporting that plenty we enioyed. But that I may returne.

This Boate proued to be a Shallop that belonged to a fiſhing Ship, called the *Sparrow*, ſet forth by Maſter *Thomas Weſton*, late Merchant and Citizen of *London*, which brought ſix or ſeuen paſſengers at his charge, that ſhould before haue beene landed at our Plantation, who alſo brought no more prouiſion for the preſent then ſerued the Boats gang for their returne to the Ship, which made her Voyage at a place called *Damarins Coue*, neere *Munhiggen*, ſome forty leagues from vs North-eaſt-ward; about which place there fiſhed aboue thirty ſaile of Ships, and whither my ſelfe was imployed by our Gouernour, with orders to take vp ſuch victuals as the Shippes could ſpare; where I found kinde entertainment and good reſpect, with a willingneſſe to ſupply our wants: But being not able to ſpare that quantity I required, by reaſon of the neceſſitie of ſome amongſt themſelues, whom they ſupplied before my comming, would not take any Bils for the ſame, but did what they could freely, wiſhing their ſtore had beene ſuch as they might in greater meaſure haue expreſſed their owne loue, and ſupplied our neceſſities, for which they ſorrowed, prouoking one another to the vtmoſt of their abilities: which although it were not much amongſt ſo many people as were at the Plantation, yet through the prouident and diſcreete care of the Gouernours, recouered and preſerued ſtrength till our owne crop on the ground was ready.

Hauing diſpatched there, I returned home with all ſpeede conuenient, where I found the ſtate of the Colony much weaker then when I left it: for til now we were neuer without ſome Bread, the want wherof much abated the ſtrength and fleſh of ſome, and ſwelled others. But here it may be ſaid, if the Countrey abound with Fiſh and Fowle in ſuch meaſure as is reported, how could men vndergoe ſuch meaſure of hardneſſe, except through their owne negligence? I anſwere: Euery thing muſt be expected in its proper ſeaſon. No man, as one ſaid, will goe into an Orchard in the Winter to gather Cherries: ſo he that lookes for Fowle there in the Summer, will be deceiued in his expectation. The time they continue in plenty with vs, is from the beginning of October to the end of March: but theſe extremities befell vs in May and Iune. I confeſſe, that as the Fowle decreaſe, ſo Fiſh increaſe. And indeede their exceeding abundance was a great cauſe of increaſing our wants. For though our Bay and Creekes were full of Baſſe, and other fiſh, yet for want of fit and ſtrong Saynes, and other netting, they for the moſt part brake thorow and carried all away before them. And though the Sea were full of Cod, yet we had neither tackling nor harſeis for our Shallops. And indeede had we not beene in a place where diuers ſorts of Shelfiſh are that may be taken with the hand, we muſt haue periſhed, vnleſſe God had raiſed ſome vnknowne or extraordinary meanes for our preſeruation.

In the time of theſe ſtreits (indeede before my going to *Munhiggen*) the *Indians* began againe to caſt forth many inſulting ſpeeches, glorying in our weakeneſſe, and giuing out how eaſie it would be ere long to cut vs off. Now alſo *Maſſaſſowat* ſeemed to frowne on vs, and neither came or ſent to vs as formerly. Theſe things occaſioned further thoughts of Fortification. And whereas we haue a Hill called the *Mount*, incloſed within our Pale, vnder which our Towne is ſeated, we reſolued to erect a Fort thereon, from whence a few might eaſily ſecure the Town from any aſſault the *Indians* can make, whileſt the reſt might be imployed as occaſion ſerued. This worke was begun with great eagerneſſe, and with the approbation of all men, hoping that this being once finiſhed, and a continuall guard there kept, it would vtterly diſcourage the Sauages from hauing any hopes or thoughts of riſing againſt vs. And though it tooke the greateſt part of our ſtrength from dreſſing our Corne, yet (life being continued) wee hoped God would raiſe ſome meanes in ſtead thereof for our further preſeruation.

Maſter *Weſtons* planters; which plaid the waſps with *Engliſh* and Sauages.

In the end of Iune, or beginning of Iuly, came into our harbour two Ships of Maſter *Weſtons* aforeſaid, the one called the *Charitie*, the other the *Swan*, hauing in them ſome fiftie or ſixtie men ſent ouer at his owne charge to plant for him. Theſe we receiued into our Towne, affording them what ſoeuer curteſie our meane condition could afford. There the *Charitie*, being the bigger Ship, left them, hauing many paſſengers which ſhe was to land in *Virginia*. In the meane time, the body of them refreſhed themſelues at *Plimoth*, whileſt ſome moſt fit ſought out a place for them. That little ſtore of Corne we had, was exceedingly waſted by the vniuſt and diſhoneſt walking of theſe ſtrangers, who though they would ſometimes ſeeme to helpe vs in our labour about our Corne, yet ſpared not day and night to ſteale the ſame, it being then eatable, and pleaſant to taſte, though green and vnprofitable. And though they receiued much kindneſſe, ſet light both by it and vs. At length their Coaſters returned, hauing found in their iudgement a place fit

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for plantation, within the Bay of the *Massachusets*, at a place called by the *Indians Wichaguscusset*. To which place the body of them went with all conuenient speede, leauing still with vs such as were sicke and lame, by the Gouernours permission, though on their parts vndeserued; whom our Surgeon by the helpe of God recouered *gratis* for them, and they fetched home, as occasion serued. They had not beene long from vs, ere the *Indians* filled our eares with clamours against them, for stealing their Corne, and other abuses conceiued by them. At which we grieued the more, because the same men, in mine owne hearing, had beene earnest in perswading Captaine *Standish*, before their comming to solicite our Gouernour to send some of his men to plant by them, alledging many reasons how it might be commodious for vs. But wee knew no meanes to redresse those abuses, saue reproofe, and aduising them to better walking, as occasion serued.

In the end of August came other two Ships into our harbour, the one (as I take it) was called the *Discouerie*, Captaine *Iones* hauing the command thereof, the other was that Ship of Master *Westons*, called the *Sparrow*, which had now made her Voyage of Fish, and was consorted with the other, being both bound for *Virginia*. Of Captaine *Iones* we furnished our selues of such prouisions as we most needed, and he could best spare, who as he vsed vs kindely, so made vs pay largely for the things we had. And had not the Almighty, in his All-ordering Prouidence, directed him to vs, it would haue gone worse with vs, then euer it had beene, or after was: for, as we had now but small store of Corne for the yeere following: so for want of supply, we were worne out of all manner of trucking-stuffe, not hauing any meanes left to helpe our selues by trade; but through Gods good mercy towards vs, hee had wherewith, and did supply our wants on that kinde competently.

Two Ships.

Helpe from Master *Iones*.

In the end of September, or beginning of October, Master *Westons* biggest Ship called the *Charitie*, returned for *England*, and left their Colony sufficiently victualled, as some of most credit amongst them reported. The lesser, called the *Swan*, remained with his Colony for their further helpe. At which time they desired to ioyne in partnership with vs to trade for Corne; to which our Gouernour and his Assistant agreed vpon such equall conditions, as were drawne and confirmed betweene them and vs. The chiefe places aimed at were to the Southward of Cape *Cod*; and the more because *Tisquantum*, whose peace before this time was wrought with *Massasowat*, vndertooke to discouer vnto vs that supposed, and still hoped passage within the Sholes.

Both Colonies being thus agreed, our Gouernour in his owne person supplied the Captaines place, and in the month of Nouember set forth, hauing *Tisquantum* for his Interpreter and Pilot, who affirmed he had twice passed within the Sholes of Cape *Cod*, both with *English* and *French*. Neuertheless, they went so farre with him, as the Master of the Ship saw no hope of passage: but being (as he thought) in danger, bare vp, and according to *Tisquantums* directions, made for an harbour not farre from them, at a place called *Manamoycke*, which they found, and sounding it with their Shallop found the channell, though but narrow and crooked, where at at length they harboured the Ship. Here they perceiued that the Tide set in and out with more violence at some other place more Southerly, which they had not seene nor could discouer, by reason of the violence of the season all the time of their abode there. Some iudged the entrance thereof might be beyond the Sholes, but there is no certainty thereof as yet knowne. That night the Gouernour accompanied with others, hauing *Tisquantum* for his Interpreter went ashoare: At first the Inhabitants plaied least in sight, because none of our people had euer beene there before; but vnderstanding the ends of their comming, at length came to them, welcomming our Gouernour according to their Sauage manner, refreshing them very well with store of Venison and other victuals which they brought them in great abundance, promising to trade with them, with a seeming gladnesse of the occasion: yet their ioy was mixed with much iealousie, as appeared by their after practises: for at first they were loath their dwellings should be knowne, but when they saw our Gouernours resolution to stay on the shoare all night, they brought him to their houses, hauing first conuaied all their stuffe to a remote place, not farre from the same, which one of our men walking forth occasionally, espied; whereupon, on the sudden, neither it nor they could be found, and so many times after vpon conceiued occasions, they would be all gone, bag and baggage. But being afterwards (by *Tisquantums* meanes) better perswaded, they left their iealousie and traded with them; where they got eight hogsheads of Corne and Beanes, though the people were but few. This gaue our Gouernour and the Company good encouragement. *Tisquantum* being still confident in the passage, and the Inhabitants affirming, they had seene Ships of good burthen passe within the Sholes aforesaid. But here, though they had determined to make a second assay, yet God had otherwaies disposed, who strucke *Tisquantum* with sickneſse, in so much as he there died, which crossed their Southward trading, and the more, because the Masters sufficiency was much doubted, and the season very tempestuous, and not fit to goe vpon discouery, hauing no guide to direct them.

From thence they departed, and the winde being faire for the *Massachusets*, went thither, and the rather because the Sauages vpon our motion had planted much Corne for vs, which they promi-

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promiſed not long before that time. When they came thither, they found a great ſickneſſe to be
A Plague. amongſt the *Indians*, not vnlike the Plague, if not the ſame. They renued their complaints to our Gouernour, againſt that other Plantation ſeated by them, for their iniurious walking. But
Note. indeede the trade both for Furres and Corne was ouerthrowne in that place, they giuing as much for a quart of Corne, as we vſed to doe for a Beauers skin; ſo that little good could be there done. From thence they returned into the bottome of the Bay of Cape *Cod*, to a place called *Nauſet*, where the *Sachim* vſed the Gouernour very kindely, and where they bought eight or ten hogſheads of Corne and Beanes. Alſo at a place called *Mattachieſt*, where they had like kinde entertainment and Corne alſo. During the time of their trade in theſe places, there were ſo great and violent ſtormes, as the Ship was much endangered, and our Shallop caſt away, ſo that they had now no meanes to carry the Corne aboard that they had bought, the Ship riding by their report well neere two leagues from the ſame, her owne Boate being ſmall, and ſo leake (hauing no Carpenter with them) as they durſt ſcarce fetch wood or water in her. Hereupon the Gouernour cauſed the Corne to be made in a round ſtacke, and bought Mats, and cut Sedge to couer it, and gaue charge to the *Indians* not to meddle with it, promiſing him that dwelt next to it a reward, if he would keepe vermine alſo from it, which he vndertooke, and the *Sachim* promiſed to make good. In the meane time, according to the Gouernors requeſt, the *Sachim* ſent men to ſeek
Honeſt Sauages. the Shallop, which they found buried almoſt in ſand at a high-water marke, hauing many things remaining in her, but vnſeruiceable for the preſent; whereof the Gouernour gaue the *Sachim* ſpeciall charge that it ſhould not be further broken. And hauing procured a Guide, it being no leſſe then fiftie miles to our Plantation, ſet forward, receiuing all reſpect that could be from the *Indians* in his iourney, and came ſafely home, though weary and ſurbated, whether ſome three dayes after the Ship alſo came. The Corne being diuided which they had got, Maſter *Weſtons* Company went to their owne Plantation, it being further agreed, that they ſhould returne with all conuenient ſpeede, and bring their Carpenter, that they might fetch the reſt of the Corne, and ſaue their Shallop.

At their returne Captaine *Standiſh* being recouered and in health, tooke another Shallop, and went with them to the Corne, which they found in ſafety as they left it: alſo they mended the other Shallop, and got all their Corne aboard the Ship. This was in Ianuary, as I take it, it being very cold and ſtormy, inſomuch as (the harbour being none of the beſt) they were conſtrained to cut both the Shallops from the Ships ſterne, and ſo loſt them both a ſecond time. Bnt the ſtorme being ouer, and ſeeking out, they found them both, not hauing receiued any great hurt. Whileſt they were at *Nauſet*, hauing occaſion to lye on the ſhoare, laying their Shallop in a Creeke not farre from them, an *Indian* came into the ſame, and ſtole certaine Beads, Ciſſers, and other trifles out of the ſame, which when the Captaine miſſed, he tooke certaine of his company with him, and went to the *Sachim*, telling him what had hapned, and requiring the ſame againe, or the party that ſtole them (who was knowne to certaine of the *Indians*) or elſe he would reuenge it on them before his departure, and ſo tooke leaue for that night being late, refuſing whatſoeuer kindneſſe they offered. On the morrow, the *Sachim* came to their randeuow, accompanied with many men, in a ſtately manner, who ſaluting the Captaine in this wiſe; He thruſt out his tongue, that one might ſee the roote thereof, and therewith licked his hand from the wriſt to the fingers end, withall bowing the knee, ſtriuing to imitate the *Engliſh* geſture, being inſtructed therein formerly by *Tiſquantum*: his men did the like, but in ſo rude and Sauage a manner, as our men could ſcarce forbeare to breake out in open laughter. After ſalutation, he deliuered the Beads, and other things to the Captaine, ſaying, he had much beaten the party for doing it, cauſing the women to make Bread, and bring them, according to their deſire, ſeeming to be very ſorry for the fact, but glad to be reconciled. So they departed, and came home in ſafety; where the Corne was equally diuided, as before.

Namaſket. Manomet. After this, the Gouernour went to two other inland Townes, with another Company, and bought Corne likewiſe of them, the one is called *Namaſket*, the other *Manomet*. That from *Namaſket* was brought home partly by *Indian* women; but a great ſickneſſe ariſing amongſt them, our owne men were inforced to fetch home the reſt. That at *Manomet* the Gouernour left in the *Sachims* cuſtody: this Towne lieth from vs South well neere twenty miles, and ſtands vpon a freſh Riuer, which runneth into the Bay of *Nanobigganſet*, and cannot be leſſe then ſixty miles from thence. It will beare a Boat of eight or ten tun to this place. Hither the *Dutch*, or *French*, or both vſe to come. It is from hence to the Bay of Cape *Cod* about eight miles; out of which Bay it floweth into a Creeke ſome ſix miles almoſt direct towards the Towne. The heads of the Riuer, and this Creeke, are not farre diſtant. This Riuer yeeldeth thus high, Oyſters, Muſcles, Clams, and other Shel-fiſh, one in ſhape like a Beane, another like a Clam, both good meate, and great abundance at all times; beſides it aboundeth with diuers ſorts of freſh fiſh in their ſeaſons. The Gouernour or *Sachim* of this place, was called *Canacum*, who had formerly, as well as many others (yea all with whom as yet we had to doe) acknowledged themſelues the Subiects of our Soueraigne Lord the King. This *Sachim* vſed the Gouernour very kindely, and it ſeemed was of good reſpect and authority amongſt the *Indians*. For whileſt the Gouernour was there within

night

night in bitter weater, came two men from *Mamamoick*, before spoken of, and hauing set aside their Bowes and Quiuers, according to their manner, sat down by the fire, and tooke a pipe of Tobacco, not vsing any words in that time, nor any other to them, but all remained silent, expecting when they would speake: At length they looked toward *Canacum*, and one of them made a short speech, and deliuered a present to him from his *Sachim*, which was a basket of Tobacco, and many Beades, which the other receiued thankfully. After which, he made a long speech to him, the contents hereof was related to vs by *Hobbamock* (who then accompanied the Gouernour for his Guide) to be as followeth; It hapned that two of their men fell out as they were in game (for they vse gaming as much as any where, and will play away all, euen their skin from their backs, yea and for their wiues skins also, though it may be they are many miles distant from them, as my selfe haue seene) and growing to great heat, the one killed the other. The actor of this fact was a *Pawaw*, one of speciall note amongst them, and such an one as they could not well misse, yet another people greater then themselues threatned them with warre, if they would not put him to death. The partie offending was in hold, neither would their *Sachim* doe one way or other till their returne, resting vpon him for aduice and furtherance in so weightie a matter. After this there was silence a short time; at length men gaue their iudgement what they thought best. Amongst others, he asked *Hobbamock* what he thought? Who answered, he was but a stranger to them, but thought it was better that one should die then many, since he had deserued it, and the rest were innocent; whereupon he passed the sentence of death vpon him. Sauages great gamsters.

Not long after (hauing no great quantitie of Corne left) Captaine *Standish* went againe with a Shallop to *Matachiest*, meeting also with the like extremitie of weather, both of winde, Snow, and Frost, insomuch as they were frozen in the harbour the first night they entred the same. Here they pretended their wonted loue, and spared them a good quantitie of Corne to confirme the same: Strangers also came to this place, pretending onely to see him and his Companie, whom they neuer saw before that time; but intending to ioyne with the rest to kill them, as after appeared. But being forced through extremitie to lodge in their houses, which they much pressed, God possessed the heart of the Captaine with iust iealousie, giuing strait command, that as one part of his Companie slept, the rest should wake, declaring some things to them which he vnderstood, whereof he could make no good construction. Some of the *Indians* spying a fit opportunitie, stole some Beades also from him, which he no sooner perceiued, hauing not aboue six men with him, drew them all from the Boat, and set them on their guard about the *Sachims* house, where the most of the people were, threatning to fall vpon them without further delay, if they would not forthwith restore them, signifying to the *Sachim* especially, and so to them all, that as he would not offer the least iniurie, so he would not receiue any at their hands, which should escape without punishment or due satisfaction. Hereupon the *Sachim* bestirred him to finde out the partie, which when he had done, caused him to returne them againe to the Shallop, and came to the Captaine, desiring him to search whether they were not about the Boat, who suspecting their knauerie, sent one, who found them lying openly vpon the Boats cuddy; yet to appease his anger, they brought Corne afresh to trade, insomuch as he laded his Shallop, and so departed. This accident so daunted their courage, as they durst not attempt any thing against him. So that through the good mercy and prouidence of God they returned in safetie. At this place the *Indians* get abundance of Basse both Summer and Winter, for it being now February they abounded with them. Iust iealousie. Base Summer and Winter.

In the beginning of March, hauing refreshed himselfe, he tooke a Shallop, and went to *Manomet*, to fetch home that which the Gouernour had formerly bought, hoping also to get more from them, but was deceiued in his expectation, not finding that entertainment he found elsewhere, and the Gouernour had there receiued. The reason whereof, and of the trecherie intended in the place before spoken of, was not then knowne vnto vs, but afterwards; wherein may be obserued the abundant mercies of God working with his prouidence for our good. Captaine *Standish* being now farre from the Boat, and not aboue two or three of our men with him, and as many with the Shallop, was not long at *Canacum* the *Sachims* house, but in came two of the *Massachusets* men, the chiefe of them was called *Wituwamat*, a notable insulting villaine, one who had formerly imbrued his hands in the bloud of *English* and *French*, and had oft boasted of his owne valour, and derided their weakneſſe, especially because (as he said) they died crying, making sowre faces, more like children then men. This villaine tooke a dagger from about his necke (which hee had gotten of Master *Westons* people) and presented it to the *Sachim*, and after made a long speech in an audacious manner, framing it in such sort, as the Captaine (though he be the best Linguist amongst vs) could not gather any thing from it. The end of it was afterward discouered to be as followeth: The *Massachusenewkes* formerly concluded to ruinate Master *Westons* Colonie, and thought themselues, being about thirty or forty men strong, enough to execute the same: yet they durst not attempt it, till such time as they had gathered more strength to themselues to make their partie good against vs at *Plimoth*, concluding, that if wee remained (though they had no other Arguments to vse against vs) yet wee would neuer leaue the death of

our Countrimen vnreuenged, and therefore their ſafetie could not be without the ouerthrow of both Plantations. To this end they had formerly ſolicited this *Sachim*, as alſo the other called *Ianough* at *Mattachieſt*, and many others to aſſiſt them, and now againe came to proſecute the ſame; and ſince there was ſo faire an opportunitie offered by the Captaines preſence, they thought beſt to make ſure him and his Company. After this meſſage was deliuered, his entertainment much exceeded the Captaines, inſomuch as hee ſcorned at their behauiour, and told them of it: after which, they would haue perſwaded him, becauſe the weather was cold, to haue ſent to the Boate for the reſt of his Company, but he would not, deſiring according to promiſe, that the Corne might be carried downe, and he would content the women for their labour, which they did. At the ſame time there was a luſty *Indian* of *Paomet* or Cape *Cod* then preſent, who had euer demeaned himſelfe well towards vs, being in his generall carriage very affable, courteous, and louing, eſpecially towards the Captaine. This Sauage was now entred into confederacie with the reſt, yet to auoide ſuſpition, made many ſignes of his continued affections, and would needes beſtow a Kettle of ſome ſix or ſeuen gallons on him, and would not accept of any thing in lieu thereof, ſaying, he was rich, and could afford to beſtow ſuch fauours on his friends whom he loued: alſo hee would freely helpe to carry ſome of the Corne, affirming he had neuer done the like in his life before, and the winde being bad would needes lodge with him at their Randeuow, hauing indeede vndertaken to kill him before they parted, which done they intended to fall vpon the reſt. The night proued exceeding cold, inſomuch as the Captaine could not take any reſt, but either walked or turned himſelfe to and fro at the fire: This the other obſerued, and asked wherefore he did not ſleepe as at other times, who anſwered he knew not well, but had no deſire at all to reſt. So that he then miſt his opportunity. The winde ſeruing on the next day, they returned home, accompanied with the other *Indian*, who vſed many arguments to perſwade them to go to *Paomet*, where himſelf had much Corne, and many other, the moſt wherof he would procure for vs, ſeeming to ſorrow for our wants. Once the Captaine put forth with him, and was forced backe by contrary winde; which winde ſerued for the *Maſſachuſet*, was fitted to goe thither. But on a ſudden it altered againe.

Dutch Ship. During the time that the Captaine was at *Manomet*, newes came to *Plimoth* that *Maſſaſſowat* was like to die, and that at the ſame time there was a *Dutch* Ship driuen ſo high on the ſhoare by ſtreſſe of weather, right before his dwelling, that till the tides encreaſed, ſhe could not be got off. Now it being a commendable manner of the *Indians*, when any (eſpecially of note) are dangerouſly ſicke, for all that profeſſe friendſhip to them, to viſit them in their extremity, either in their perſons, or elſe to ſend ſome acceptable perſons to them, therefore it was thought meete (being a good and warrantable action) that as we had euer profeſſed friendſhip, ſo we ſhould now maintaine the ſame, by obſeruing this their laudable cuſtome: and the rather, becauſe we deſired to haue ſome conference with the *Dutch*, not knowing when we ſhould haue ſo fit an opportunity. To that end my ſelfe hauing formerly beene there, and vnderſtanding in ſome meaſure the *Dutch* tongue, the Gouernour againe laid this ſeruice vpon my ſelfe, and fitted me with ſome cordials to adminiſter to him, hauing one Maſter *Iohn Hamden* a Gentleman of *London* (who then wintered with vs, and deſired much to ſee the Country) for my Conſort, and *Hobbamocke* for our guide. So we ſet forward, and lodged the firſt night at *Namaſket*, where we had friendly entertainment.

Viſitations of the ſicke.

Reports of *Maſſaſſowats* death. The next day about one of the clock, we came to a ferrie in *Combatants* Country, where vpon diſcharge of my Peece, diuers *Indians* came to vs from a houſe not far off. There they told vs, that *Maſſaſſowat* was dead, and that day buried, and that the *Dutch* would be gone before we could get thither, hauing houe off their Ship already. This newes ſtrucke vs blanke; but eſpecially *Hobbamocke*, who deſired we might returne with all ſpeede. I told him I would firſt thinke of it, conſidering now that he being dead, *Combatant* was the moſt like to ſucceede him, and that we were not aboue three miles from *Mattapuyſt* his dwelling place, although he were but a hollow-hearted friend towards vs, I thought no time ſo fit as this, to enter into more friendly tearmes with him, and the reſt of the *Sachims* thereabout, hoping (through the bleſſing of God) it would be a meanes in that vnſetled ſtate, to ſettle their affections towards vs, and though it were ſomewhat dangerous, in reſpect of our perſonall ſafety, becauſe my ſelfe and *Hobbamocke* had beene imployed vpon a ſeruice againſt him, which he might now fitly reuenge; yet eſteeming it the beſt meanes, leauing the euent to God in his mercy, I reſolued to put it in practiſe, if Maſter *Hamden* and *Hobbamock* durſt attempt it with me, whom I found willing to that or any other courſe might tend to the generall good. So we went towards *Mattapuyſt*. In the way, *Hobbamocke* manifeſting a troubled ſpirit, brake forth into theſe ſpeeches, *Neen womaſu Sagimus, neen womaſu Sagimus, &c.* My louing *Sachim*, my louing *Sachim*. Many haue I knowne, but neuer any like thee: And turning him to me ſaid; Whileſt I liued, I ſhould neuer ſee his like amongſt the *Indians*, ſaying, he was no lyer, he was not bloudy and cruell like other *Indians*; In anger and paſſion he was ſoone reclaimed, eaſie to be reconciled towards ſuch as had offended him, ruled by reaſon in ſuch meaſure, as he would not ſcorne the aduice of meane men, and that he gouerned his men better with few ſtroakes then others did with many; truely louing where he loued; yea, he feared we had not

His commendation.

a faith

a faithfull friend left among the *Indians*, ſhewing how he oft-times reſtrained their malice, &c. continuing a long ſpeech with ſuch ſignes of lamentation and vnfeined ſorrow, as it would haue made the hardeſt heart relent.

At length we came to *Matapuyſt*, and went to the *Sachims Comaco* (for ſo they called the *Sachims* place, though they call an ordinary houſe *Witeo*) but *Combatant* the *Sachim* was not at home, but at *Puckanokick*, which was ſome fiue or ſix miles off; the *Squa-ſachim* (for ſo they call *Sachims* wife) gaue vs friendly entertainment. Here we enquired againe concerning *Maſſaſſowat*; they thought him dead, but knew no certainty; wherupon I hired one to goe with all expedition to *Puckanokick*, that we might know the certainty thereof, and withall to acquaint *Combatant* with our there being. About halfe an houre before Sun-ſetting, the meſſenger returned, and told vs that he was not yet dead, though there was no hope we ſhould finde him liuing. Vpon this we were much reuiued, and ſet forward with all ſpeede, though it was late within night ere we got thither. About two of the clock that afternoone the *Dutchmen* departed, ſo that in that reſpect our iournie was fruſtrate. When we came thither, we found the houſe ſo full of men, as we could ſcarce get in, though they vſed their beſt diligence to make way for vs. There were they in the middeſt of their charmes for him, making ſuch a helliſh noiſe, as it diſtempered vs that were well, and therefore vnlike to eaſe him that was ſicke. About him were ſix or eight women, who chafed his armes, legs, and thighes, to keep heat in him: when they had made an end of their charming, one told him that his friends the *Engliſh* were come to ſee him (hauing vnderſtanding left, but his ſight was wholly gone) he asked who was come, they told him *Winſnow* (for they cannot pronounce the letter l, but ordinarily n in the place thereof) he deſired to ſpeake with me: when I came to him, & they told him of it, he put forth his hand to me, which I took; then he ſaid twice, though very inwardly, *keen Winſnow*, which is to ſay, art thou *Winſlow*? I anſwered, *ahhe*, that is, yes; then he doubled theſe words, *Matta neen wonckanet namen Winſnow*; that is to ſay, *O Winſlow I ſhall neuer ſee thee againe*. Then I called *Hobbamock*, and deſired him to tell *Maſſaſſowat*, that the Gouernor hearing of his ſicknes, was ſorry for the ſame, & though by reaſon of many buſineſſes he could not come himſelfe, yet he ſent me with ſuch things for him as he thought moſt likely, to doe him good in this extremity, and whereof if he pleaſed to take, I would preſently giue him; which he deſired, and hauing a confection of many comfortable Conſerues, on the point of my Knife I gaue him ſome, which I could ſcarce get thorow his teeth; when it was diſſolued in his mouth, he ſwallowed the iuice of it, whereat thoſe that were about him much reioyced, ſaying, he had not ſwallowed any thing in two daies before. Then I deſired to ſee his mouth, which was exceedingly furred, and his tongue ſwelled in ſuch manner, as it was not poſſible for him to eat ſuch meat as they had, his paſſage being ſtopt vp. Then I waſhed his mouth, and ſcraped his tongue, & got abundance of corruption out of the ſame. After which, I gaue him more of the confection, which he ſwallowed with more readines; then he deſired to drinke, I diſſolued ſome of it in water, and gaue him thereof: within halfe an houre this wrought a great alteration in him in the eies of all that beheld him; preſently after his ſight began to come to him. In the meane time I inquired how he ſlept, and when he went to ſtoole? They ſaid he ſlept not in two daies before, & had not had a ſtoole in fiue; then I gaue him more, and told him of a miſhap we had by the way in breaking a bottle of drink, which the Gouernour alſo ſent him, ſaying, if he would ſend any of his men to *Patuxet*, I would ſend for more of the ſame, alſo for Chickens to make him broth, & for other things which I knew were good for him, and would ſtay the returne of the Meſſenger, if he deſired. This he tooke maruellous kindly, and appointed ſome, who were ready to go by two of the clock in the morning, againſt which time I made ready a Letter, declaring therein our good ſucceſſe, the ſtate of his body &c. deſiring to ſend ſuch things as I ſent for, and ſuch phyſicke as the Surgion durſt adminiſter to him. He requeſted me that the day following, I would take my Peece, and kill him ſome Fowle, and make him ſome *Engliſh* pottage, ſuch as he had eaten at *Plimoth*, which I promiſed: after his ſtomacke comming to him, I muſt needes make him ſome without Fowle, before I went abroad, which ſomewhat troubled me; but being I muſt doe ſomewhat, I cauſed a woman to bruiſe ſome Corne, and take the flower from it, and ſet ouer the grut or broken Corne in a Pipkin (for they haue earthen Pots of all ſizes.) When the day broke, we went out (it being now March) to ſeeke hearbes, but could not finde any but Strawberrie leaues, of which I gathered a handful & put into the ſame, and becauſe I had nothing to reliſh it, I went forth againe, and pulled vp a Saxafras root, and ſliced a peece thereof, and boiled it till it had a good reliſh, and then tooke it out againe. The broth being boiled, I ſtrained it thorow my handkerchiffe, and gaue him at leaſt a pinte, which he dranke, and liked it very well. After this, his ſight mended more and more, alſo he had three moderate ſtooles, and tooke ſome reſt: Inſomuch, as we with admiration bleſſed God for giuing his bleſſing to ſuch raw and ignorant meanes, making no doubt of his recouery, himſelfe and all of them acknowledging vs the inſtruments of his preſeruation. That morning he cauſed me to ſpend in going from one to another amongſt thoſe that were ſicke in the Town, requeſting me to waſh their mouthes alſo, and giue to each of them ſome of the ſame I gaue him, ſaying, they were good folke. This paines I tooke with willingneſſe, though it were much offenſiue to me, not being accuſtomed with ſuch poiſonous ſauours.

Miſerable comforters.

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The Meſſengers were now returned, but finding his ſtomacke come to him, he would not haue the Chickens killed, but kept them for breede. Neither durſt we giue him any phyſicke which was then ſent, becauſe his body was ſo much altered ſince our inſtructions, neither ſaw we any neede, not doubting now of his recouery, if he were carefull. Many whileſt we were there came to ſee him, ſome by their report from a place not leſſe then an hundred miles. Vpon this his recouery, he brake forth into theſe ſpeeches; Now I ſee the *Engliſh* are my friends and loue me, and whileſt I liue I will neuer forget this kindeneſſe they haue ſhewed me. Whileſt wee were there, our entertainment exceeded all other ſtrangers. At our comming away, he called *Hobbamocke* to him, and priuately (none hearing ſaue two or three other of his *Pueeſes*, who are of his Counſell) reuealed the plot of the *Maſſachenſeucks* before ſpoken of, againſt Maſter *Weſtons* Colony, and ſo againſt vs, ſaying that the people of *Nauſet*, *Paomet*, *Succonet Mattachieſt*, *Manomet Agowaywam*, and the Ile of *Capawack*, were ioyned with them; himſelfe alſo in his ſickeneſſe was earneſtly ſollicited, but he would neither ioyne therein, nor giue way to any of his. Therefore as we reſpected the liues of our Countrimen, and our owne after-ſafety, he aduiſed vs to kill the men of *Maſſachuſet*, who were the authors of this intended miſchiefe. And whereas we were wont to ſay, we would not ſtrike a ſtroke till they firſt began; if ſaid he vpon this intelligence, they make that anſwer, tell them, when their Countrimen at *Wichaguſcuſſet* are killed, they being not able to defend themſelues, that then it will be too late to recouer their liues, nay through the multitude of aduerſaries they ſhall with great difficultie preſerue their own, & therefore he counſelled without delay to take away the principals, and then the plot would ceaſe. With this hee charged him thorowly to acquaint me by the way, that I might informe the Gouernour thereof at my firſt comming home. Being fitted for our returne, we tooke our leaue of him, who returned many thankes to our Gouernour, and alſo to our ſelues for our labour and loue: the like did all that were about him. So we departed.

He reuealeth the trechery of the *Maſſachuſets*.

That night, thorow the earneſt requeſt of *Combatant*, who till now remained at *Sawams* or *Puckanukick*, we lodged with him at *Mattapuyſt*. By the way I had much conference with him, ſo likewiſe at his houſe, he being a notable politician, yet full of merry ieſts and ſquibs, and neuer better pleaſed then when the like are returned againe vpon him. Amongſt other things he asked me, If in caſe he were thus dangerouſly ſicke, as *Maſſaſſowat* had beene, and ſhould ſend word thereof to *Patuxet* for *Maskiet*, that is, Phyſicke, whether then Maſter Gouernour would ſend it? and if he would, whether I would come therewith to him? To both which I anſwered yea; whereat he gaue me many ioyfull thankes. After that, being at his houſe, he demanded further, how we durſt being but two come ſo farre into the Country? I anſwered, where was true loue there was no feare, and my heart was ſo vpright towards them, that for mine owne part I was feareleſſe to come amongſt them. But, ſaid he, if your loue be ſuch, and it bring forth ſuch fruits, how commeth it to paſſe, that when we come to *Patuxet*, you ſtand vpon your guard, with the mouthes of your Peeces preſented towards vs? Whereupon I anſwered, it was the moſt honorable and reſpectiue entertainment we could giue them; it being an order amongſt vs ſo to receiue our beſt reſpected friends: and as it was vſed on the Land, ſo the Ships obſerued it alſo at Sea, which *Hobbamock* knew, and had ſeene obſerued. But ſhaking the head, he anſwered, that he liked not ſuch ſalutations.

Further, obſeruing vs to craue a bleſſing on our meate before we did eate, and after to giue thankes for the ſame, he asked vs what was the meaning of that ordinary cuſtome? Hereupon I tooke occaſion to tell them of Gods workes of Creation, and Preſeruation, of the Lawes and Ordinances, eſpecially of the ten Commandements, all which they hearkned vnto with great attention, and liked well of; onely the ſeuenth Commandement they excepted againſt, thinking there were many inconueniences in it, that a man ſhould be tied to one woman: about which we reaſoned a good time. Alſo I told them, that whatſoeuer good things we had, we receiued from God, as the Author and giuer thereof, and therefore craued his bleſſing vpon that we had, and were about to eate, that it might nouriſh and ſtrengthen our bodies, and hauing eaten ſufficient, being ſatisfied therewith, we againe returned thankes to the ſame our God for that our refreſhing, &c. This all of them concluded to be very well, and ſaid, they beleeued almoſt all the ſame things, and that the ſame power that we called God, they called *Kietſtan*. Much profitable conference was occaſioned hereby, which would be too tedious to relate, yet was no leſſe delightfull to them, then comfortable to vs. Here we remained onely that night, but neuer had better entertainment amongſt any of them.

Their name of God.

The day following, in our iourney, *Hobbamocke* told me of the priuate conference he had with *Maſſaſſowat*, and how he charged him perfectly to acquaint me therewith (as I ſhewed before) which hauing done, he vſed many arguments himſelfe to moue vs thereunto: That night we lodged at *Namaſket*, and the day following about the mid-way betweene it and home, we met two *Indians*, who told vs that Captaine *Standiſh* was that day gone to the *Maſſachuſets*: but contrary windes againe draue him backe, ſo that we found him at home; where the *Indian* of *Paomet* ſtill was, being very importunate that the Captaine ſhould take the firſt opportunitie of a faire winde to goe with him, but their ſecret and villanous purpoſes being through Gods mercy

now

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now made knowne, the Gouernour caused Captaine *Standish* to send him away without any distaste or manifestation of anger, that we might the better effect and bring to passe that which should be thought most necessary.

Before this iourney we heard many complaints both by the *Indians* and some others of best desert amongst Master *Westons* Colony, how exceedingly their Company abased themselues by vndirect meanes, to get victuals from the *Indians*, who dwelt not farre from them, fetching them wood & water, &c. and all for a meales meate, whereas in the meane time, they might with diligence haue gotten enough to haue serued them three or foure times. Other by night brake the earth, and robbed the *Indians* store, for which they had beene publiquely stocked and whipt, and yet was there small amendment. This was about the end of February, at which time they had spent all their Bread and Corne, not leauing any for Seede, neither would the *Indians* lend or sell them any more vpon any tearmes. Hereupon they had thought to take it by violence, and to that spiked vp euery entrance into their Towne (being well impaled) saue one, with a full resolution to proceede. But some more honestly minded, aduised *Iohn Sanders* their Ouer-seer first to write to *Plimoth*, and if the Gouernor aduised him thereunto, he might the better doe it. They sent, and our Gouernour writ diuers reasons of dislike. With these Letters wee dispatched the Messenger; Vpon the receipt whereof they altered their determination, resoluing to shift as they could, till the returne of *Iohn Sanders* from *Munbiggen*, who first comming to *Plimoth*, notwithstanding our owne necessities, the Gouernour spared him some Corne to carrie them to *Munbiggen*. But not hauing sufficient for the Ships store, he tooke a Shallop, and leauing others with instructions to ouer-see things till his returne, set forward about the end of February, so that he knew not of this conspiracie of the *Indians* before his going, neither was it knowne to any of vs till our returne from *Sawaams* or *Paskunkick*: as which time also another *Sachim* called *Wassapinewat*, brother to *Obtakiest* the *Sachem* of the *Massachusets*, who had formerly smarted for partaking with *Conbatant*, and fearing the like againe, to purge himselfe, reuealed the same thing.

The three and twentieth of March being now come, which is a yearely Court day, the Gouernour hauing a double testimony, and many circumstances agreeing with the truth thereof, not being to vndertake warre without the consent of the body of the Company; made knowne the same in publique Court. We came to this conclusion, That Captaine *Standish* should take so many men as he thought sufficient to make his party good against all the *Indians* in the *Massachusets* Bay; & because (as all men know that haue had to doe in that kinde) it is impossible to deale with them vpon open defiance, but to take them in such traps as they lay for others; therfore he should pretend trade as at other times: but first goe to the *English*, & acquaint them with the plot, & the end of his owne comming, that comparing it with their carriages towards them, he might better iudge of the certainty of it, and more fitly take opportunity to reuenge the same: but should forbeare if it were possible till such time as he could make sure *Witiwamat*, that bloudy & bold villain before spoken of, whose head he had order to bring with him, that hee might be a warning and terrour to all that disposition. Vpon this, Captaine *Standish* made choice of eight men, and would not take more because he would preuent iealousie, knowing their guilty consciences would soone be prouoked thereunto: but on the next day before he could goe, came one of Master *Westons* Company by land vnto vs, with his packe at his backe, who made a pittifull narration of their lamentable and weake estate, and of the *Indians* carriages, whose boldnesse increased abundantly, insomuch as the victuals they got, they would take it out of their Pots and eate before their faces, yea if in any thing they gaine-said them, they were ready to hold a Knife at their breasts; that to giue them content, since *Iohn Sanders* went to *Munbiggen*, they had hanged one of them that stole their Corne, and yet they regarded it not: that another of their Company was turned Sauage, that their people had most forsaken the Towne, and made their randeuous where they got their victuals, because they would not take paines to bring it home: that they had sold their cloathes for Corne, and were ready to starue both with cold and hunger also, because they could not indure to get victuals by reason of their nakednesse: and that they were dispersed into three Companies, scarce hauing any Powder and Shot left. As this Relation was grieuous to vs, so it gaue vs good encouragement to proceede in our intendments, for which Captaine *Standish* was now fitted, and the winde comming faire, the next day set forth for the *Massachusets*.

Indians insolence.

The *Indians* at the *Massachusets* missed this man, and suspecting his comming to vs, as wee conceiue, sent one after him, and gaue out there that he would neuer come to *Patuxet*, but that some Wolues or Beares would eate him: but we know not by our owne experience, and the report of others, that though they finde a man sleeping, yet so soone as there is life discerned, they feare and shun him. This *Indian* missed him but very little, and missing him passed by the towne and went to *Manomet*, whom we hoped to take at his returne, as afterward we did. Now was our Fort made fit for seruice and some Ordnance mounted; and though it may seeme long worke it being ten moneths since it begun, yet we must note, that where so great a worke is begun with such small meanes, a little time cannot bring to perfection: beside those workes which tend to

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the preseruation of man, the enemy of mankinde will hinder what in him lieth, sometimes blinding the iudgement, and causing reasonable men to reason against their own safety. The *Indian* last mentioned in his returne from *Monomet*, came through the Towne, pretending still friendship and in loue to see vs, but as formerly others, so his end was to see whether wee continued still in health and strength, or fell into weakenesse like their neighbours, which they hoped and looked for (though God in mercy prouided better for vs) and hee knew would be glad tydings to his Countrie men. But here the Gouernour staid him, and sending for him to the Fort, there gaue the Guard charge of him as their prisoner, where he told him hee must be contented to remaine till the return of Captain *Standish* from the *Massachusets*, so he was locked in a chaine to a staple in the Court of guard, and there kept. Thus was our Fort hanselled, this being the first day as I take it, that euer any watch was there kept.

The Captaine being now come to the *Massachusets*, went first to the Ship, but found neither man, or so much as a Dogge therein: vpon the discharge of a Musket the Master and some others of the Plantation shewed themselues, who were on the shore gathering ground-nuts, and getting other foode. After salutation, Captaine *Standish* asked them how they durst so leaue the Ship, and liue in such security, who answered like men senselesse of their owne misery, they feared not the *Indians* but liued and suffered them to lodge with them, not hauing Sword or Gunne, or needing the same. To which the Captaine answered, if there were no cause he was the gladder, but vpon further inquiry, vnderstanding that those in whom *Iohn Sanders* had reposed most speciall confidence and left in his stead to gouerne the rest, were at the Plantation: thither he went, and to be briefe, made knowne the *Indians* purpose, and the end of his owne comming, as also (which formerly I omitted) that if afterward they durst not there stay, it was the intendment of the Gouernours and people of *Plimouth* there to receiue them till they could be better prouided: but if they conceiued of any other course that might be more likely for their good, that himselfe should further them therein to the vttermost of his power. These men comparing other circumstances with that they now heard, answered, they could expect no better, and it was Gods mercy that they were not killed before his comming, desiring therefore that he would neglect no opportunity to proceede: Hereupon he aduised them to secrecy, yet withall to send speciall command to one third of their Company that were farthest off to come home, and there enioyne them on paine of death to keepe the Towne, himselfe allowing them a pint of *Indian* Corne to a man for a day (though that store he had was spared out of our Seede.) The weather prouing very wet and stormy, it was the longer before he could doe any thing.

In the meane time an *Indian* came to him and brought some Furres, but rather to gather what he could from the Captaines, then comming then for trade; and though the Captaine carried things as smoothly as possibly he could, yet at his returne he reported he saw by his eyes that he was angry in his heart, and therefore began to suspect themselues discouered. This caused one *Peckſuot* who was a *Pinese*, being a man of a notable spirit to come to *Hobbamock* who was then with them, and told him hee vnderstood that the Captaine was come to kill himselfe and the rest of the Sauages there; tell him, said he, we know it, but feare him not, neither will we shun him; but let him begin when he dare, he shall not take vs at vnawares: many times after, diuers of them seuerally, or few together, came to the Plantation to him, where they would whet and sharpen the point of their Knives before his face, and vse many other insulting gestures and speeches. Amongst the rest, *Wituwamat* bragged of the excellency of his Knife, on the end of the handle there was pictured a womans face, but said hee, I haue another at home wherewith I haue killed both *French* and *English*, and that hath a mans face on it, and by and by these two must marry: Further he said of that Knife he there had; *Hiwusim namen, hiwusim michen, mattacus*: that is to say, *By and by it should see, and by and by it should eate, but not speake.* Also *Peckſuot* being a man of greater stature then the Captaine, told him, though he were a great Captaine, yet he was but a little man: and said he, though I be no *Sachim*, yet I am a man of great strength and courage. These things the Captaine obserued, yet bare with patience for the present. On the next day, seeing he could not get many of them together at once, and this *Peckſuot* and *Wituwamat* both together, with another man, and a youth of some eighteene yeares of age, which was brother to *Wituwamat*, and villaine-like trode in his steps, daily putting many tricks vpon the weaker sort of men, and hauing about as many of his owne Company in a roome with them, gaue the word to his men, and the doore being fast shut, began himselfe with *Peckſuot*, and snatching his owne Knife from his necke, though with much struggling, killed him therewith, the point whereof he had made as sharpe as a needle, and ground the backe also to an edge: *Wituwamat* and the other man, the rest killed, and tooke the youth, whom the Captaine caused to be hanged; but it is incredible how many wounds these two *Pursers* receiued before they died, not making any fearefull noyse, but catching at their weapons and striuing to the last. *Hobbamock* stood by all this time as a spectator and medled not, obseruing how our men demeaned themselues in this action; all being here ended, smiling, he brake forth into these speeches to the Captaine; Yesterday *Peckſuot* bragging of his owne strength and stature, said, though you were a great Captaine, yet you were but a little man; but to day I see you are big enough to lay him

Sauages slain.

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on the ground. But to proceede, there being some women at the same time, Captaine *Standish* left them in the custody of Master *Westons* people at the Towne, and sent word to another Company that had intelligence of things to kill those *Indian* men that were amongst them, these killed two more: himselfe also with some of his owne men went to another place, where they killed another, and through the negligence of one man an *Indian* escaped, who discouered and crossed their proceedings.

Not long before this Execution, three of Master *Westons* men, which more regarded their bellies then any command or Commander, hauing formerly fared well with the *Indians* for making them Canoes, went againe to the *Sachim* to offer their seruice, and had entertainment. The first night they came thither within night late came a Messenger with all speede, and deliuered a sad and short message: Whereupon all the men gathered together, put on their Bootes and Breeches, trussed vp themselues, and tooke their Bowes and Arrowes and went forth, telling them they went a hunting, and that at their returne they should haue Venison enough. Being now gone, one being more ancient and wise then the rest, calling former things to minde, especially the Captaines presence, and the strait charge, that on paine of death none should goe a Musket shot from the Plantation; and comparing this sudden departure of theirs therewith, began to dislike and wish himselfe at home againe, which was further of then diuers other dwelt: Hereupon he moued his fellowes to returne, but could not perswade them: so there being none but women left, and the other that was turned Sauage, about midnight came away, forsaking the paths lest he should be pursued, and by this meanes saued his life. Sauage *Englishmen.*

Captaine *Standish* tooke the one halfe of his men, and one or two of Master *Westons*, and *Hobbamock*, still seeking to make spoyle of them and theirs. At length they espied a file of *Indians* which made towards them amayne, and there being a small aduantage in the ground by reason of a Hill neere them, both Companies strone for it. Captain *Standish* got it, whereupon they retreated and tooke each man his Tree, letting flie their Arrowes amayne, especially at himselfe and *Hobbamocke*, whereupon *Hobbamocke* cast off his coate, and being a knowne *Pinese*, (theirs being now killed) chased them so fast, as our people were not able to hold way with him, insomuch as our men could haue but one certaine marke, and then but the arme and halfe face of a notable villaine as hee drew at Captaine *Standish*, who together with another both discharged at him, and brake his arme; whereupon they fled into a swampe, when they were in the thicket they parlied, but to small purpose, getting nothing but foule language. So our Captain dared the *Sachim* to come out and fight like a man, shewing how base and womanlike hee was in courging it as he did: but he refused and fled. So the Captaine returned to the Plantation, where hee released the women and would not take their Beauer coates from them, nor suffer the least discourtesie to bee offered them. Now were Master *Westons* people resolued to leaue their Plantation and goe for *Munbiggen*, hoping to get passage and returne with the Fishing Ships. The Captaine told them, that for his owne part hee durst there liue with fewer men then they were, yet since they were otherwayes minded, according to his order from the Gouernours and people of *Plimouth*, hee would helpe them with Corne competent for their prouision by the way, which hee did, scarce leauing himselfe more then brought them home. Some of them disliked the choice of the bodie togoe to *Munbiggen*, and therefore desiring to goe with him to *Plimouth*, hee tooke them into the Shallop: and seeing them set sayle and cleere of the *Massachusets* Bay, he tooke leaue and returned to *Plimouth*, whither hee came in safetie (blessed be God) and brought the head of *Witawamat* with him.

Amongst the rest, there was an *Indian* youth that was euer of a courteous and louing disposition towards vs, hee notwithstanding the death of his Countrimen, came to the Captaine without feare, saying, His good conscience and loue towards vs imboldned him so to doe. This youth confessed that the *Indians* intended to kil Master *Westons* people, and not to delay any longer then till they had two more Canoes or Boats, which Master *Westons* men would haue finished by this time (hauing made them three already) had not the Captaine preuented them, and the end of stay for those Boats, was to take their Ship therewith.

Now was the Captaine returned and receiued with ioy, the head being brought to the Fort and there set vp, the Gouernours and Captaines with diuers others went vp the same further, to examine the prisoner, who looked pittiously on the head, being asked whether he knew it, he answered, yea: Then he confessed the plot, and that all the people prouoked *Obtakiest* their *Sachim* thereunto, being drawne to it by their importunitie. Fiue there were (he said) that prosecuted it with more eagernesse then the rest, the two principall were killed, being *Pecksuot* and *Witawamat*, whose head was there, the other three were *Pawahs*, being yet liuing, and knowne vnto vs, though one of them was wounded, as aforesaid. For himselfe hee would not acknowledge that hee had any hand therein, begging earnestly for his life, saying, Hee was not a *Massachusets* man, but as a stranger liued with them. *Hobbamock* also gaue a good report of him, and beseeched for him, but was bribed so to doe it. Neuerthelesse, that wee might shew mercy as well as extremitie, the Gouernour released him, and the rather because we desired he might carry a message to *Obtakiest* his Master. No sooner were the Irons from his legs, but he would haue beene gone, but

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the Gouernour bid him stay and feare not, for hee should receiue no hurt, and by *Hobbamock* commanded him to deliuer his message to his Master; *That for our parts, it neuer entred into our hearts to take such a course with them, till their owne treachery enforced vs thereunto, and therefore they might thanke themselues for their owne ouerthrow, yet since hee had begun, if againe by any the like course hee did prouoke him, his Country should not hold him; for hee would neuer suffer him or his to rest in peace, till hee had vtterly consumed them, and therefore should take this as a warning. Further, that he should send to* Patuxet *the three* Englishmen *hee had and not kill them; also that hee should not spoile the Pale and Houses at* Wichaguscusset, *and that this Messenger should either bring the English, or an answer, or both, promising his safe returne.*

This message was deliuered, and the partie would haue returned with answer, but was at first disswaded by them, whom afterward they would, but could not perswade to come to vs. At length (though long) a woman came and told vs that *Obtakiest* was sorry that the *English* were killed before he heard from the Gouernour, otherwise hee would haue sent them. Also shee said, hee would faine make his peace againe with vs, but none of his men durst come to treate about it, hauing forsaken his dwelling, and daily remoued from place to place, expecting when wee would take further vengeance on him.

Concerning those other people that intended to ioyne with the *Massachusetts* against vs, though we neuer went against any of them, yet this sudden and vnexpected execution, together with the iust iudgement of God vpon their guiltie consciences, hath so terrified and amazed them, as in like manner they forsooke their houses, running to and fro like men distracted, liuing in swamps and other desert places, and so brought manifold diseases amongst themselues, whereof very many are dead, as *Canacum* the *Sachim* of *Manomet*, *Aspinet* the *Sachim* of *Nauset*, and *Iannough Sachim* of *Mattachuest*. This *Sachim* in his life, in the middest of these distractions, said, *The God of the* English *was offended with them, and would destroy them in his anger*; and certainly it is strange to heare how many of late haue, and still daily dye amongst them, neither is there any likelihood it will easily cease, because through feare they set little or no Corne, which is the staffe of life, and without which they cannot long preserue health and strength. From one of these places a Boat was sent with Presents to the Gouernour, hoping thereby to worke their peace, but the Boat was cast away, and three of the persons drowned, not farre from our Plantation, onely one escaped, who durst not come to vs, but returned, so as none of them dare come amongst vs.

An. 1623. The moneth of April being now come, on all hands we began to prepare for Corne. And because there was no Corne left before this time, saue that was preserued for Seed, being also hopelesse of relieue by supply, we thought best to leaue off all other workes, and prosecute that as most necessarie. And because there was no small hope of doing good, in that common course of labour that formerly wee were in, for that the Gouernours that followed men to their labours, had nothing to giue men for their necessities, and therefore could not so well exercise that command ouer them therein as formerly they had done, especially considering that selfe-loue wherewith euery man (in a measure more or lesse) loueth and preferreth his owne good before his neighbours, and also the base disposition of some drones, that as at other times so now especially would bee most burdenous to the rest: It was therefore thought best that euery man should vse the best diligence he could for his owne preseruation, both in respect of the time present, and to prepare his owne Corne for the yeere following: and bring in a competent portion for the maintenance of publike Officers, Fishermen, &c. which could not bee freed from their calling without greater inconueniences. This course was to continue till haruest, and then the Gouernours to gather in the appointed portion, for the maintenance of themselues and such others as necessitie constrained to exempt from this condition.

In the middest of Aprill we began to set, the weather being then seasonable, which much incouraged vs, giuing vs good hopes of after plentie: the setting season is good till the latter end of May. But it pleased God for our further chastisement, to send a great drought, insomuch, as in six weekes after the later setting there scarce fell any raine, so that the stalke of that was first set, began to send forth the eare before it came to halfe growth, and that which was later, not like to yeeld any at all, both blade and stalke hanging the head, and changing the colour in such manner as we iudged it vtterly dead: our Beanes also ran not vp according to their wonted manner, but stood at a stay, many being parched away, as though they had beene scorched before the fire. Now were our hopes ouerthrowne, and we discouraged, our ioy being turned into mourning. To adde also to this sorrowfull estate in which we were, we heard of a supply that was sent vnto vs many moneths since, which hauing two repulses before, was a third time in company of another Ship three hundred Leagues at Sea, and now in three moneths time heard no further of her, onely the signes of a wreck were seene on the Coast, which could not be iudged to be any other then the same.

Great drought

These & the like considerations, moued not only euery good man priuately to enter into examination with his own estate between God and his conscience, & so to humiliation before him: but also more solemnly to humble our selues together before the Lord by Fasting and Prayer. To that end

end a day was appointed by publike authority, and ſet a part from all other emploiments; hoping that the ſame God which had ſtirred vs vp hereunto, would be moued hereby in mercy to looke vpon vs & grant the requeſt of our deiected ſoules, if our continuance there might any way ſtand with his glorie and our good. But oh the mercy of our God! Who was as readie to heare as we to aske: For though in the morning when wee aſſembled together, the heauens were as cleere and the drought as like to continue as euer it was: yet (our exerciſe continuing ſome eight or nine houres) before our departure the weather was ouercaſt, the clouds gathered together on all ſides, and on the next morning diſtilled ſuch ſoft, ſweete, and moderate ſhowers of raine; continuing ſome fourteene daies, and mixed with ſuch ſeaſonable weather, as it was hard to ſay whether our withered Corne, or drouping affections were moſt quickned or reuiued. Such was the bountie and goodneſſe of our God. Of this the *Indians* by meanes of *Hobbamock* tooke notice: who being then in the Towne, and this exerciſe in the midſt of the weeke, ſaid, It was but three daies ſince Sunday, and therefore demanded of a boy what was the reaſon thereof? Which when hee knew and ſaw what effects followed thereupon, hee and all them admired the goodneſſe of our God towards vs, that wrought ſo great a change in ſo ſhort a time, ſhewing the difference betweene their Coniuration, and our Inuocation on the Name of God for raine; theirs being mixed with ſuch ſtormes and tempeſts, as ſometimes in ſtead of doing them good, it laieth the Corne flat on the ground, to their preiudice: but ours in ſo gentle and ſeaſonable a manner, as they neuer obſerued the like.

Publike Faſt.

Gracious dewes.

Indians coniuration.

At the ſame time Captaine *Standiſh*, being formerly imployed by the Gouernour, to buy prouiſions for the refreſhing of the Colony, returned with the ſame, accompanied with one M. *Dauid Tomſon*, a *Scotchman*, who alſo that Spring began a Plantation twentie fiue leagues North-eaſt from vs, neere *Smiths* Iles, at a place called *Paſcataquack*, where hee liketh well. Now alſo heard wee of the third repulſe that our ſupply had, of their ſafe, though dangerous returne into *England*, and of their preparation to come to vs. So that hauing theſe many ſignes of Gods fauour and acceptation, wee thought it would bee great ingratitude, if ſecretly wee ſhould ſmoother vp the ſame, or content our ſelues with priuate thankſ-giuing, for that which by priuate praier could not be obtained. And therefore another ſolemne day was ſet apart for that end, wherein wee returned glory, honour, and praiſe, with all thankfulneſſe to our good God, which dealt ſo graciouſly with vs, whoſe name for theſe and all other his mercies towards his Church and choſen ones, by them be bleſſed and praiſed now and euermore, *Amen*.

M. *Tomſon* a *Scot* his Plantation.

Day of thanks

In the latter end of Iuly, and the beginning of Auguſt, came two Ships with ſupply vnto vs, who brought all their paſſengers, except one, in health, who recouered in ſhort time, who alſo notwithſtanding all our wants and hardſhip (bleſſed be God) found not any one ſick perſon amongſt vs at the Plantation. The bigger Ship called the *Anne* was hired, and there againe fraighted backe, from whence wee ſet ſaile the tenth of September. The leſſer called the little *Iames*, was built for the Company at their charge. Shee was now alſo fitted for Trade and diſcouery to the Southward of Cape *Cod*, and almoſt readie to ſet ſaile, whom I pray God to bleſſe in her good and lawfull proceedings.

Two Ships.

A Few things I thought meete to adde heereunto, which I haue obſerued amongſt the *Indians*, both touching their Religion, and ſundry other Cuſtomes amongſt them. And firſt, whereas my ſelfe and others, in former Letters (which came to the Preſſe againſt my will and knowledge) wrote, that the *Indians* about vs are a people without any Religion or knowledge of any God, therein I erred, though wee could then gather no better: For as they conceiue of many diuine powers, ſo of one whom they call *Kiehtan*, to bee the principall maker of all the reſt, and to be made by none: Hee (they ſay) created the Heauens, Earth, Sea, and all creatures contained therein. Alſo that hee made one man and one woman, of whom they and wee and all mankind came: but how they became ſo farre diſperſed that know they not. At firſt they ſay, there was no *Sachim*, or *King*, but *Kiehtan*, who dwelleth aboue the Heauens, whither all good men goe when they die to ſee their friends, and haue their fill of all things: This his habitation lyeth Weſtward in the Heauens, they ſay; thither the bad men goe alſo, and knocke at his doore, but he bids them *Quachet*, that is to ſay, *Walke abroad*, for there is no place for ſuch; ſo that they wander in reſtleſſe want and penury. Neuer man ſaw this *Kiehtan*; onely old men tell them of him, and bid them tell their children, yea, to charge them to teach their poſterities the ſame, and lay the like charge vpon them. This power they acknowledge to be good, and when they would obtaine any great matter, meet together, and cry vnto him, and ſo likewiſe for plentie, victory, &c. ſing, dance, feaſt, giue thankes, and hang vp Garlands and other things in memory of the ſame.

Their Religion

The meaning of the word, *Kichtan*, I think hath reference to Antiquity, for *Chiſe* is an old man, and *Kiehchiſe*, a man that exceedeth in age. *Ite maledicti.*

Another power they worſhip, whom they call *Hobbamock*, and to the Nothward of vs *Hobbamoqui*; this as farre as wee can conceiue is the Deuill, him they call vpon to cure their wounds and diſeaſes. When they are curable, hee perſwades them hee ſends the ſame for ſome conceiued anger againſt them, but vpon their calling vpon him can and doth helpe them: But when they are mortall, and not curable in nature, then he perſwades them *Kiehtan* is angry and ſends them,

Their Deuill.

whom

whom none can cure: insomuch, as in that respect onely they somewhat doubt whether hee bee simply good, and therefore in sickneſſe neuer call vpon him. This *Hobbomock* appeares in sundry formes vnto them, as in the shape of a Man, a Deare, a Fawne, an Eagle, &c. but most ordinarily a Snake: Hee appeares not to all, but the chiefest and most judicious amongst them, though allof them striue to attaine to that hellish height of Honour. He appeareth most ordinary, and is most conuersant with three sorts of people, one I confesse, I neither know by name nor office directly: Of these they haue few but esteeme highly of them, and thinke that no weapon can kill them: another they call by the name of *Powah*, and the third *Pnieſe*.

Powah or Priest

The office and dutie of the *Powah* is to be exercised principally in calling vpon the Deuill, and curing diseases of the sicke or wounded. The common people ioyne with him in the exercise of Inuocation, but doe but onely assent, or as we terme it, say *Amen* to that he saith, yet sometime breake out into a short musicall note with him. The *Powah* is eager and free in speech, fierce in countenance, and ioyneth many antick and laborious gestures with the same ouer the partie diseased. If the partie be wounded, he will also seeme to sucke the wound, but if they bee curable (as they say) hee toucheth it not, but a Skooke, that is the Snake, or Wobsacuck, that is the Eagle sitteth on his shoulder and lickes the same. This none see but the *Powah*, who tells them hee doth it himselfe. If the partie be otherwise diseased, it is accounted sufficient if in any shape hee but come into the house, taking it for an vndoubted signe of recouery.

And as in former ages *Apollo* had his Temple at *Delphos*, and *Diana* at *Epheſus*; so haue I heard them call vpon some, as if they had their residence in some certaine places, or because they appeared in those formes in the same. In the *Powahs* speech hee promiseth to sacrifice many skinnes of Beasts, Kettles, Hatchets, Beades, Kniues, and other the best things they haue to the fiend, if hee will come to helpe the partie diseased: But whether they performe it I know not. The other practises I haue seene, being necessarily called at some times to be with their sicke, and haue vsed the best arguments I could make them vnderstand against the same: They haue told me I should see the Deuill at those times come to the party, but I assured my selfe and them of the contrary, which so proued: yea, themselues haue confessed they neuer saw him when any of vs were present. In desperate and extraordinary hard trauell in childe-birth, when the partie cannot be deliuered by the ordinary meanes, they send for this *Powah*, though ordinarily their trauell is not so extreame as in our parts of the world, they being of a more hardie nature; for on the third day after childe-birth, I haue seene the mother with the Infant, vpon a small occasion in cold weather in a Boat vpon the Sea.

Offerings.

Sacrifices.

Many sacrifices the *Indians* vse, and in some cases kill children. It seemeth they are various in their religious worship in a little distance, and grow more and more cold in their worship to *Kiehtan*; saying, In their memory he was much more called vpon. The *Nanobigganſets* exceed in their blind deuotion, and haue a great spatious house wherein onely some few (that are as wee may tearme them Priests) come: thither at certaine knowne times resort all their people, and offer almost all the riches they haue to their gods, as Kettles, Skins, Hatchets, Beades, Kniues, &c. all which are cast by the Priests into a great fire that they make in the midst of the house, and there consumed to ashes. To this offering euery man bringeth freely, and the more he is knowne to bring, hath the better esteeme of all men. This the other *Indians* about vs approue of as good, and wish their *Sachims* would appoint the like: and because the plague hath not raigned at *Nanobigganſet*, as at other places about them, they attribute to this custome there vsed.

Burnt offring.

The Deuill keeps his seruants poore.

Their Knights. *Panieſes*: valourous counsellours.

The *Panieſes* are men of great courage and wisedome, and to these also the Deuill appeareth more familiarly then to others, and as wee conceiue maketh couenant with them to preserue them from death, by wounds with Arrowes, Kniues, Hatchets, &c. or at least both themselues and especially the people thinke themselues to be freed from the same. And though against their battels, all of them by painting disfigure themselues, yet they are knowne by their courage and boldnesse, by reason whereof one of them will chase almost an hundred men, for they account it death for whomsoeuer stand in their way. These are highly esteemed of all sorts of people, and are of the *Sachims* Councell, without whom they will not warre or vndertake any weightie businesse. In warre their *Sachims*, for their more safetie goe in the midst of them. They are commonly men of greatest stature and strength, and such as will endure most hardnesse, and yet are more discreet, courteous, and humane in their carriages then any amongst them, scorning theft, lying, and the like base dealings, and stand as much vpon their reputation as any men. And to the end they may haue store of these, they traine vp the most forward and likeliest boyes from their child-hood in great hardnesse, and make them abstaine from daintie meat, obseruing diuers orders prescribed, to the end that when they are of age the Deuill may appeare to them, causing to drinke the iuyce of Sentry and other bitter Hearbs till they cast, which they must disgorge into the platter, and drinke againe, and againe, till at length, through extraordinary pressing of nature it will seeme to bee all bloud, and this the boyes will doe with eagernesse at the first, and so continue, till by reason of faintnesse they can scarce stand on their legs, and then must goe forth into the cold: also they beat their shins with sticks, and cause them to run through bushes, stumps, and brambles, to make them hardy and acceptable to the Deuill, that in time he may appeare vnto them.

Bitter trialls.

Their

Their *Sachims* cannot bee all called Kings, but onely some few of them, to whom the rest resort for protection, and pay homage vnto them, neither may they warre without their knowledge and approbation, yet to be commanded by the greater as occasion serueth. Of this sort is *Massassowat* our friend, and *Conanacus* of *Nanohiggenset* our supposed enemy. Euery *Sachim* taketh care for the widdow and fatherlesse, also for such as are aged, and any way maymed, if their friends be dead, or not able to prouide for them. A *Sachim* will not take any to wife, but such an one as is equall to him in birth, otherwise they say their seede would in time become ignoble, and though they haue many other wiues, yet are they no other then concubines or seruants, and yeeld a kind of obedience to the principall, who ordereth the family, and them in it. The like their men obserue also, and will adhere to the first during their liues; but put away the other at their pleasure. This Gouernment is successiue and not by choyce. If the father dye before the sonne or daughter bee of age, then the childe is committed to the protection and tuition of some one amongst them, who ruleth in his stead till hee be of age, but when that is I know not. *Sachim*: or Lords.

Euery *Sachim* knoweth how farre the bounds and limits of his owne Countrey extendeth, and that is his owne proper inheritance, out of that if any of his men desire land to set their Corne, hee giueth them as much as they can vse, and sets them in their bounds. In this circuit whosoeuer hunteth, if any kill any venison, bring him his fee, which is foure parts of the same, if it bee killed on the Land, but if in the water, then the skin thereof: The Great *Sachims* or Kings know not their owne bounds or limits of land, as well as the rest. All Trauellers or Strangers for the most part lodge at the *Sachims*, when they come, they tell them how long they will stay, and to what place they goe, during which time they receiue entertainment according to their persons, but want not. Once a yeere the *Pnieses* vse to prouoke the people to bestow much Corne on the *Sachim*. To that end they appoint a certaine time and place neere the *Sachims* dwelling, where the people bring many baskets of Corne, and make a great stack thereof. There the *Pnieses* stand ready to giue thankes to the people on the *Sachims* behalfe, and after acquainteth the *Sachim* therewith, who fetcheth the same, and is no lesse thankfull, bestowing many gifts on them. Tribute.

When any are visited with sickneſſe, their friends resort vnto them for their comfort, and continue with them oftentimes till their death or recouery. If they die they stay a certaine time to mourne for them. Night and morning they performe this dutie many daies after the buriall in a most dolefull manner, insomuch as though it bee ordinary, and the Note Musicall, which they take one from another, and altogether, yet it will draw teares from their eyes, and almost from ours also. But if they recouer then because their sickneſſe was chargeable, they send Corne and other gifts vnto them at a certaine appointed time, whereat they feast and dance, which they call *Commoco*. Mourning for the dead.

When they bury the dead, they sowe vp the corps in a mat and so put it in the earth. If the partie be a *Sachim*, they couer him with many curious mats, and bury all his riches with him, and inclose the graue with a pale. If it bee a childe, the father will also put his owne most speciall Iewels and Ornaments in the earth with it, also he will cut his haire and disfigure himselfe very much in token of sorrow. If it bee the man or woman of the house, they will pull downe the mats and leaue the frame standing, and bury them in or neere the same, and either remoue their dwelling, or giue ouer house-keeping. Burialls.

The men imploy themselues wholly in hunting, and other exercises of the Bow, except at some times they take some paine in fishing. The women liue a most slauish life, they carry all their burdens, set and dresse their Corne, gather it in, and seeke out for much of their food, beate and make readie the Corne to eate, and haue all household care lying vpon them. Womens slauery.

The younger sort reuerence the elder, and doe all meane offices whilst they are together, although they be strangers. Boyes and girles may not weare their haire like men and women, but are distinguished thereby.

A man is not accounted a man till he doe some notable act, or shew forth such courage and resolution as becommeth his place. The men take much Tobacco, but for boyes so to doe they account it odious. Manhood.

All their names are significant and variable; for when they come to the state of men and women, they alter them according to their deeds or dispositions. Names.

When a maide is taken in marriage, shee first cutteth her haire, and after weareth a couering on her head till her haire be growne out. Their women are diuersly disposed, some as modest as they will scarce talke one with another in the company of men, being very chaste also: yet other some light, lasciuious and wanton. If a woman haue a bad husband, or cannot affect him, and there bee warre or opposition betweene that and any other people, shee will runne away from him to the contrary partie and there liue, where they neuer come vnwelcome: for where are most women, there is greatest plentie. When a woman hath her monethly termes, shee separateth her selfe from all other company, and liueth certaine dayes in a house alone: after which she washeth her selfe and all that shee hath touched or vsed, and is againe receiued to her husbands bed or family. Maids & wiues

Adulterie and whoordome.

family. For adultery the husband will beat his wife and put her away, if he pleaſe. Some common ſtrumpets there are as well as in other places, but they are ſuch as either neuer married, or widowes, or put away for adultery: for no man will keepe ſuch an one to wife.

Theft.

In matters of vniuſt and diſhoneſt dealing the *Sachim* examineth and puniſheth the ſame. In caſe of thefts, for the firſt offence hee is diſgracefully rebuked, for the ſecond beaten by the *Sachim* with a cudgell on the naked backe, for the third hee is beaten with many ſtroakes, and hath

Murther.

his noſe ſlit vpward, that thereby all men may both know and ſhun him. If any man kill another, hee muſt likewiſe die for the ſame. The *Sachim* not onely paſſeth the ſentence vpon malefactors, but executeth the ſame with his owne hands, if the partie bee then preſent; if not, ſendeth his owne knife in caſe of death, in the hands of others to performe the ſame. But if the offender bee to receiue other puniſhment, hee will not receiue the ſame but from the *Sachim* himſelfe, before whom being naked he kneeleth, and will not offer to runne away though hee beat him neuer ſo much, it being a greater diſparagement for a man to cry during the time of his correction, then is his offence and puniſhment.

Crying, a cowards note.

Apparell.

As for their apparell, they weare breeches and ſtockings in one, like ſome *Iriſh*, which is made of Deere skinnes, and haue ſhooes of the ſame leather. They weare alſo a Deeres skinne looſe about them like a cloake, which they will turne to the weather ſide. In this habite they trauell, but when they are at home, or come to their iourneyes end, preſently they pull of their breeches, ſtockings, and ſhooes, wring out the water, if they bee wet, and drie them, and rub or chafe the ſame. Though theſe be off, yet haue they another ſmall garment that couereth their ſecrets. The men weare alſo when they goe abroad in cold weather, an Otter or Fox skin on their right arme, but onely their bracer on the left. Women and all of that ſex weare ſtrings about their legs, which the men neuer doe.

Wittie people. Their Arts. Note.

The people are very ingenious and obſeruatiue, they keepe account of time by the Moone, and Winters or Summers; they know diuers of the Starres by name, in particular, they know the North-ſtar, and call it *Maske*, which is to ſay, *The Beare*. Alſo they haue many names for the Winds. They will gueſſe very well at the wind and weather before hand, by obſeruations in the Heauens. They report alſo, that ſome of them can cauſe the wind to blow in what part they liſt, can raiſe ſtormes and tempeſts, which they vſually doe when they intend the death or deſtruction of other people, that by reaſon of the vnſeaſonable weather, they may take aduantage of their enemies in their houſes. At ſuch times they performe their greateſt exployts, and in ſuch ſeaſons when they are at enmitie with any, they keepe more carefull watch then at other times.

Language.

As for the language it is verie copious, large, and difficult, as yet wee cannot attaine to any great meaſure thereof; but can vnderſtand them, and explaine our ſelues to their vnderſtanding, by the helpe of thoſe that daily conuerſe with vs. And though there be difference in an hundred miles diſtant of place, both in language and manners, yet not ſo much but that they very well vnderſtand each other. And thus much of their liues and manners.

Regiſters.

In ſtead of Records and Chronicles, they take this courſe, where any remarkeable act is done, in memory of it, either in the place, or by ſome pathway neere adioyning, they make a round hole in the ground about a foot deepe, and as much ouer, which when others paſſing by behold, they enquire the cauſe and occaſion of the ſame, which being once knowne, they are carefull to acquaint all men as occaſion ſerueth therewith. And leaſt ſuch holes ſhould bee filled, or growne vp by any accident, as men paſſe by they will oft renew the ſame: By which meanes many things of great Antiquitie are freſh in memory. So that as a man trauelleth, if hee can vnderſtand his guide, his iourney will be the leſſe tedious, by reaſon of many hiſtoricall Diſcourſes will be related vnto him.

The Country.

For that Continent, on which wee are called *New-England*, although it hath euer beene conceiued by the *Engliſh*, to bee a part of the maine Land adioyning to *Virginia*, yet by relation of the *Indians* it ſhould appeare to bee otherwiſe: for they affirme confidently, that it is an Iland,

New England an Iland.

and that either the *Dutch* or *French* paſſe thorow from Sea to Sea, betweene vs and *Virginia*, and driue a great Trade in the ſame. The name of that Inlet of the Sea, they call *Mohegon*, which I take to be the ſame which wee call *Hudſons* Riuer, vp which Maſter *Hudſon* went many leagues, and for want of meanes (as I heare) left it vndiſcouered. For confirmation of this, their opinion is thus much; Though *Virginia* bee not aboue an hundred and fiftie leagues from vs, yet they neuer heard of *Powhatan*, or knew that any *Engliſh* were planted in his Countrey, ſaue onely by vs and *Tiſquantum*, who went into an *Engliſh* Ship thither: And therefore it is the more probable, becauſe the water is not paſſable for them, who are very aduenturous in their Boates.

Seaſons.

Then for the temperature of the ayre, in almoſt three yeeres experience, I can ſcarce diſtinguiſh *New England* from *Old England*, in reſpect of heate, and cold, froſt, ſnow, raine, winds, &c. Some obiect, becauſe our Plantation lieth in the latitude of two and fortie, it muſt needes bee much hotter. I confeſſe I cannot giue the reaſon of the contrary; onely experience teacheth vs, that if it doe exceed *England*, it is ſo little as muſt require better iudgements to diſcerne it. And

for

for the Winter, I rather thinke (if there be difference) it is both sharper and longer in *New England* then *Old*; and yet the want of those comforts in the one which I haue enioyed in the other, may deceiue my iudgement also. But in my best obseruation, comparing our owne conditions with the Relations of other parts of *America*, I cannot conceiue of any to agree better with the constitution of the *English*, not being oppressed with extremitie of heat, nor nipped with biting cold, by which meanes, blessed be God, wee enioy our health, notwithstanding those difficulties wee haue vndergone, in such a measure as would haue been admired if we had liued in *England* with the like meanes. The day is two houres longer then here; when it is at the shortest, and as much shorter when it is at the longest. Dayes.

The soyle is variable, in some places Mould, in some Clay, and others a mixed Sand, &c. The chiefest graine is the *Indian* Mays, or *Ginny*-Wheat; the seed-time beginneth in the midst of April, and continueth good till the midst of May. Our Harueſt beginneth with September. This Corne increaseth in great measure, but is inferiour in quantitie to the same in *Virginia*, the reason I conceiue, is because *Virginia* is farre hotter then it is with vs, it requiring great heat to ripen; but whereas it is obiected against *New England*, that Corne will not there grow, except the ground bee manured with Fish: I answere, That where men set with Fish (as with vs) it is more easie so to doe, then to cleere ground and set without some fiue or sixe yeeres, and so begin anew, as in *Virginia* and elsewhere. Not but that in some places, where they cannot be taken with ease in such abundance, the *Indians* set foure yeeres together without, and haue as good Corne or better then we haue that set with them, though indeed I thinke if wee had Cattell to till the ground, it would be more profitable and better agreeable to the soyle, to sowe Wheat, Ry, Barley, Pease, and Oats, then to set Mays, which our *Indians* call *Enachim*: for we haue had experience that they like and thriue well; and the other will not bee procured without good labour and diligence, especially at seed-time, when it must also bee watched by night to keepe the Wolues from the Fish, till it be rotten, which will bee in fourteene dayes; yet men agreeing together, and taking their turnes it is not much. Soyle. Corne.

Much might bee spoken of the benefit that may come to such as shall here plant by Trade with the *Indians* for Furres, if men take a right course for obtaining the same; for I dare presume vpon that small experience I haue had, to affirme, that the *English*, *Dutch*, and *French*, returne yeerely many thousand pounds profits by Trade onely from that *Iland*, on which wee are seated.

Tobacco may bee there planted, but not with that profit as in some other places, neither were it profitable there to follow it, though the increase were equall, because Fish is a better and richer Commoditie, and more necessary, which may be, and there are had in as great abundance as in any other part of the world; Witnesse the West-countrey Merchants of *England*, which returne incredible gaines yeerely from thence. And if they can so doe which here buy their sale at a great charge, and transport more Company to make their voyage, then will saile their Ships, what may the Planters expect when once they are seated, and make the most of their Sale there, and imploy themselues at least eight moneths in fishing, whereas the other fish but foure, and haue their Ship lie dead in the Harbour all the time, whereas such shipping as belong to Plantations may take fraight of Passengers or Cattle thither, and haue their lading prouided against they come. I confesse we haue come so far short of the meanes to raise such returns, as with great difficultie wee haue preserued our liues; insomuch as when I looke backe vpon our condition, and weake meanes to preserue the same, I rather admire at Gods mercies and prouidence in our preseruation, then that no greater things haue beene effected by vs. But though our beginning haue beene thus raw, small, and difficult, as thou hast seene, yet the same God that hath hitherto led vs thorow the former, I hope will raise meanes to accomplish the latter.

CHAP. VI.

Noua Scotia. *The Kings Patent to Sir* WILLIAM ALEXANDER *Knight, for the Plantation of* New Scotland *in* America, *and his proceedings therein; with a description of* Mawooshen *for better knowledge of those parts.*

IAcobus Dei gratia Magnæ Brittanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex fideiq; defensor: Omnibus probis hominibus totius terræ suæ Clericis & laicis salutem. Sciatis nos semper ad quamlibet quæ ad decus & emolumentum regni nostri Scotiæ spectaret occasionem amplectendum fuisse intentos, nullamque aut faciliorem aut magis innoxiam acquisitionem censere, quam quæ inexertis & incultis regnis vbi vtæ & victui suppetunt commode nouis deducendis Colonijs fiat: præsertim si vel ipsa regna cultoribus prius vacua, vel ab infidelibus, quos ad Christianam conuerti fidem & Dei gloriam interest plurimum,

inseſſa fuerint. Sed cum & alia nonnulla regna, & hac non ita pridem noſtra Anglia laudabiliter ſua nomina novis terris acquiſitis ſed in ſe ſubactis indiderint, quam numeroſa & frequens diuino beneficio hec gens, hac tempeſtate ſit nobiſcum reputantes, quamque honeſto aliquo & utili cultu eam ſtudioſe exercerino, in deteriora ex ignauia & otio prolabatur expediat pleroſque in eam deducendos regionem quam Colonijs compleant, operæpretium duximus qui & animi promptitudine & alacritate corporumque robore & viribus quibuſcunque difficultatibus, ſi qui alij mortalium vſquam ſe audent opponere, hunc conatum huic regno maxime idoneum inde arbitramur quod vterum tantummodo & mulierum inuentorum & frumenti, non etiam pecuniæ tranſuectionem poſtulat, neque incommodam ex ipſius regni mercibus retributionem hoc tempore cum negotiatio adeo imminuta ſit, poſſit reperiri. Hiſce de cauſis ſicuti & propter bonum fidele & gratum dilecti noſtri conſiliarij Domini Willelmi Alexandri equitis ſuruitium nobis præſtitum & præſtandum, qui propriis impenſis ex noſtratibus primus externam hanc coloniam ducendam conatus ſit, diuerſaſque terras infra deſignatis limitibus circumſcriptas incolendas expetierit. Nos igitur ex regali noſtra ad Chriſtianam religionem propagandam & ad opulentiam, proſperitatem, pacemque naturalium noſtrorum ſubditorum dicti regni noſtri Scotiæ acquirendam cura, ſicuti alij Principes exteranei in talibus caſibus hactenus fecerunt, cum conſenſu & conſenſu prædicti noſtri conſanguinei & conſiliarij Ioannis Comitis de Marr Domini Erskene & Garioche ſummi noſtri Theſaurarij computorum rotulatoris collectoris ac Theſaurarij nouarum noſtrarum augmentationum huius Regni noſtri Scotiæ ac reliquorum dominorum noſtrorum Commiſſionariorum eiuſdem Regni noſtri, dedimus conceſſimus & diſponimus, tenoreque præſentis charte noſtre damus concedimus & diſponimus præfato Domino Willelmo Alexandro, heredibus ſuis vel aſſignatis quibuſcunque hereditarie omnes & ſingulas terras continentis ac inſulas ſituatas & iacentes in America, intra caput ſeu promontorium communiter Cap. de Sable appellatum iacens prope latitudinem quadraginta trium graduum aut ab eo circa, ab æquinoctiali linea verſus ſeptentrionem, à quo promontorio verſus litus maris tenendo ad occidentem ad ſtationem Sancte Mariæ nauium (vulgo S. Maries Bay) & deinceps verſus ſeptentrionem per directam lineam introitum ſiue oſtium magnæ illius ſtationis nauium tranſeuntem quæ excurrit in terra orientalem plagam inter Regiones Suriquorum & Etechemmorum (vulgo Suriquois & Etechemines) ad fluuium vulgo nomine Santa Crucis appellatum: Et ad ſcaturiginem remotiſſimam ſiue fontem ex occidentali parte eiuſdem qui ſe primum prædicto fluuio immiſcet, vnde per imaginariam directam lineam quæ pergere per terram ſeu currere verſus ſeptentrionem conſipietur ad proximam nauium ſtationem, fluuium vel ſcaturiginem in magno fluuio de Cannada ſeſe exonerantem. Et ab eo pergendo verſus orientem per maris oras litorales eiuſdem fluuij de Cannada ad fluuium ſtationem nauium portum aut littus communiter nomine de Gachepe vel Gaſpe notum & appellatū. Et deinceps verſus Euronotum ad inſulas Bacalaos vel Cap. Briton vocatas Relinquendo eaſdem Inſulas à dextra & veraginem dicti magni fluuij de Cannada ſiue magne ſtationis nauium & terras de New-found-land cum inſulis ad eaſdem terras pertinentibus à ſiniſtra. Et deinceps ad Caput ſiue promontorium de Cap. Briton prædictum iacens prope latitudinem quadraginta quinque graduum aut eo circa. Et à dicto promontorio de Cap. Briton verſus meridiem & Occidentem ad prædictum Cap. Sable vbi incipit perambulatio includenda & comprehenda intra dictas maria oras litorales ac earum circumferentias à mari ad omnes terras continentis cum fluminibus torrentibus, ſinubus, litoribus, inſulis aut maribus iacentibus prope infra ſex leucas ad aliquam earundem partem ex occidentali boreali vel orientali partibus orarum litoralium & præcinctuum earundem. Et ab Euronoto (vti iacet Cap. Britton) & ex auſtrali parte eiuſdem vbi eſt Cap. de Sable omnia maria ac inſulas verſus meridiem intra quadraginta leucas dictarum orarum litoralium earundem magnam inſulam vulgariter appellatam Ile de Sable vel Sablon includen. iacen. verſus carban vulgo South South-eaſt, circa triginta leucas à dicto Cap. Briton in mari & exiſten. in latitudine quadraginta quatuor graduum aut eo circa. Quæ quidem terræ prædicte omni tempore affuturo nomine Nouæ Scotiæ in America gaudebunt. Quas etiam præfatus Dominus Willelmus in partes & portiones ſicut ei viſum fuerit diuidet iiſdemq; nomine pro beneplacito imponet. Vna cum omnibus fodinis tum regalibus auri & argenti quam aliis fodinis ferri, plumbi, cupri, ſtanni, æris, &c.

In cuius rei teſtimonium huic preſenti Chartæ noſtre magnum Sigillum noſtrum apponi precepimus Teſtibus prædictis noſtris conſanguineis & Conſiliarijs Iacobo Marchione de Hamilton Comite Arranie & Cambridge Domino Auen & Innerdail; Georgio Mariſcalli comite Domino Keith & Alt. regni noſtri Mariſcallo, Alexandro Comite de Dunfermling Domino Fyvie & vrquhant noſtro Cancellario, Thoma Comite de Melros Domino Byres & Byrning noſtro Secretario, Dilectis noſtris familiaribus Conſiliarijs Domino Richardo Kokburne Iuniore de Clerkington noſtri Secreti Sigilli cuſtode, Georgio Hay de Knifarunis noſtrorum Rotulorum Regiſtrorum ac Concilij Clerico, Ioanne Cockburne de Ormeſtoun noſtræ Iuſtitiariæ Clerico, & Ioanne Scot de Scottiſtarvet noſtræ Cancellariæ Directore, Militibus. Apud Caſtellum noſtrum de Winſore decimo die menſis Septembris Anno Domini milleſimo ſexenteſimo vigeſimo primo Regnorumq; noſtrorum annis quinquageſimo quinto & decimo nono.

Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* being entruſted with the affayres of *New England*, after hee had aduiſed with ſome of the Company; conſidering the largeneſſe of the bounds intended to bee planted by his Maieſties ſubiects in *America*, and the ſlow progreſſe of Plantations in theſe parts, that the *Scottiſh* Nation may be perſwaded to imbarke themſelues in their forraine enterpriſe; hee was content that Sir *William Alexander* * Knight, one of his Maieſties moſt Honorable Priuy Councel of

* For the Deſcription & incouragements to this deſigne, and for better knowledge of *New Scotland*, beſides a Booke purpoſely publiſhed by the Honourable & learned Author (who at other weapons hath plaied his Muſes prizes, and giuen the world ample teſtimony of his learning) you may read our 8. Booke from the ſixt Chapter forwards, the laſt two Chapiters of the ninth Booke, & that deſcription of the Countrey of *Mawooſhen*, which I haue added hereto.

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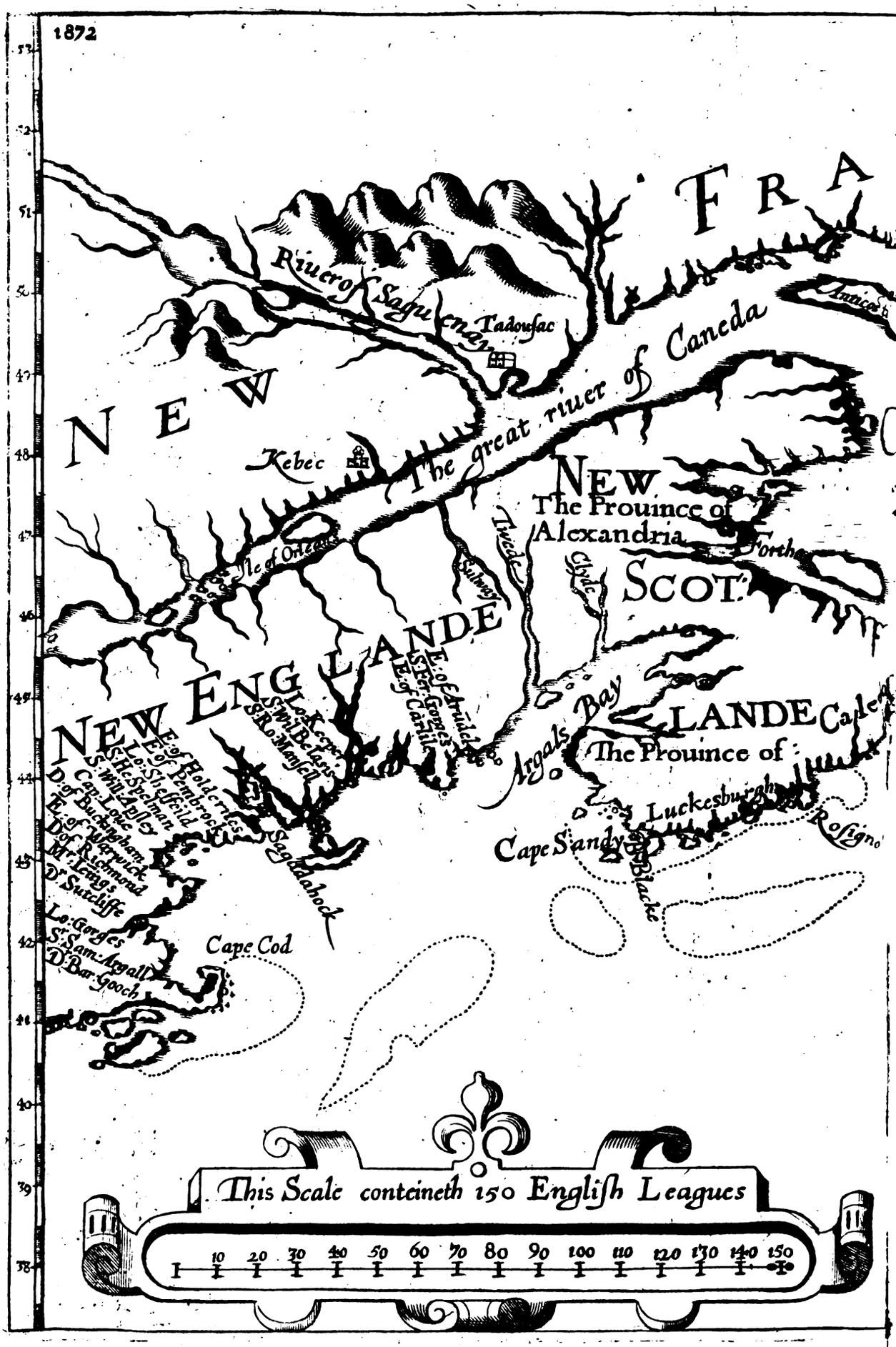

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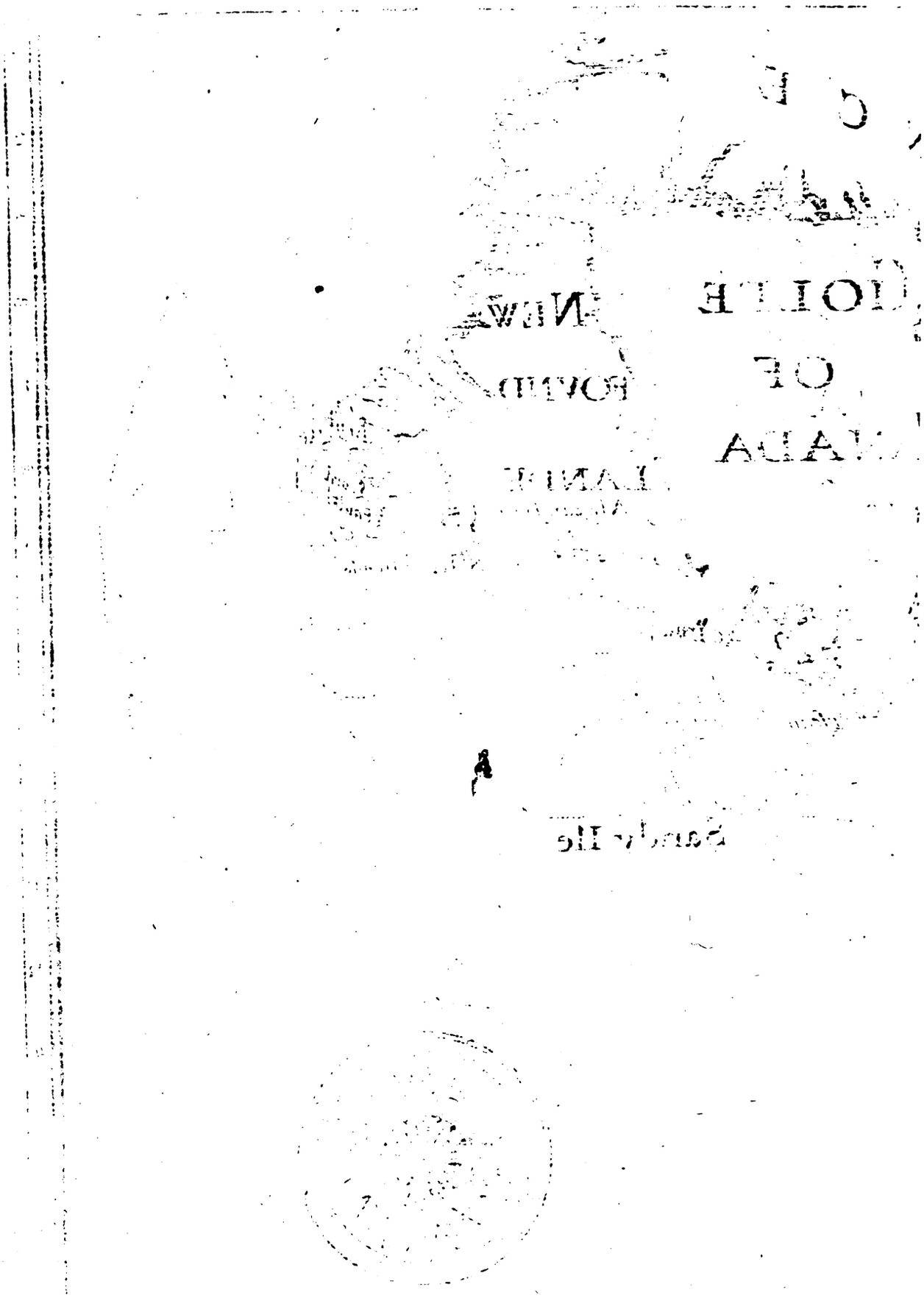

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of that Kingdome, should procure a Patent of such a bounds as his Maiestie should appoint to bee called *New Scotland*, and to bee held of the Crowne of *Scotland*, and gouerned by the Lawes of that Kingdome, as his said Patent containing all the bounds, that doth lie to the East of Saint *Croix*, compassed with the great Riuer of *Canada* on the North, and the Maine Ocean on the South doth more particularly beare. Whereupon the said Sir *William* did set out a Shippe with a Colony of purpose to plant, which being too late in setting forth were forced to stay all the Winter at *New-found-Land*, and though they had a Shippe with new prouisions the next Spring from the sayde Sir *William*, yet by reason of some vnexpected occasions, the chiefe of the Company resolued not to plant at the first, but onely to discouer and to take possession, which a number made choyce of for that purpose did happily performe. *Ann.* 1622.

The three and twentieth of Iune, they loosed from Saint *Iohns* Harbour in *New-found-Land*, and sayled towardes *New Scotland*, where for the space of fourteene dayes they were by Fogges and contrarie Windes kept backe from spying Land till the eight of Iuly: thereafter that they saw the West part of Cape *Breton*, and so till the thirteenth day, they sayled to and fro alongst the Coast till they came the length of *Port de Muton*, where they discouered three very pleasant Harbours, and went a shoare in one of them, which they called *Lukes* Bay, where they found a great way vp to a very pleasant Riuer being three fathoms deepe at low water; at the entry thereof, and on euery side of the same they did see very delicate Meadowes, hauing Roses white and red growing thereon, with a kind of wild Lilly, which had a very daintie smell. *Ann.* 1623. *Lukes* Bay.

The next day they resolued to coast alongst to discouer the next Harbour, which was but two leagues distant from the other, where they found a more pleasant Riuer, being foure fathom water at a low water, with Meadowes on both sides thereof, hauing Roses and Lillies growing thereon as the other had. They found within this Riuer a very fit place for a Plantation, both in regard that it was naturally apt to bee fortified, and that all the ground beweene the two Riuers was without Wood, and was good fat earth hauing seuerall sorts of Berries growing thereon, as Gooseberry, Strawberry, Hyndberry, Rasberry, and a kinde of Red-wineberry: As also some sorts of Graine, as Pease, some eares of Wheat, Barley, and Rye, growing there wild; the Pease grow euery where in abundance, very big and good to eate, but taste of the Fitch. This Riuer is called Port *Iolly*, from whence they coasted alongst to Port *Negro*, being 12. leagues distant, where all the way as they sailed alongst they found a very pleasant Countrey hauing growing euery where such things as they did see in the two Harbours where they had beene. They found likewise in euery Riuer abundance of Lobsters, and Cockles, and other small fishes; and also they found not onely in the Riuers, but all the Coast alongst, numbers of seuerall sorts of Wild-fowle, as Wild-goose, Black-Duck, Woodcock, Herron, Pigeon, and many other sorts of Fowle which they knew not. They found likewise, as they sailed alongst the Coast abundance of great Cod, with seuerall other sorts of great fishes. The Countrey is full of Woods, not very thick, and the most part Oake, the rest Fir-tree, Spruce, Birch, and many other sorts of wood which they had not seene before. Fit place for a Plantation. Port *Iolly*. Port *Negro*.

Hauing discouered this part of the Countrey in regard of the voyage, their Ship was to make to the Straits with fishes, they resolued to coast alongst from *Lukes* Bay to Port *de Muton*, being foure leagues to the East thereof, where they encountred with a *Frenchman*, that in a very short time had a great voyage, hauing furnished one Ship away with fishes, and had neere so many ready as to load his owne Ship and others. And hauing taken a view of this Port, which to their iudgement they found no wayes inferiour to the rest they had seene before, they resolued to retire backe to *New-found-land*, where their Ship was to receiue her loading of fishes, the twentieth of Iuly they loosed from thence, and the seuen and twentieth thereof they arriued at Saint *Iohns* Harbour in *New-found-land*; and from thence sailed alongst the Bay of *Conception*, where they left the Ship, and dispatched themselues home in seuerall Ships that belonged to the West part of *England*, and doe intend this next Spring to set forth a Colony to plant there.

The description of the Countrey of Mawooshen, *discouered by the* English, *in the yeere* 1602. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. *and* 9.

This description of *Mawooshen* I had amongst M. *Hakluyts* papers.

Mawooshen is a Countrey lying to the North and by East of *Virginia*, betweene the degrees of 43. and 45. It is fortie leagues broad, and fiftie in length, lying in breadth East and West, and in length North and South. It is bordered on the East side with a Countrey, the people whereof they call *Tarratines*: on the West with *Epistemaux*, on the North with a great Wood called *Semeglseame*, and on the South with the mayne Ocean Sea, and many Ilands. Climate and quantitie. *Tarratines* are said to be the same with the *Souriquois*.

In *Mawooshen* it seemeth there are nine Riuers, whereof the first to the East is called *Quibiquesson*; on which there is one Towne, wherein dwell two *Sagamos* or Lords, the one called *Asticon*, I. *Quibequesson* Riuer.

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Aſticon Sagamo. *ſticon*, the other *Abermot*. In this Towne are fiftie houſes, and 150. men. The name of which Towne is *Precante*; this Riuer runneth farre vp into the Mayne, at the head thereof there is a
A great Lake. Lake of a great length and breadth; it is at the fall into the Sea tenne fathoms deepe, and halfe a mile ouer.

2. *Pemaquid* riuer. The next is *Pemaquid*, a goodly Riuer and very commodious all things conſidered; it is ten fathoms water at the entrance, and fortie miles vp there are two fathoms and a halfe at low water; it is halfe a mile broad, and runneth into the Land North many daies iourney: where is a great
A great Lake. Lake of 18. leagues long and foure broad. In this Lake are ſeuen great Ilands: toward the farthest end there falleth in a Riuer, which they call *Acaconſtomed*, where they paſſe with their Boates thirtie daies iourney vp, and from thence they goe ouer Land twentie daies iourney more, and
Anadabis. then come to another Riuer, where they haue a trade with *Anadabis* or *Anadabijou*, with whom the *Frenchmen* haue had commerce for a long time. Neere to the North of this Riuer of *Pemaquid*
Three Townes are three Townes: the firſt is *Upſegon*, where *Baſhabes* their chiefe Lord doth dwell. And in this
Baſhabes. Towne are ſixtie houſes, and 250. men, it is three daies iourney within the Land. The ſecond is
Caiocame. *Caiocame*; the third *Shaſheekeing*. Theſe two laſt Townes are oppoſite one to the other, the Riuer diuiding them both, and they are two daies iourney from the Towne of *Baſhabes*. In *Caiocame* dwelleth *Maieſquis*, and in *Shaſheekeing Bowant*, two *Sagamos*, ſubiects to *Baſhabes*. Vpon both ſides of this Riuer vp to the very Lake, for a good diſtance the ground is plaine, without Trees or Buſhes, but full of long Graſſe, like vnto a pleaſant meadow, which the Inhabitants doe burne once a yeere to haue freſh feed for their Deere. Beyond this Meadow are great Woods, whereof more ſhall bee ſpoken hereafter. The Riuer of *Pemaquid* is foure dayes iourney from the mouth of *Quibiqueſſon*.

3. *Ramaſſoc.* The third Riuer is called *Ramaſſoc*, and is diſtant from the mouth of *Pemaquid* foure daies iourney; it is twentie fathoms at the entrance, and hath a mile ouer; it runneth into the Land three daies iourney, and within leſſe then a daies iourney of the dwelling of *Baſhabes*: vpon this Riuer
Panobſcot a Towne. there is a Towne named *Panobſcot*, the Lord whereof is called *Sibarabood*; who hath in his Town fiftie houſes, and eightie men.

4. *Apanawapeske.* The fourth Riuer *Apanawapeske*, lying Weſt and by South of *Ramaſſoc*, at the entrance whereof there is twentie fathoms water, and it is a mile broad: it runneth vp into the Countrey fiue daies iourney; and within three daies of the mouth are two Townes, the one called *Marecombe*, where dwelleth *Aramaſoga*, who hath in his Towne fiftie houſes, and eightie men. The other is *Chebegnadoſe*, whoſe Lord is *Skanke*, and hath thirtie houſes and ninetie men. The mouth of *Apanawapeske* is diſtant from *Ramaſſoc* three daies iourney.

5. *Apanmenſek.* To the South-weſt foure daies iourney, there is another excellent Riuer; in the entrance whereof is twentie fathoms water, and it is a quarter of a mile broad; it runneth into the Land two daies iourney, and then there is a great fall; at the head wherof there is a Lake of a daies iour-
A Lake. ney long and as much in breadth. On the ſide of this Lake there is a Strait, and at the end of that Strait there is another Lake of foure daies iourney long, and two daies iourney broad; wher-
Another Lake. in there are two Ilands, one at the one end, and another at the other end. I ſhould haue told you
All the Lakes full of Fiſh, Beeues, and ſweet Rats. that both theſe Lakes, as alſo the reſt formerly ſpoken of, doe infinitely abound with freſh water fiſh of all ſorts, as alſo with diuers ſorts of Creatures, as Otters, Beeues, ſweete Rats, and ſuch like.

6. *Aponeg.* The ſixt Riuer is called *Apponick*, on which there are three Townes; the firſt is called *Appiſham*, where dwelleth *Abochigiſhic*. The ſecond is *Moſaqueegamic*, where dwelleth a *Annriquin*, in which there is ſeuentie houſes and eightie men; the third is *Matanmiſcowte*, in which are eightie houſes and ninetie men, and there dwelleth *Narracommique*.

7. *Aponeg.* To the Weſtward of this there is another Riuer called *Aponeg*: it hath at the entrance ten fathoms water, and is a mile broad: it runneth vp into a great Sound of freſh water. Vpon the Eaſt ſide of this Riuer there are two Townes, the one called *Nebamocago*, the other called *Aſhaws*. In the firſt dwelleth *Mentawrmet*, and hath in his Towne 160. houſholds, and ſome 500. men. In the ſecond dwelleth *Hamerhaw*, and hath in his Towne eightie houſholds and ſeuentie men. On the Weſt ſide there is another Towne called *Neredoſhan*, where are 120. houſholds, and 100. men. There is a *Sagamo* or Lord called *Sabenaw*.

8. *Sagadahoc.* Three daies iourney from *Aponeg* to the Weſtward, there is a goodly Riuer called *Sagadahoc*: the entrance whereof is a mile and an halfe ouer, holding that breadth a daies iourney, and then
Here C. *Pophams* built S. *Georges* Fort, and planted. it maketh a great Sound of three daies iourney broad: in which Sound are ſix Ilands, foure great
Great Sound. and full of Woods, and two leſſe without Woods: The greater are called *Sowaghcoc*, *Neguiwo*, *Neiwoc*. And in the verie entrance of this Riuer there is another ſmall Iland: from the Weſt of which Iland to the Maine, there is a Sand that maketh as it were a bar, ſo that that way is not paſſable for ſhipping: but to the Eaſtward there is two fathoms water. This Sound diuideth it
Two Lakes. ſelfe into two branches or armes, the one running North-eaſt twentie foure daies iourney, the other North-weſt thirtie daies iourney into the Maine: At the heads whereof there are two Lakes, the Weſtermoſt being eight daies iourney long, and foure daies iourney broad; and the Eaſtermoſt foure daies iourney long, and two daies broad. The Riuer of *Aponeg* runneth vp into this

Sound,

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Sound, and so maketh as it were a great Iland between *Sagadahoc* and it. From the Iland vpward the water is fresh, abounding in Salmons, and other fresh water fish. Some thirteene or fourteen daies iourney from the entrance in the North-east branch, there is a little arme of a Riuer that runneth East some daies iourney, which hath at the entrance foure fathoms water. Vpon this arme there is one ouer fall, which standeth halfe a daies iourney aboue this branch: vpon this arme there are foure Townes: The first is called *Kenebeke*, which hath eightie houses, and one hundred men. The Lord whereof is *Apombamen*. The second is *Ketanybeanytke*, and the *Sagamos* name is *Ottoworbe*, who hath in his Towne ninetie households, and three hundred and thirtie men. This Towne is foure dayes iourney from *Kenebeke*, and eight dayes iourney from To the Northward is the third Towne, which they call *Naragooc*; where there are fiftie households, and one hundred and fiftie men. The chiefe *Sagamo* of that place is *Cocockobamas*. And on the small branch that runneth East standeth the fourth Towne, named by *Massakiga*; where there are but eight households, and fortie men. Vpon the Northwest branch of this Sound stand two Townes more: The first is called *Amerecangan*, and is distant from *Kenebeke* sixe dayes iourney. In this place are ninetie households, and two hundred and sixtie men, with two *Sagamos*; the one called *Sasnoa*, the other *Scawus*. Seuen daies iourney hence there is another *Sagamo*, whose name is *Ottowerokin*, and his Townes name *Namercante*, wherein are fortie households, and one hundred and twentie men. A dayes iourney aboue *Namercante* there is a downefall, where they cannot passe with their Cannoes, but are inforced to carrie them by Land for the space of a quarter of a mile, and then they put them into the Riuer againe: And twelue dayes iourney aboue this Downfall there is another, where they carrie their Boates as at the first; and sixe dayes iourney more to the North is the head of this Riuer, where is the Lake that is of eight dayes iourney long, and foure dayes broad before mentioned. In this Lake there is one Iland; and three dayes iourney from this Lake there is a Towne which is called *Buccaygaecants*, wherein are threescore households, and foure hundred men: And the *Sagamo* thereof is called *Baccatusshe*. This man and his people are subiects to the *Bashabes* of *Mawooshen*, and in his Countrey is the farthest limit of his Dominion, where he hath any that doe him homage.

A great Iland.

Kenebeke.

To the Westward of *Sagadahoc*, foure dayes iourney there is another Riuer called *Ashamahaga*, which hath at the entrance sixe fathoms water, and is halfe a quarter of a mile broad: it runneth into the Land two dayes iourney: and on the East side there is one Towne called *Agnagebooc*, wherein are seuentie houses, and two hundred and fortie men, with two *Sagamos*, the one called *Mayrmet*, the other *Casberokenit*. 9.

Ashamahaga.

Seuen dayes iourney to the South-west of *Ashamahaga* there is another Riuer, that is sixe fathoms to the entrance: This Riuer is named *Shawakotoc*, and is halfe a myle broad; it runneth into the Land fiftie dayes iourney; but foure dayes from the entrance it is so narrow, that the Trees growing on each side doe so crosse with their boughes and bodies on the other, as it permitteth not any meanes to passe with Boates that way: for which cause the Inhabitants that on any occasion are to trauell to the head, are forced to goe by Land, taking their way vpon the West side. At the end of this Riuer there is a Lake of foure dayes iourney long, and two dayes broad, wherein are two Ilands. To the North-West foure daies iourney from this Lake, at the head of this Riuer *Shawakotoc* there is a small Prouince, which they call *Crokemago*, wherein is one Towne. This is the Westermost Riuer of the Dominions of *Bashabez*, and *Quibiquisson* the Westermost. 10.

Shawakotoc.

A Lake foure dayes iourney long & 2. broad

To the Reader.

I Haue thought good to adde to the English *Plantations in* New England, *those in the neighbour Countrey of* New-found-land. *This was first discouered*, Ann. 1497. *by S.* Sebastian Cabot, *set forth by King* Henry *the seuenth: the Voyages followed of M.* Rut, Albert de Prato, *M.* Hore, *and others.* Ann. 1583. *actuall and formall possession, was taken in the right of Queene* Elizabeth *of glorious memory, and her Successours, by that memorable Knight, Sir* Humfrey Gilbert (see sup. lib. 4. ca. 13.) *And in the yeere*, 1609. *M.* Iohn Guy *of* Bristoll *did write a Treatise to animate the* English *to plant there, a written Copy whereof I haue.* A. 1610. *It pleased his most excellent Maiestie to grant a Patent for a Plantation, part whereof (the whole might seeme too long for our purpose) we haue inserted.*

CHAP. VII.

The beginning of the Patent for New-found-land; *and the Plantation there made by the* English, 1610, *deliuered in a Letter dated thence from M.* GVY, *to M.* SLANY: *Also of the weather the three first Winters, and of Captaine* WESTON: *with other remarkable Occurrents.*

IAMES, by the Grace of GOD, of Great *Brittaine, France,* and *Ireland* King, Defendour of the Faith, &c. To all people to whom these Presents shall come, greeting. Know yee, whereas diuers Our louing and well disposed Subiects, are desirous to make Plantation to inhabite and to establish a Colony or Colonies, in the Southerne and Easterne parts of the Countrey, and Ile or Ilands, commonly called *New-found-land,* vnto the Coast and Harbour, whereof the Subiects of this our Realme of *England* haue for the space of fiftie yeeres and vpwards, yeerely vsed to resort in no small numbers to fish; intending by such Plantation and inhabiting, both to secure and make safe the said Trade of Fishing to Our Subiects for euer; And also, to make some commendable benefit for the vse of mankind by the lands and profits thereof, which hitherto from the beginning (as it seemeth manifest) hath remained vnprofitable: And for better performance of such their purpose and intentions, haue humbly besought Our Regall Authoritie and assistance; Wee being well assured that the same Land or Countrey adioyning to the foresaid Coasts, where Our Subiects vse to fish, remaineth so destitute and desolate of inhabitance, that scarce any one Sauage person hath in many yeeres beene seene in the most parts thereof: And well knowing that the same lying, and being so vacant, is as well for the reasons aforesaid, as for many other reasons very commodious for Vs and Our Dominions: And that by the Law of Nature, and Nations, We may of Our Royall Authoritie, possesse our selues, and make graunt thereof, without doing wrong to any other Prince, or State, considering they cannot iustly pretend any Soueraigntie or Right thereunto, in respect that the same remaineth so vacant and not actually possessed, and inhabited by any Christian, or other whomsoeuer. And therefore, thinking it a matter and action well beseeming a Christian King, to make true vse of that which God from the beginning created for mankind; And therefore intending, not onely to worke and procure the benefit and good of many of Our Subiects, but principally to increase the knowledge of the Omnipotent God, and the propagation of Our Christian Faith, haue graciously accepted of their said intention, and suit. And therefore doe of Our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, for Vs, Our Heires, and Successors, giue, graunt, and confirme by these Presents, vnto Our right deere, and right welbeloued Cousin, and Counsellor, *Henry* Earle of *Northampton,* Keeper of Our Priuy Seale, and to Our trustie and right welbeloued Sir *Laurence Tanfield* Knight, chiefe Baron of Our Exchequer, Sir *Iohn Dodridge* Knight, one of Our Sergeants at Law, Sir *Francis Bacon* Knight, Our Sollicitor Generall, Sir *Daniel Dun,* Sir *Walter Cope,* Sir *Pierciuall Willoughby,* and Sir *Iohn Constable* Knights, *Iohn Weld* Esquire, *William Freeman, Ralph Freeman, Iohn Slany, Humfrey Slany, William Turner, Robert Kirkam* Gentlemen, *Iohn Weld* Gentleman, *Richard Fishburne, Iohn Browne, Humfrey Spencer, Thomas Iuxon, Iohn Stokely, Ellis Crispe, Thomas Alport, Francis Needeham, William Ienes, Thomas Langton, Phillip Gifford, Iohn Whittingam, Edward Allen, Richard Bowdler, Thomas Ienes, Simon Stone, Iohn Short, Iohn Vigars, Iohn Iuxon, Richard Hobby, Robert Alder, Anthony Haueland, Thomas Aldworth, William Lewis, Iohn Guy, Richard Hallworthy, Iohn Langton, Humfrey Hooke, Phillip Guy, William Meredith, Abram Ienings,* and *Iohn Dowghtie,* their Heires and Assignes. And to such, and so many as they doe, or shall hereafter admit to be ioyned with them in forme hereafter in these Presents expressed, whether they goe in their persons to bee planted in the said Plantation, or whether they goe not, but doe aduenture their Monyes, Goods, and Chattels, that they shall bee one Body, or Comminaltie perpetuall, and shall haue perpetuall succession, and one common Seale to serue for the said Body, and Comminaltie; And that they, and their successours shall be knowne, called, and incorporated by the name of the Treasurer, and the Company of Aduenturers, and Planters of the Citie of *London,* and *Bristoll,* for the Colony or Plantation in *New-found-land,* and that they, and their successours shall bee from henceforth for euer inabled, to take, require, and purchase by the name aforesaid (Licence for the same, from Vs, Our Heires and Successours first had, and obtained) any manner of Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, Goods, and Chattels, within Our Realme of *England,* and Dominion of *Wales,* and that they, and their successours shall bee likewise inabled by the name aforesaid, to plead and be impleaded, before any Our Iudges, or Iustices in any of Our Courts, and in any Actions and Suits whatsoeuer. And Wee doe also of Our said speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, for Vs, Our Heires, and Successours, giue, grant, and confirme vnto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successours, vnder the reseruations, limitations, and declarations hereafter expressed, all that part and portion

on

on of the said Countrie, commonly called *New found land*, which is situate, lying and being to the Southward of the paralell line to be conceiued to passe by the Cape or hedland, commonly called or knowne by the name of *Bonewist Inclusiue*, which Cape or hedland is to be Northward of the Bay, commonly called *Trinity* Bay, and also which is situate, lying, and being to the Eastward of the Meridian line, to be conceiued to passe by the Cape, or headland, commonly called or knowne by the name of Cape *Saulta Maria*, or Cape *Saint Maries Inclusiue*, which Cape or headland is to be Eastward of the Bay commonly called the Bay of *Placentia*, together with the Seas and Hands lying within ten leagues of any part of the Sea coast of the Countrie aforesaid, and also all those Countries, Lands, and Ilands commonly called *Newfound land*, which are situate betweene forty and six degrees of Northerly latitude, and two and fifty degrees of the like latitude, and also all the Lands, Soyle, Grounds, Hauens, Ports, Riuers, Mines, as well royall Mines of Gold and Siluer, as other Mines, Minerals, Pearles, and precious stones, Woods, Quarries, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Hunting, Hawking, Fowling, Commodities, and Hereditaments whatsoeuer, together with all Prerogatiues, Iurisdictions, Royalties, Priuiledges, Franchises, and Preheminencies, within any the said Territories, and the precincts thereof whatsoeuer, and thereto or there abouts, both by Sea and Land, being, or in any sort belonging or appertaining; and which wee by our Letters Patents may or can grant, and in as ample manner and sort, as We or any of Our Noble progenitors haue heretofore granted to any Company, body politique or Corporate, or to any Aduenturer or Aduenturers, Vndertaker, or Vndertakers of any Discouery, Plantation, or Traficke, of, in or into any foraine parts whatsoeuer, and in as large and ample manner, as if the same were herein particularly mentioned and expressed. Neuertheless Our will and pleasure is, and We doe by these presents expresse and declare, that there be saued, and reserued vnto all manner of persons of what Nation soeuer, and also to all and euery Our louing Subiects, which doe at this present, or hereafter shall trade, or voyage to the parts aforesaid for Fishing, &c. April. 27. *A. Reg.* 8.

Master IOHN GVY his Letter to Master SEANY Treasurer, and to the Counsell of the *New-found-land* Plantation.

Right worshipfull, it may please you to vnderstand, that it was the tenth day of this moneth of May before the Barke of Northam, *called the* Consent, *arrined here in* New-found-land; *notwithstanding that a Ship of* Bristoll, *called the* Lioness, *came to this Country the second of May in a moneths space: and the* Trial *of* Dartmouth *arrined here before in sixteene dayes: By reason of which stay of the aforesaid Barke, nothing could be done to take any of the places desired: all being possessed before. So that the Ship that commeth, whereof as yet there is no newes, is to trust to the place here, which is reserued for her; which I hope will proue a good place. Some yeeres as great a Voyage hath bin made here, as in any place in this Land: God send her hither in safetie. I haue not yet seene any of the Countrey to the Southward, or Northward of this Bay of* Conception *since this spring, because I expected daily the arriuall of the Barke, and thought it not fit to be absent herehence vntill she were arrined, and dispatched: but presently vpon her departure, no time, God willing shall be lost. The care that was taken to require generally the Fishermen to assist vs, and to supply our wants, if any should be, was most ioyfull and comfortable to vs, which was most willingly accomplished by the most part of those which I haue yet seene: yet, God be praised, such was the state of all things with vs, as we were in no want of victuals, but had a great remainder, as you shall after vnderstand.*

Voyage in eight daies.

Fishermens kinde assistances.

The state of the Autumne and Winter was in these parts of New-found-land *after this manner. In both the moneths of October and Nouember, there were scarce six dayes wherin it either freezed or snowed: and that so little, that presently it was thawed and melted with the strength of the Sunne: All the residue of the aforesaid two moneths being both warmer and drier then in* England. *In December we had sometimes faire weather, sometimes frost and snow, and sometime open weather and raine: for in the latter end it was rainie, and was open weather. All these three moneths the winde was so variable, as it would euery fortnight visite all the points of the Compasse.*

State of the weather in Autumne and Winter. I haue by me a written iournall, declaring the winde and weather of euery day from 24. Nouember 1610. till the last of Aprill 1611. but thought it would seeme tedious, the substance thereof being here contained.

The most part of Ianuary and February vnto the middle of March the frost continued: the winde being for the most part Westerly, and now and then Northerly; notwithstanding three or foure times, when the winde was at South, it began to thaw and did raine. That which fell in this season was for the most part Snow, which with the heate of the Sunne would be consumed in the open places within a few dayes. That which abode longest was in February. During this time many dayes the Sun shone warme and bright from morning to night: notwithstanding the length of this frosty weather, small brookes that did run almost in leuell with a slow course, were not the whole winter three nights ouer frozen so thicke, as that the Ice could beare a Dogge to goe ouer it, which I found by good proofe: for euery morning I went to the brooke which runneth by our house to wash. The Snow was neuer aboue eighteene inches thicke generally out of the drift; so that the feare of wanting wood or water neuer tooke hold of vs: for albeit we made no prouision for them, yet at a minute of an houres warning we were furnished where there were Lakes of fresh water

Moderate Frosts.

ter that stood still and did not run, there it remained frozen able to beare a man almost three moneths, and was not dissolued vntill the middle of Aprill. But where the ayre had entrance and issue out of them, there was no frost. When the winde in the winter time in England is at the North-east one moneth together, the frost is greater, and the cold more sharpe, then it is here at all. There was no moneth in all the winter that some of our company did not trauell in, either by land or by water, and lie abroad and drinke water, in places distant two, three, foure and fiue leagues from our habitation, and sometimes lay in the woods without fire, and receiued no harme. When Aprill came our Spring began, and the first that did bud was the small Resen or the Corinth tree. Our Company was not letted in working abroad, & in the woods and open ayre fifteene dayes the whole winter. We neuer wanted the company of Rauens and small Birds: So that the doubt that hane bin made of the extremity of the winter season in these parts of New-found-land are found by our experience causelesse; and that not onely men may safely inhabit here without any neede of Stone, but Nauigation may be made to and fro from England to these parts at any time of the yeare.

Spring.

Concerning the healthfulnesse of these Countries, we hauing bin now more then ten moneths vpon this Voyage, of nine and thirty persons, which was all our number which wintered here, there are wanting onely foure; whereof one Thomas Percy Sawyer died the eleuenth of December of thought, hauing slaine a man in Rochester; which was the cause, being vnknowne vnto mee vntill a day before he died, that he came this Voyage. And one other, called Iohn Morris Tyler, miscarried the first of February by reason of a bruse. The third, called Marmaduke Whittington, was neuer perfectly well after he had the small Poxe, which he brought out of Bristoll with him, who died the fifteenth of February. And the fourth, called William Stone, hauing at the first onely a stiffenesse in one of his knees, kept his bed ten weekes, and would neuer stirre his body, which lasinesse brought him to his end, who died the thirteenth of Aprill. Of the rest foure or fiue haue bin sicke, some three moneths, and some foure moneths; who now are better then they were, except one. All of them, if they had had as good will to worke, as they had good stomackes to their victuals, would long since haue bin recouered. One Richard Fletcher, that is Master Pilot here and a director of the Fishing, reported vnto me, that he was one of the company consisting of forty persons, that went in a drumbler of Ipswich, called the Amitie, to the North part of Ireland about eleuen yeeres agoe from London in the late Queenes seruice, vnder the charge of one Captaine Fleming, and continued there the space of two yeares: In which time two and thirty died of the Scurnie, and that onely eight of them returned home, whereof the said Richard Fletcher was one. So that the accident of death or sicknesse of any persons in these our parts of New-found-land is not to argue any vnhealthfulnesse of this Country, no more then Ireland is to be discredited by the losse of those two and thirty men: notwithstanding that there were to be had fresh victuals and many other helpes, which this Country as yet hath not, but in good time may haue.

Healthfulnes.

Homicide dieth for thought

From the sixt of October vntill the sixteenth of May our Company had bin imployed in making of a Store-house to hold our prouisions, and a dwelling house for our habitation, which was finished about the first of December; with a square inclosure of one hundred and twenty foot long and nintie foot broad, compassing these two houses, and a worke house to worke dry in to make Boates or any other worke out of the raine: and three peeces of Ordnance are planted there to command the Harboroughs vpon a platforme made of great posts, and raile, and great Poles sixteene foot long set vpright round about, with two Flankers to scoure the quarters. A Bont about twelue tuns big with a decke is almost finished to saile and row about the headlands: six fishing Boates and Pinnesses: a second saw-pit at the fresh Lake of two miles in length and the sixt part of a mile broad, standing within twelue score of our habitation, to saw the timber to be had out of the fresh Lake, in keeping two paire of Sawyers to saw plankes for the said buildings, in ridding of some grounds to sow Corne and garden seedes: in cutting of wood for the Collier, in coling of it: in working at the Smiths Forge Iron works for all needfull vses: in cosling both by Land and Sea to many places within this Bay of Conception: in making the frame of timber of a farre greater and fairer house, then that which as yet we dwell in, which is almost finished, and diuers other things. We haue sowed all sorts of graine this Spring, which prosper well hitherto. Our Goates haue lined here all this winter; and there is one lustie Kidde, which was yeaned in the dead of winter. Our Swine prosper. Pidgens and Conies will endure exceeding well. Our Poultrie haue not onely laied Egges plentifully, but there are eighteene yong Chickins, that are a wecke old, besides others that are a hatching.

Imployment of the Colony

English Corne, Fowle and Cattle prosper there.

The feare of wilde Beasts we haue found to be almost needelesse. Our great Ram-Goate was missing fifteene dayes in October, and came home well againe, and is yet well with vs. If the industry of men and presence of domesticall Cattle were applied to the good of this Countrey of New-found-land, there would shortly arise iust cause of contentment to the inhabitants thereof. Many of our Masters and Sea-faring men seeing our safetie, and hearing what a milde winter we had, and that no Ice had bin seene fleeting in any of the Bayes of this Countrey all this yeare (notwithstanding that then met one hundred and fifty leagues off in the Sea great store of Ilands of Ice) doe begin to be in loue with the Countrey, and doe talke of comming to take land here to inhabit: falling in the reckoning aswell of the commoditie that they may make by the banke fishing, as by the husbandry of the Land, besides the ordinary fishing. At the Greene Bay, where some of our Company were a fishing in Nouember, they report there is great store of good grounds without woods, and there is a thousand acres together which they say may be mowed this yere. There is great store of Deere, whereof they saw some diuers times, and twice they came within shot of them; and the Greyhound, who is lustie, had a course, but could not get vpon them. But neerer vnto Cape Razo, Reuouse,

Medow.

Deere.

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Reuonse, *and* Trepasse *there is great quantitie of open ground and Stagges. It is most likely that all the Sackes will be departed out of* England *before the returne of this our Barke, which shall not make any matter; because I am now of opinion that nothing should be sent hither before the returne of the Ships from fishing. For as concerning sending of Cattle, it will be best that it be deferred vntill the next Spring. And concerning Victuals, in regard of the quantity, we haue of it remaining of old, together with that that is come new, as with the dry fish that here we may be stored with, I am in good hope there will not want any to last till this time twelue moneths. And according to the victuals which shall be found at the end of the fishing, the number of persons that shall remaine here all the next winter shall be fitted, that there shall not want: notwithstanding about Allhollantide, or the beginning of December, a Ship may be sent, such a one as our* Fleming *was with Salt from* Rochel; *for at any time of the winter Ships may as well goe and come hither, as when they doe, especially before Ianuary. This Summer I purpose to see most places betweene Cape* Rase, Placentia, *and* Bona vista, *and at the returne of the fishing Ships to entertaine a fit number of men to maintaine here the winter; and to set ouer them, and to take the care of all things here, with your patience, one Master* William Colton, *a discreete yong man, and my brother* Philip Guy, *who haue wintered with me, and haue promised me to vndertake this charge vntill my returne the next Spring, or till it shall be otherwise disposed of by you, and then together with such of the company as are willing to goe home, and such others as are not fit longer to be entertained here, I intend to take passage in the fishing Ships, and so returne home: And then betweene that and the Spring to be present, to giue you more ample satisfaction in all things, and to take such further resolution, as the importance of the enterprise shall require: wherein you shall finde me alwayes as ready as euer I haue bin to proceede and goe forward, God willing. And because at my comming home it will be time enough for mee to lay before you mine opinion touching what is to be vndertaken the next yeare, I will forbeare now to write of it; because you should be the sooner aduertised of our welfare: and because such of the Company as are sent home both for their owne good, and that the vnprofitable expence of victuals and wages might cease: I haue taken little or nothing backe, that the said Company might the better be at ease in the hold. Onely there is sent three hogsheads of Charcoles: where* Numero 1°. *is, they are of Burch: n°. 2°. is, of Pine and Spruce, n°. 3°. is of Firre, being the lightest wood, yet it maketh good Coles, and is vsed by our Smith. I send them because you shall see the goodnesse of each kinde of Cole. Also I send you an Hogshead of the Skinnes and Furres of such Beasts as haue bin taken here, the particulers whereof appeare in the Bill of lading.*

While I was writing I had newes of the Vineyard, *the Ship which you send to fishing, to haue bin in company with another Ship that is arriued on this side of the Banke, and that the Master intended to goe to* Farillon *or* Fer-land: *God send her in safety. So praying God for the prosperity of your Worships, and the whole Company, with hope that his diuine Maiestie which hath giuen vs so good a beginning, will alwayes blesse our proceedings: my dutie most humbly remembred, I take my leaue. Dated in* Cupers Cous *the sixteenth of May,* 1611.

I haue also a Iournall of the winde and weather from the latter end of August 1611. till Iune 1612. written by Master *William Colston*; and deliuered to Master *Iohn Guy*, Gouernour of the *English* Colony in *Newfoundland*, at his returne from *England* thither, Iune the seuenth 1612. By which it appeareth that the weather was somewhat more intemperate then it had beene the yeare before, but not intolerable, nor perhaps so bad as we haue it sometims in *England*. Their Dogges killed a Wolfe, Otters, Sables, &c. Captaine *Easton* a Pirat was troublesome to the *English*, and terrible to the *French* there: of whom I haue added this Letter; for the Diarie of the weather and occurrents each day would be very tedious.

To Master IOHN SLANY Treasurer, and others of the Councell, and Company of the *New-found-land* Plantation, the twenty nine of Iuly 1612.

Right Worshipfull, by my last of the seuenteenth of Iune, I wrote you of the estate then, of all matters here, by the Holland *Ship, which (I hope) is long since safely arriued, together with Master* Colston, *who hath (I doubt not) made by word of mouth, full relation of all matters. Because the proceedings of one Captaine* Peter Easton *a Pirate, and his company since, are most fit to be knowne, before I touch our Plantation businesse, you shall vnderstand, what they haue bin vnto this time: vntill the seuenteenth of this present, the said Captaine* Easton *remained in* Harbor de Grace, *there trimming, and repairing his Shipping, and commanding not onely the Carpenters of each Ship to doe his businesse, but hath taken victuals, munition, and necessaries from euery Ship, together with about one hundred men out of the Bay, to man his Ships, being now in number six. He purposed to haue before he goeth, as is said, out of the land fiue hundred men, while he remained there, two seuerall Companies to the number of about one hundred and eightie persons to each Company, being discontented, stole away from him in a Shallop, and tooke two Ships that were fishing in* Trinitie Bay, *one belonging to* Barnstable, *and one other to* Plimmouth, *and so*

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so intend, to begin to be new heads, of that damnable course of life. As I sailed from hence towards Renoose, *in a small Barke, I fell into one of their hands: and one of my company was hurt with a Musket. there was one of their crew that wintered with me here the first yeare, by whose meanes, and because I was in the Barke, they made shew, that they were sorry that they had medled with vs: And so they departed from vs, without comming aboord. That which they sought after was men, to increase their number. Before the said Captaine* Eastons *departure, he sent three Ships into* Trinitie *Bay, to store himselfe with victuals, munition, and men, who are said to be worse vsed, then the Ships here, he taketh much ordnance from them. The said* Easton *was lately at Saint* Iones, *and is now, as farre as I can learne, at* Feriland, *where he taketh his pleasure, and thereabouts, the rest are to meete him. It is given out, that we will send one Captaine* Haruy *in a Ship to* Ireland, *to vnderstand newes about his pardon, which if he can obtaine in that large and ample manner as he expecteth, then he giueth out, that he will come in: otherwise, it is thought, that he will get Protection of the Duke of* Florence, *and that in his course herehence, he will honer about the Westwards of the Ilands of the* Azores, *to see whether he can light vpon any of the Plate fleete, or any good rich bootie, before his comming in. Albeit, he hath so prevailed here to the strengthening of himselfe, and incouraging of others to attempt the like hereafter: yet, were there that course taken, as I hope shall be, it is a most easie matter to represse them.*

I haue also a Diarie of the winter weather, and obseruations of occurrents from August 1612. till Aprill 1613. December was very full of Snow (for I dare not present the whole) and the fresh-water Lake was frozen ouer, and the Frost and Snow by the tenth of that moneth, as in any part of the two former places. Ianuary was much milder till the foureteenth, from thence it was very frosty. Their Beere was frozen, and they dranke halfe water (an ill remedy to cold.) The Cattell did not well thriue, as comming out of a Countrie not so cold. And therefore *Irish* Cattell (where the winter is warmer) are not so fit to be transported hither. *George Danis* died of the Scuruie, and after him *Edward Garton, Edward Hartland, Iohn Tucker*, and one and twenty were sicke (most of the Scuruie) the whole Colonie was sixtie two. February was much warmer and more temperate. *Toby* and *Grigge* died in March, the rest recouered. Turneps being found as good to recouer from the Scuruie as the *Anoda* tree to *Iacques Cartiers* Company. *Nicholas Guies* wife was deliuered of a lusty boy March 27. The Easterly windes and some Currents brought Ilands of Ice from the North Seas, which made the weather colder that Spring then in the depth of winter when the same windes blowed, namely East and Northeast, those Ilands being blowne into the Baies, and the windes from them euen in Aprill very sharpe; and the Snow on the tenth of Aprill as thicke as any time that yeare.

In October *Iohn Guy* with thirteene others in the *Indeauour*, and fiue in the Shallop, went vpon Discouery. At *Mount Eagle* Bay they found store of Scuruy-grasse on an Iland. In the South bottome of *Trinitie* Bay, which they called *Sauage Harbour*, they found Sauages houses, no people in them; in one they found a Copper Kettle very bright (you shall haue it as one of them writ it in his owne tearmes) a furre Goune of Elke skin, some Seale skins, an old saile and a fishing reele. Order was taken that nothing should be diminished, and because the Sauages should know that some had bin there, euery thing was remoued out of his place, and brought into one of the Cabins, and laid orderly one vpon the other, and the Kettle hanged ouer them, wherein there was put some Bisket, and three or foure Amber Beades. This was done to begin to win them by faire meanes. This time of the yeare they liue by hunting; for wee found twelue Elkes hoofes, that were lately killed. A little peece of flesh was brought away, which was found to be a Beuer Cod, which is forthcomming to be seene. Their Houses there were nothing but Poles set in round forme meeting all together aloft, which they couer with Deere skins, they are about ten foote broad, and in the middle they make their fire: one of them was couered with a saile, which they had gotten from some *Christian*.

Copper kettle.

Their houses described.

All things in this manner left, euery one returned by the Moone-light, going by the brinke of the Lake vnto the enterance of the made way: and a little before they came thither, they passed by a new Sauage house almost finished, which was made in a square forme with a small roofe, and so came to the Barke. They haue two kinde of Oares, one is about foure foot long of one peece of Firre; the other is about ten foot long made of two peeces, one being as long, big, and round as a halfe Pike made of Beech wood, which by likelihood they made of a Biskin Oare, the other is the blade of the Oare, which is let into the end of the long one slit, and whipped very strongly. The short one they vse as a Paddle, and the other as an Oare. The thirtieth, without any further businesse with the Sauages, we departed thence to the Northerne side of *Trinity* Bay, and anchored all that night vnder an Iland. The one and thirtieth, we rowed vnto an harbour, which now is called *Allhallowes*; which hath adioyning vnto it very high land.

Their Oares.

November the sixt, two Canoas appeared, and one man alone comming towards vs with a Flag in his hand of a Wolfes skin, shaking it and making a loud noise, which we tooke to be for a parley: whereupon a white Flag was put out, and the Barke and Shallop rowed towards them, which the Sauages did not like of, and so tooke them to their Canoas againe, and were going away: whereupon the Barke wheazed vnto them, and flourished the Flag of truce, and came to anker

Sauages.

anker, which pleased them, and then they staied: presently after the Shallop landed *Master Whittington* with the Flagge of truce, who went towards them. Then they rowed into the shoare with one Canoa, the other standing aloofe off, and landed two men, one of them hauing the white skin in his hand, and comming towards *Master Whittington*, the Sauage made a loud speech, and shaked the skin, which was answered by *Master Whittington* in like manner, and as the Sauage drew neere, he threw downe the white skin on the ground, the like was done by *Master Whittington*; whereupon both the Sauages passed ouer a little water streame towards *Master Whittington*, dancing, leaping, and singing, and comming together, the foremost of them presented vnto him a chaine of leather full of small Periwinckle shels, a spitting knife, and a Feather that stacke in his eare: the other gaue him an Arrow without a head; and the former was requited with a linnen Cap, and a hand Towell, who put presently the linnen Cap vpon his head: and to the other he gaue a Knife: and after hand in hand, they all three did sing and dance: vpon this, one of our company called *Francis Tipton* went ashoare, vnto whom one of the Sauages came running, and gaue him a Chaine, such as is before spoken of, who was gratified by *Francis Tipton* with a Knife and a small peece of Brasse. Then all foure together danced, laughing and making signes of ioy and gladnesse, sometimes striking the brests of our company, and sometimes their owne. When signes were made that they should be willing to suffer two of our Company more to come on shoare, for two of theirs more to be landed, and that Bread and Drinke should be brought ashoare, they made likewise signes that they had in their Canoas meate also to eate: vpon this the Shallop rowed aboord, and brought *Iohn Guy* and Master *Teage* a shoare, who presented them with a Shirt, two table Napkins, and a Hand-towell, giuing them Bread, Butter, and Reasons of the Sunne to eate, and Beere, and *Aquanita* to drinke: and one of them blowing in the *Aquanita* Bottle, that made a sound, which they fell all into a laughing at. After, Master *Croote* and *Iohn Crouther* came ashoare, whom they went to salute giuing them shell Chaines, who bestowed Gloues vpon them. One of the Sauages that came last ashoare, came walking with his Oare in his hand, and seemed to haue some command ouer the rest, and behaued himselfe ciuilly: For when meate was offered him, he drew off his Mitten from his hand before hee would receiue it, and gaue an Arrow for a present without a head: who was requited with a dozen of Points. After they had all eaten and drunke, one of them went to their Canoa, and brought vs Deeres flesh dried in the smoake or winde, and drawing his Knife from out of his necke, hee cut euery man a peece, and that sauoured very well. At the first meeting, when signes were made of meate to eate, one of the Sauages presently ran to the banke side, and pulled vp a roote, and gaue it to Master *Whittington*, which the other Sauage perceiuing to be durtie tooke it out of his hand, and went to the water to wash it, and after diuided it among the foure, it tasted very well: hee that came ashoare with the Oare in his hand, went and tooke the white skin that they hailed vs with, and gaue it to Master *Whittington*; and presently after they did take our white Flagge with them in the Canoa, and made signes vnto vs that we should repaire to our Barke, and so they put off, for it was almost night.

In the two Canoas there were eight men, if none were women (for commonly in euery Canoa there is one woman) they are of a reasonable stature, of an ordinary middle size, they goe bare-headed, wearing their haire somewhat long, but round: they haue no Beards; behinde they haue a great locke of haire platted with feathers, like a Hawkes Lure, with a feather in it standing vpright by the crowne of the head, and a small locke platted before, a short Gown made of Stags skins, the Furre innermost, that ranne downe to the middle of their legges, with sleeues to the middle of their arme, and a Beuer skin about their necke, was all their apparell, saue that one of them had shooes and Mittens, so that all went bare-legged, and most bare-foote. They are full eyed, of a blacke colour; the colour of their haire was diuers, some blacke, some browne, and some yellow, and their faces something flat and broad, red with Oker, as all their apparell is, and the rest of their body: they are broad brested, and bould, and stand very vpright. Their fashions.

Their Canoa, are about twenty foote long, and foure foote and a halfe broad in the middle aloft, and for their Keele and timbers, they haue thin light peeces of dry Firre, rended as it were lathes: and instead of Boords, they vse the outer Burch barke, which is thin, and hath many folds, sowed together with a thred made of a small root quartered. They will carry foure persons well, and weigh not one hundred weight: they are made in forme of a new Moone, stem and sterne alike, and equally distant from the greatest breadth: from the stem and sterne here riseth a yard high a light thin staffe whipped about with small rootes, which they take hold by to bring the Canoa ashoare, that serueth instead of ropes, and a harbour, for euery place is to them a harborough; where they can goe ashoare themselues, they take aland with them their Canoa: and will neuer put to Sea but in a calme, or very faire weather: in the middle the Canoa is higher a great deale then in the Bowe and quarter, they be all bearing from the Keele to the portlesse not with any circular line but with a right line. They had made a Tilt with a Saile that they got from some *Christian*, and pitched a dozen poles in the ground neere, on which were hanged diuers Furs, and chaines made of shels, which at that instant we fell not in the reckoning to what intent it was done, but after it came to our minde, as hereafter you shall perceiue. Their Canoas.

The

The seuenth day we spent in washing, and in beginning a house to shelter vs when we should come thither hereafter, vpon a small Iland of about fiue acres of ground, which is ioyned to the maine with a small Beech: for any bartering with the Sauages there cannot be a fitter place.

The eighth day it began to freeze, and there was thin Ice ouer the sound; and because we heard nothing more of the Sauages we began to return out of the Sounds, & comming to the place which the Sauages had made two dayes before fire in, wee found all things remaining there, as it was when we parted, *viz.* an old Boat saile, three or foure shell chaines, about twelue Furres, of Beauers most, a Fox skin, a Sable skin, a Bird skin, and an old Mitten, set euery one vpon a seuerall pole: whereby we remained satisfied fully, that they were brought thither of purpose to barter with vs, and that they would stand to our courtesie to leaue for it what wee should thinke good. Because we were not furnished with fit things for to trucke, we tooke onely a Beauer skin, a Sable skin, and a Bird skin, leauing for them a Hatchet, a Knife, and foure Needles threaded. Master *Whitsuntons* had a paire of Cizzars which he left there for a small Beauers skin, all the rest we left there vntouched, and came that night to the harbour that we were in at our entring, which we call *Flag-staffe Harbour*, because we found there the Flag-staffe throwne by the Sauages away. These Sauages by all likelihood were animated to come vnto vs, by reason that wee tooke nothing from them at *Sauage Bay*, and some of them may be of those which dwell there. For in no other place where we were could we perceiue any tokens of any aboade of them, &c.

Chap. VIII.

Captaine Richard Whitbovrne's *Voyages to* New-found-land, *and obseruations there, and thereof; taken out of his Printed Booke.*

IT it well knowne, that my breeding and course of life hath beene such, as that I haue long time set many people on worke, and spent most of my daies in trauell, specially in Merchandizing, and Sea-Voyages. I haue beene often in *France*, *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Portugall*, *Sauoy*, *Denmarke*, *Norway*, *Spruceland*, the *Canaries*, and *Soris* Ilands: and for the *New-found-land*, it is almost so familiarly knowne to me as my owne Countrey.

In the yeere 1588. I serued vnder the then Lord Admirall, as Captaine in a Ship of my owne set forth at my charge against the *Spanish Armado*: and after such time as that seruice was ended, taking my leaue of his Honour, I had his fauourable Letters to one Sir *Robert Dennis*, in the Countie of *Deuon*, Knight; whereby there might be some course taken, that the charge as well of my owne Ship, as also of two other, and a Pinnace, with the victuals, and men therein imploied, should not be any way burthensome to me. Wherein there was such order giuen by the then right Honorable Lords of the priuie Counsell, that the same was well satisfied: which seruice is to be seene recorded in the Booke at *White-Hall*.

Now to expresse some of my Voyages to the *New-found-land*, which make most for the present purpose. My first Voyage thither, was about fortie yeeres since, in a worthie Shippe, of the burthen of three hundred tun, set forth by one Master *Cotton* of *South-hampton*: wee were bound to the *Grand Bay* (which lieth on the North side of that Land) purposing there to trade then with the Sauage people (for whom we carried sundry commodities) and to kill Whales, and to make Traine Oyle, as the *Biscainers* doe there yeerely in great abundance. But this our intended Voyage was ouerthrowne, by the indiscretion of our Captaine, and faint-hartednesse of some Gentlemen of our Companie: whereupon we set saile from thence, and bare with *Trinity Harbour* in *New-found-land*: where we killed great store of Fish, Deere, Beares, Beauers, Seales, Otters, and such like, with abundance of Sea-fowle; and so returning for *England*, wee arriued safe at *South-hampton*.

In a Voyage to that Countrie, about six and thirtie yeeres since, I had then the command of a worthy Ship of two hundred and twenty tun, set forth by one Master *Crooke* of *South-hampton*: At that time Sir *Humfrey Gilbert*, a *Deuonshire* Knight, came thither with two good Ships and a Pinnace, and brought with him a large Patent, from the late most renowned Queene *Elizabeth*, and in her name tooke possession of that Countrie, in the Harbour of Saint *Iohns*, whereof I was an eye-witnesse. He sailed from thence towards *Virginia*; and by reason of some vnhappy direction in his course, the greatest Ship he had strucke vpon Shelues, on the Coast of *Canadie*, and was there lost, with most part of the company in her: And he himselfe being then in a small Pinnace of twenty tun, in the company of his Vice-Admirall (one Captaine *Hayes*) returning towards *England*, in a great storme, was ouerwhelmed with the Seas, and so perished.

In another Voyage I made thither, about foure and thirty yeeres past, wherein I had the command of a good Ship, partly mine one: at that time own Sir *Bernard Drake* of *Deuonshire*, Knight, came

came thither with a Commission, and hauing diuers good Ships vnder his command, hee there took many *Portugall* Ships laden with Fish, and brought them into *England* as Prizes: Omitting to speak of other Voyages, I made thither, during the late Queens raign, I will descend to later times.

In the yeere 1611. being in *New-found-land*, at which time that famous Arch-Pirate, *Peter Easton*, came there, and had with him ten saile of good Ships well furnished and very rich, I was kept eleuen weekes vnder his command, and had from him many golden promises, and much wealth offered to be put into my hands, as it is well knowne: I did perswade him much to desist from his euill course; his intreaties then to me, being that I would come for *England*, to some friends of his, and sollicite them to become humble petitioners to your Maiestie for his pardon: but hauing no warrant to touch such goods, I gaue him thankes for his offer; onely I requested him to release a Ship that he had taken vpon the Coast of *Guinnie*, belonging to one Captaine *Rashly* of *Foy* in *Cornewall*; a man whom I knew but onely by report: which he accordingly released. Whereupon I prouided men, victuals, and a fraught for the said Ship, and so sent her home to *Dartmouth* in *Deuon*, though I neuer had so much as thankes for my kindenesse therein. And so leauing *Easton*, I came for *England*, and gaue notice of his intention, letting passe my Voyage I intended for *Naples*, and lost both my labour and charges: for before my arriuall, there was a pardon granted, and sent him from *Ireland*. But *Easton* houering with those ships and riches vpon the Coast of *Barbary*, as he promised, with a longing desire, and full expectation to be called home, lost that hope by a too much delaying of time by him who carried the Pardon. Whereupon he sailed to the Straights of *Gibraltar*, and was afterwards entertained by the Duke of *Sauoy*, vnder whom he liued rich.

I was there also in the yeere 1614. when Sir *Henry Mainwaring* was vpon that Coast, with fiue good Ships strongly prouided: he caused me to spend much time in his company, and from him I returned into *England*, although I was bound from thence to *Marsellis*, to make sale of such goods as I then had, and other imploiments, &c.

In the yeere 1615. I returned againe to *New-found-land*, carrying with mee a Commission out of the high Court of Admiraltie, vnder the great Seale thereof, authorising me to empannell Iuries, and to make inquirie vpon Oath, of sundry abuses and disorders committed amongst Fishermen yeerly vpon that Coast, and of the fittest means to redresse the same, with some other points, hauing a more particular relation to the Office of the Lord Admirall.

What was then there done, by vertue of that Commission, which was wholly executed at my owne charge, hath bin at large by me already certified into the high Court of Admiraltie. Neuertheless, seeing the same hath beene ouerslipt euer since, & not produced those good effects which were expected, I will, in some conuenient place of this Discourse, set downe a briefe collection of some part of my endeuours spent in that seruice; not doubting but it will be as auaileable for the furtherance of our intended designe, as any other reason I shall deliuer.

In the yeere 1616. I had a Ship at *New-found-land* of a hundred tun, which returning laden from thence, being bound for *Lisbone*, was met with by a *French* Pirate of *Rochell*, one *Daniel Tibolo*, who rifled her, to the ouerthrow and losse of my Voyage, in more then the summe of 860. pounds, and cruelly handled the Master and the Company that were in her; and although I made good proofe thereof at *Lisbone*, and represented the same also to this Kingdome, as appertained, after my returne from thence; yet for all this losse, I could neuer haue any recompence.

Shortly after my returne from *Lisbone*, I was sent for by a Gentleman, who about a yeere before, by a grant from the Patentees, had vndertaken to settle people in *New-found-land*; he acquainted me with his designes, & after some conference touching the same, we so concluded, that he gaue me a conueiance vnder his hand and seale for the terme of my life, with full power to gouerne within his circuit vpon that Coast; whereupon (being desirous to aduance that worke) in *Anno* 1618. I sailed thither in a Ship of my owne, which was victualled by that Gentleman, my selfe, and some others. We likewise then did set forth another Ship, for a fishing Voyage, which also carried some victuals for those people which had beene formerly sent to inhabit there: but this Ship was intercepted by an *English* erring Captain (that went forth with Sir *Walter Raleigh*) who tooke the Master of her, the Boatswaine, & two other of the best men, with much of her victuals (the rest of the Company for feare running into the woods) and so left the Ship as a Prize, whereby our intended Fishing Voyages of both our Ships were ouerthrown, and the Plantation hindered.

Now seeing it pleased your Maiestie many yeers since, to take good notice of the said *New-found-land*, and granted a Patent for a Plantation there; wherein many Honorable and worthy mens endeuours, and great charge therein, haue deserued good commendations (as is well known) the which I desire to further with all my best endeuours: and not to disgrace or disable the foundation and Proiects of others, knowing they haue beene greatly hindered by Pirats, and some erring Subiects that haue arriued vpon that Coast; it being indifferent to me, whether there be a new foundation laid, or whether it be builded vpon that which hath already beene begun; so that the Plantation go forward. Yet I may truly say, that hitherto little hath beene performed to any purpose, by such as therein were imploied, worthy the name of a Plantation, or answerable to the

expectation, and desert of the Vndertakers; neither haue such good effects followed, as may be expected from a thorow performance hereafter. And seeing that no man hath yet published any fit motiues or inducements, whereby to perswade men to aduenture, or plant there; I haue presumed plainly to lay downe these following reasons, &c.

A Relation of the New-found-land.

The situation of the Country

New-found-land is an Iland, bordering vpon the continent of *America*, from which it is diuided by the Sea: so far distant, as *England* is from the neerest part of *France*, & lieth between 46. and 53. deg. North-latitude: It is neere as spacious as *Ireland*, and lieth neere the course that Ships vsually hold in their return from the West *Indies*, and neere halfe the way between *Ireland* and *Virginia*. I shall not much neede to commend the wholsome temperature of that Countrie, seeing the greatest part thereof lieth aboue 3. degrees neerer to the South, then any part of *England*

The temperature of the Ayre.

doth. And it hath bin well approued by some of our Nation, who haue liued there these many yeeres, that euen in the winter it is as pleasant and healthfull as *England* is. And although the example of one Summer be no certain rule for other yeeres; yet thus much also can I truely affirme, that in the yeere 1615. of the many thousands of *English*, *French*, *Portugals*, and others, that were then vpon that Coast (amongst whom I sailed to and fro more then one hundred leagues) I neither saw nor heard in all that trauell, of any man or boy of either of these Nations, that died there during the whole Voyage; neither was so much as any one of them sicke.

The Inhabitants, with their nature and customes.

The naturall Inhabitants of the Countrie, as they are but few in number, so are they something rude and sauage people; hauing neither knowledge of God, nor liuing vnder any kinde of ciuil gouernment. In their habits, customs & manners, they resemble the *Indians* of the Continent, from whence (I suppose) they come; they liue altogether in the North and West part of the Country, which is seldome frequented by the *English*: But the *French* and *Biscaines* (who resort thither yeerely for the Whale-fishing, and also for the Cod-fish) report them to be an ingenious and tractable people (being well vsed) they are ready to assist them with great labour and patience, in the killing, cutting, and boyling of Whales; and making the Traine Oyle, without expectation of other reward, then a little Bread, or some such small hire.

The conueniency of the Bayes in that Countrie.

All along the coast of this Countrie, there are many spacious and excellent Bayes, some of them stretching into the land, one towards another, more then twentie leagues. On the East side of the Land, are the Bayes of *Trinitie* and *Conception*, which stretcheth themselues towards the South-west: *Tor* Bay, and *Capelin* Bay, lying also on the East, stretch reward the West: the Bayes of *Trepassey*, S. *Mary*, *Barrell*, and *Plaisance*, on the South part of the Land, extend their armes toward the North: The great Bay of S. *Peters*, lying on the South-west side of the Land, and East, Southerly from the great Riuer of *Canada*, being about twentie leagues distant, the same stretcheth toward the East. And here I pray you note, that the bottoms of these Bayes doe meete together within the compasse of a small circuit: by meanes whereof our men passing ouer land from Bay to Bay, may with much facilitie discouer the whole Countrie.

From the Bay of S. *Peter* round about the West side of the Land, till you come to the grand Bay, which lieth on the North-side of the Countrie; and so from thence, till you come round, back to *Trinitie* Bay, are abundance of large and excellent Bayes; which are the lesse knowne, because not frequented by the *English*, who seldome fish to the Northward of *Trinitie* Bay.

Commodious Ilands & worthy Harbours.

And it is to be obserued, that round about the Coast and in the Bayes, there are many small Ilands (none of them further off then a league from the land) both faire and fruitfull: neither doth any one part of the world afford greater store of good Harbours, more free from dangers, or more commodious, then are there built by the admirable workmanship of God; I will onely instance two or three of the chiefest, for some speciall reasons.

Trinitie Harbor affording diuers good commodities.

Trinitie Harbour lyes fortie nine degrees North-latitude, being very commodiously seated to receiue shipping in reasonable weather, both to anchor in, and from thence to saile towards either the East, West, or South: It hath three Armes or Riuers, long and large enough for many hundred sayle of Ships, to moore fast at Anchor neere a mile from the Harbours mouth; close adioyning to the Riuers side, and within the Harbour is much open land, well stored with Grasse sufficient, Winter and Summer, to maintaine great store of ordinary Cattell, besides Hogges and Goats, if such beasts were carried thither: and it standeth North, most of any Harbour in the Land, where our Nation practiseth Fishing; It is neere vnto a great Bay lying on the North-side of it, called the Bay of *Flowers*, to which place no Ships repaire to fish; partly in regard of sundry Rockes and Ledges lying euen with the water, and full of danger: but chiefly (as I coniecture) because the Sauage people of that Countrey doe there inhabite: many of them secretly euery yeere, come into *Trinitie* Bay and Harbour, in the night time, purposely to steale Sailes, Lines, Hatchets, Hookes, Knines, and such like. And this Bay is not three *English* miles ouer Land from *Trinitie* Bay in many places; which people, if they might bee reduced to the knowledge of the true Trinitie indeed, no doubt but it would bee a most sweet and acceptable sacrifice to God; an euerlasting honour to your Maiesty, and the heauenliest blessing to those poore Creatures, who are buried in their own superstitious

Sauages liuing neer to *Trinitie* Harbour.

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ignorance. The taske thereof would proue easie, if it were but well begun, and constantly seconded by industrious spirits: and no doubt but God himselfe would set his hand to reare vp and aduance so noble, so pious, and so Christian a building.

The bottome of the Bay of *Trinity* lieth within foure leagues through the land South-west, Southerly from *Trinity*, as by experience is found, and it comes neere vnto the Bay of *Trepassey*, and the bottome of some other Bayes, as I haue alreadie touched before. The bottoms of diuers Baies meeting neere together.

Trepassey in like manner is as commodious a Harbour, lying in a more temperate climate, almost in 46. degrees, the like latitude, and is both faire and pleasant, and a wholesome Coast, free from Rockes and Shelues: so that of all other Harbours, it lies the South-most of any Harbour in the Land, and most conueniently to receiue our Shipping to and from *Virginia*, and the *Bermuda* Ilands; and also any other Shipping that shall passe to and from the Riuer of *Canady* and the Coast thereof; because they vsually passe and returne in the sight of the Land of *Trepassey*; and also for some other purposes, as shall be partly declared in the following discourse. The Harbour of *Trepassey* lying commodiously.

The soile of this Countrie in the Vallies and sides of the Mountaines, is so fruitfull, as that in diuers places, there the Summer naturally produceth out of the fruitfull wombe of the earth, without the labour of mans hand, great plentie of greene Pease and Fitches, faire, round, full and wholesome as our Fitches are in *England*: of which I haue there fed on many times: the hawmes of them are good fodder for Cattell and other Beasts in the winter, with the helpe of Hay; of which there may be made great store with little labour in diuers places of the Countrie. The fertilitie of the soyle.

Then haue you there faire Strawberries red and white, and as faire Raspasse berrie, and Gooseberries, as there be in *England*; as also multitudes of Bilberries, which are called by some Whortes, and many other delicate Berries (which I cannot name) in great abundance. There are also many other fruites, as small Peares, sowre Cherries, Filberds, &c. And of these Berries and Fruits the store is there so great, that the Marriners of my Ship and Barkes Companie, haue often gathered at once, more then halfe an Hogshead would hold; of which diuers times eating their fill, I neuer heard of any man, whose health was thereby any way impaired. Seuerall sorts of Fruits there growing.

There are also Herbes for Sallets and Broth; as Parslie, Alexander, Sorrell, &c. And also Flowers, as the red and white Damaske Rose, with other kindes, which are most beautifull and delightfull, both to the sight and smell. And questionlesse the Countrie is stored with many Physicall herbs and roots, albeit their vertues are not knowne, because not sought after; yet within these few yeeres, many of our Nation finding themselues ill, haue bruised some of the herbs and streined some of the iuice into Beere, Wine or *Aquauita*; and so by Gods assistance, after a few drinkings, it hath restored them to their former health. The like vertue it hath to cure a wound or any swelling, either by washing the grieued places with some of the herbes boiled, or by applying them so thereunto (plaister-wise) which I haue seene by often experience. This being the naturall fruitfulnesse of the earth, producing such varietie of things, fit for foode, without the labour of man: I might in reason hence inferre, that if the same were manured, and husbanded in some places, as our grounds are, it would be apt to beare Corne, and no lesse fertill then the *English* soile. Herbs & Flowers both pleasant and medicinable.

But I neede not confine my selfe to probabilities; seeing our men that haue wintred there diuers yeeres, did for a triall and experiment thereof sowe some small quantitie of Corne, which I saw growing verie faire; and they found the increase to be great, and the graine very good; and it is well knowne to me, and diuers that trade there yeerely, how that Cabbage, Carrets, Turneps, Lettice, and such like, proue well there. Corn growing there, yeelding good increase.

In diuers parts of the Countrie there is great store of Deere, & some Hares, manie Foxes, Squirrels, Beuers, Wolues, and Beares, with other sorts of Beasts, seruing as well for necessitie, as for profit and delight. Neither let me seeme ridiculous, to annex a matter of noueltie, rather then weight, to this discourse. In the yeere 1615. it was well knowne to eight and fortie persons of my Companie, and diuers other men, that three seuerall times, the Wolues & Beasts of the Countrie came downe neere them to the Sea-side, where they were labouring about their Fish, howling and making a noise: so that at each time my Mastiffe Dogge went vnto them (as the like in that Countrie hath not been seene) the one began to fawne and play with the other, and so went together into the Woods, and continued with them, euerie of these times, nine or ten daies, and did returne vnto vs without any hurt. Store of Deere & other Beasts. A rare example of the gentle nature of the Beasts of that Country. M. *Guies* Mastiffe & Greyhound vsed a Wolfe there more doggedly, one pulling out the throat, the other the belly.

The Land Fowle (besides great number of small Birds flying vp and downe, some without name, that liue by scraping their food from the earth in the hardest winter that is) there are also Hawkes great and small, Partridges, Thrush, and Thrussels abundance, very fat. As also Filladies, Nightingales, and such like, that sing most pleasantly. There are also Birds that liue by prey, as Rauens, Gripes, Crowes, &c. For Water-fowle, there is certainly so good, and as much varietie, as in any part of the world; as Geese, Ducks, Pidgeons, Gulls, Penguins, and many other sorts. These Penguins are as bigge as Geese, and flie not, for they haue but a little short wing, and they multiply so infinitely, vpon a certaine flat Iland, that men driue them from thence vpon a boord into their Boates by hundreds at a time; as if God had made the innocencie of so poore a creature Great store of Land Fowle. Water Fowle. Penguins.

ture to become such an admirable instrument for the sustentation of man. There are also God-wits, Curlewes, and a certaine kinde of Fowle are called Oxen and Kine, with such like; which Fowle doe not onely steed those that trade thither greatly for foode, but also they are a great furthering to diuers Ships voyages, because the abundance of them is such, that the Fishermen doe bait their hookes with the quarters of Sea-Fowle on them: and therewith some Ships doe yeerely take a great part of their Fishing Voyages, with some baite, before they can get others.

Fresh water and Springs.

The fresh waters and Springs of that Countrie, are many in number, and withall very pleasant, delightfull and wholesome, that no Countrie in the world hath better. And Fewell for fire is so plentifull, that there is neuer like to be want of that commoditie.

Many sorts of Timber there growing.

In like manner there is great abundance of Trees fit to be imploied in other seruiceable vses: There are Furre and Spruce trees, sound, good, and fit to mast Ships withall; and as commodious for boords and buildings as the Spruce and Firre trees of *Norway*, and out of these came abundance of Turpentine. No Countrie can shew Pine and Birch trees, of such height and greatnesse as those are there: and doubtlesse, if some store of your Maiesties subiects doe once settle there to liue, and would be industrious to search further, and more throughly into the Countrie, then as yet it hath beene, there might be found many other commodities of good worth. Amongst the which I may not omit, that there is much probabilitie of finding Mines, and making of Iron and Pitch.

Good hope of Mines, and making of Iron and Pitch.

Fish in great abundance.

The Riuers also and Harbors are generally stored with delicate Fish, as Salmons, Pearles, Eeles, Herring, Mackerell, Flounders, Launce, Capelin, Cod, and Troutes the fairest, fattest and sweetest, that I haue seene in any part of the world. The like for Lobsters, Crabfish, Muskles, Hens, and other varietie of Shel-fish great store. And also obserue here, that in these places there is vsually store of the spawne and frie of seuerall sorts of fishes: whereby the Sea-fowle liue so fat as they are there in the winter: And likewise the Beuers, Otters, and such like, that seeke their foode in the Ponds, and fresh Riuers. The Seas likewise all along the Coast, doe plentifully abound in other sorts of fish, as Whales, Spanish Mackerell, Dorrell, Pales, Herring, Hogs, Porposes, Seales, and such like royall fish, &c.

Cod-fishing a great hope of benefit therefrom.

The benefit arising to *France*, *Spaine* and *Italy* from fishing vpon those coasts.

But the chiefe commodity of *New-found-land* yet knowne, and which is growne to be a setled trade, and that may be much bettered by an orderly Plantation there (if the Traders thither will take some better course, then formerly they haue done, as shall be declared) if the Cod-fishing vpon that Coast, by which our Nation and many other Countries are enriched. And if I should here set downe a valuation of that Fish, which the *French*, *Biscaines*, and *Portugals* fetch yeerely from this Coast of *New-found-land*, and the *Banke*, which lieth within fiue and twentie leagues from the *South-Cape* of that Countrie, where the *French* vse to fish Winter and Summer, vsually making two Voyages euery yeere thither: (To which places, and to the Coast of *Canady*, which lieth neere vnto it, are yeerely sent from those Countries, more then foure hundred saile of Ships:) It would seeme incredible, yea some men are of opinion, that the people of *France*, *Spaine* and *Italy*, could not so well liue, if the benefit of the fishing vpon this Coast, and your Maiesties other Dominions, were taken from them.

250. saile of Ships lying vpon that coast, *Anno* 1615.

What the valew of the Fish contained in most Ships did amount vnto.

But I trust it will be sufficient, that I giue an estimate of our owne trading thither, and partly of the wealth and commodities we reape thereby, without any curious search into other mens profits. In the yeere 1615. when I was at *New-found-land* with the Commission before mentioned, which was an occasion of my taking the more particular obseruations of that Country, there were then on that Coast, of your Maiesties subiects two hundred and fiftie saile of Ships great and small. The burthens and Tunnage of them all, one with another, so neere as I could take notice, allowing euery Ship to be at least threescore tun (for as some of them contained lesse, so many of them held more) amounting to more then 15000. tunnes. Now for euery threescore tun burthen, according to the vsuall manning of Ships in those Voyages, agreeing with the note I then tooke, there are to be set downe twentie men and boyes: by which computation in these two hundred and fiftie saile, there were no lesse then fiue thousand persons. Now euery one of these Ships, so neere as I could guesse, had about 120000. fish, and fiue tunne of traine Oyle one with another. So that the totall of the Fish in these two hundred and fiftie saile, when it was brought into *England*, *France* or *Spaine* (being sold after the rate of foure pound, for euery thousand of fish, sixscore fishes to the hundred, which is not a pennie a fish, and if it yeelde lesse, it was ill sold) amounted in monie to 120000. pound.

Now, as I haue said before, allowing to euery Ship of sixtie tun, at least fiue tun of traine Oyle, the totall of that ariseth to 1250. tun; each tun, whether it be sold in *England*, or elsewhere, being vnder-valued at twelue pound. So as the whole value thereof in monie, amounteth to the sum of 15000. pound, which added to the fish, it will appeare that the totall value of the fish, and Traine Oyle of those 250. saile of Ships that yeere, might yeelde to your Maiesties subiects better then the Summe of 135000. pound, omitting to reckon the ouer-prices which were made and gotten by the sale thereof in forrain Countries, being much more then what is vsually made at home, and so the like in other yeeres. And this certainly, in my vnderstanding, is a point wor-

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thy of consideration, that so great wealth should yearely be raised, by one sole commodity of that Countrie, yea by one onely sort of fish, and not vpon any other trade thither, which must needes yeelde, with the imploiments thereof, great riches to your Maiesties Subiects: And this also to be gathered and brought home by the sole labour and industry of men, without exchange or exportation of our Coine, and native commodities, or other aduenture (then of necessarie prouisions for the fishing) as Salt, Nets, Leads, Hookes, Lines, and the like; and of victuals, as Bread, Beefe, and Porke, in competent measure, according to the number and proportion of men imployed in those Voyages. The conuerting of these commodities (gotten by fishing) into mony, cannot choose but be a great benefit, to all your Maiesties Kingdomes in many respects.

What the charge in setting forth of these two hundred and fiftie saile might amount vnto (being onely for victuals, which our Country yeeldeth) I hold it not fit here to set down, least I should be accused by some therein. And withall it is to be considered, that the trade thither (as now it is) doth yearely set on worke, and relieue many numbers of people, as Bakers, Brewers, Coopers, Ship-Carpenters, Smiths, Net-makers, Rope-makers, Line-makers, Hooke-makers, Fisher-makers, and many other trades, which with their families haue their best meanes of maintenance from these *New-found-land* Voyages. Adde vnto them the families or seruants of diuers Owners and Masters of such Ships as goe thither, and Mariners with their families, hereby imployed and maintained, * &c.

The relief that the trading there will afford to seuerall sorts of people

* After this the author vseth reasons to perswade to a Plantation there; which I haue omitted, as busied in history. The Booke is common to such as desire to reade it. I haue also omitted his Admiralty commission and proceedings.

THe Natiues of the Countrey haue great store of red Oaker, which they vse to colour their Bodies, Bowes and Arrowes, and Cannowes withall, which Cannowes are built in shape, like the Wherries on the Riuer of Thames; but that they are much longer, made with the rinds of Birch trees, which they sew very artificially and close together, and ouerlay euery seame with Turpentine; and in like manner they sew the rindes of Spruce trees, round and deepe, in proportion like a Brasse Kettle, to boyle their meate in, which hath beene well proued by three Mariners of a Ship, riding at Anchor by me, who being robbed in the night by the Sauages, of their apparell and diuers prouisions, did the next day seeke after them, and came suddenly where they had set vp three Tents, and were feasting, hauing three Canoas by them, and had three Pots made of such rindes of trees, standing each of them on three stones boyling with twelue Fowles in each of them; euery Fowle as bigge as a Widgeon, and some so bigge as a Ducke: they had also many such pots so sewed, and fashioned like the leather Buckets that are vsed for quenching of fire, and those were full of the yolks of Egges, that they had taken and boiled hard, and so dried small, which the Sauages vsed in their broth, as Sugar is vsed in some meates: they had great store of the Skins of Deere, Beauers, Beares, Seales, Otters; and diuers other fine skins which were well dressed; as also great store of seuerall sorts of flesh dried; and by shooting off a Musket towards them, they all ran away naked without any apparell, but onely their hats on their heads, which were made of Seales skins, in fashion like our hats, sewed handsomely with narrow bands about them, set round with fine white shels, such as are carried from *Portugall* to *Brasile*; where they passed to the *Indians* as ready monie. All their three Canoas, their Flesh, Skins, Yolks of Egges, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes, and much fine Okar, and diuers other things, they tooke & brought away, and shared it amongst those three that tooke it, and brought to me the best Canoa, Bowes and Arrowes, and diuers of their Skins, and many other things worth the noting: which may seeme to inuite vs to finde out some other trades with them.

Commodities vsed by the Natiues.

Now also I will not omit to relate something of a strange Creature that I first saw there in the yeere 1610. in a morning early as I was standing by the water side, in the Harbour of Saint *Iohns*; which I espied verie swiftly to come swimming towards me, looking cheerefully, as it had beene a woman, by the Face, Eyes, Nose, Mouth, Chin eares, Necke and Forehead: It seemed to be so beautifull, and in those parts so well proportioned, hauing round about vpon the head, all blew strakes, resembling haire, downe to the Necke (but certainly it was haire) for I beheld it long, and another of my companie also, yet liuing, that was not then farre from me; and seeing the same comming so swiftly towards mee, I stepped backe, for it was come within the length of a long Pike. Which when this strange Creature saw that I went from it, it presently thereupon dined a little vnder water, and did swim to the place where before I landed; whereby I beheld the shoulders and backe downe to the middle, to be as square, white and smooth as the backe of a man, and from the middle to the hinder part, pointing in proportion like a broad hooked Arrow; how it was proportioned in the forepart from the necke and shoulders, I know not; but the same came shortly after vnto a Boat, wherein one *William Hawkridge*, then my seruant, was, that hath bin since a Captaine in a Ship to the East *Indies*, and is lately there imploied againe by Sir *Thomas Smith*, in the like Voyage; and the same Creature did put both his hands vpon the side of the Boate, and did striue to come in to him and others then in the said Boate: whereat they were afraid; and one of them strooke it a full blow on the head; whereat it fell off from them: and afterwards it came to two other Boates in the Harbour; the men in them, for feare fled to land: This (I suppose) was a Mermaide. Now because diuers haue written much of Mermaides, I haue presumed to relate, what is most certaine of such a strange Creature that

was seene at *New found-land*: whether it were a Mermaide or no, I know not; I leaue it for others to iudge, &c.

R. W.

CHAP. IX.

The names of diuers honorable persons and others who haue vndertaken to helpe aduance his Maiesties Plantation in the New-found-land: *written by the said* R. W. *with extracts of certaine Letters written from thence.*

THE right Honorable, *Henry* Lord *Cary*, Viscount of *Faulke-land*, Lord Deputie for the Kingdome of *Ireland*, hath vndertaken to plant a Colonie of his Maiesties subiects in the *New-found-land*, and is well pleased to entertaine such as are willing to be Aduenturers with him therein, vpon such Conditions as may appeare in the latter part of this Booke: And in his Lordships absence, hee hath authorized this Agent, Master *Leonard Wellsted*, by warrant vnder his hand and Seale, to ratifie whatsoeuer shall be by him concluded therein. The said Master *Wellsteds* Chamber is neere one Master *Gatlands* house, at the lower end of Saint *Martins lane* in the fields.

The right Honorable Sir *George Caluert*, Knight, one of the principall Secretaries vnto his Maiestie, hath also vndertaken to plant a large Circuit of that Countrie: who hath already sent thither this yeare and the former yeare, a great number of men and women, with all necessarie prouisions fit for them: where they liue pleasantly, building of Houses, clensing of Land for Corne, and Meddowes, Cabage, Carrets, Turneps, and such like: as also for Wood and Tobacco. Likewise they are there preparing to make Salt, for the preseruation of Fish another yeere, and for diuers other seruices. And his Honor is likewise well pleased to entertaine such as will aduenture with him therein vpon very fit conditions.

The Worshipfull *Iohn Slany* of *London* Merchant, who is one of the vndertakers of the *New-found-land* Plantation, and is Treasurer vnto the Patentees of that Societie, who haue maintained a Colonie of his Maiesties subiects there aboue twelue yeeres, and they are willing to entertaine such as will further his Maiesties said Plantation, vpon fit conditions.

Diuers Worshipfull Citizens of the Citie of *Bristoll*, haue vndertaken to plant a large Circuit of that Countrie, & they haue maintained a Colony of his Maiesties subiects there any time these fiue yeeres, who haue builded there many faire Houses, and done many other good seruices, who liue there very plesantly, and they are well pleased to entertaine vpon fit conditions such as will be Aduenturers with them.

The Worshipfull *William Vaughan* of *Torracod*, in the Countie of *Carmarthen*, Doctor of the Ciuill Law, hath also vndertaken to plant a Circuit in the *New-found land*, and hath in two seuerall yeeres sent thither diuers men and women, and hee is willing to entertaine such as will be Aduenturers with him vpon fit conditions.

And there are many other worthy persons Aduenturers in the said Plantation, whose names are not herein mentioned. And it is well hoped, that diuers others will also put their helping hand to aduance the same, when they are giuen to vnderstand what honour and benefit may accrue thereby. And if his Maiesties subiects of this Kingdome may be willing to set forth from euerie seuerall Countrie, but one good Ship yearely thither, with people and prouisions fit for them, it will be then not onely a great honour and benefit to his Maiestie, but also a great increase of Shipping and Marriners, and the imploying and inriching of many thoulands of poore people which now liue chargeably to the Parishioners. The which may be easily performed by the able Subiects, to set forth the charge at first, and so euerie Parish to recouer yearely their equall parts of the benefit which may accrue by the said stocke; and thereby not onely disburden yeerely themselues of some of those which lie chargeable vnto them within their seuerall Parishes; but also yeerely yeelde a great benefit to euery seuerall Countie, though it lie something remote from the Sea-coast, if they imploy a discreete honest man there, who may yearely be accomptable to euerie Parish of the charge, and likewise the benefit. The which will not be anie way burdensome or hurtfull vnto any: as the following discourse which I haue written will plainly informe them.

Extracts

Extracts of a Letter from Captaine EDWARD WINNE, Gouernour of the Colony at *Ferryland*, within the Prouince of *Avalon*, in *Newfoundland*, vnto the Right Honourable Sir GEORGE CALVERT Knight, his Maisties Principall Secretary; July 28. 1622.

May it please your Honour:

VPon the seuenteenth day of May, I receiued here your Letters of the nineteenth of February, from the hands of Robert Stoning. Vpon the six and twentieth of the same, a Ship of Master Iennins, with your people and prouision arriued here in safetie: and from the hands of Captaine Powell I receiued then your Honours Letters of the fourteenth of March. And vpon the last of Iune Master Iames came hither from Renouse, and the Salt-maker Master Iohn Hickson; from whose hands I receiued two Letters more, that by Master Iames, being of the fourth of May, and the other by Hickson of the tenth of the same, &c.

It may please your Honour, that as soone as I had deliuered my last Letters of the fifth of September, I immediately addressed my selfe onely to our businesse: Notwithstanding our diligent labour and extraordinary paines-taking, it was Allhallontide before our first range of building was fitted for an habitable being, &c. This was the last Letter sent into England the yeere before, 1621.

After Christmasse, wee imployed our selues in the Woods, especially in hard weather, whence wee got home as many Board-stockes as afforded vs two hundred Boards, and about two hundred Timber-trees besides. Wee got home as much or as many Trees, as serued vs to palizado into the Plantation about foure Acres of ground, for the keeping off of beast from man and beast, with Post and Rayle seuen foot high, sharpened in the top, the Trees being pitched vpright and fastened with Spikes and Nayles. Wee got also together as much Fire-wood as will serue vs yet those two moneths. We also fitted much Garden ground for Seed, I meane Barley, Oates, Pease, and Beanes.

For addition of building, we haue at this present a Parlour of fourteene foot besides the Chimney, and twelue foot broad, of conuenient height, and a lodging Chamber ouer it; to each a Chimney of Stone-work with Staires, and a Stauue-case: besides a tenement of two roomes, or a story and a halfe, which serues for a Store-house till wee are otherwise prouided. The Forge hath beene finished these fiue weekes: the Salt-worke is now almost ready. Notwithstanding this great taske for so few hands, we haue both sowne, Barley, Oates, Pease and Beanes about the quantitie of two Acres. Of Garden roome about halfe an Acre: Corne, though late sowne, is now in earing: the Beanes and the goodliest Pease that I euer saw, haue flourished in their blossomes this twentie dayes. Wee haue a plentifull Kitchin Garden of Lettice, Raddish, Carrets, Coleworts, Turneps, and many other things. Wee haue also at this present, a flourishing Meadow, &c. They were but twelue men all the last Winter, vntill the new supply came in the Spring following.

For the Countrey and Clymate: It is better, and not so cold as England hitherto: My comfort is, that the Lord is with your Honour, and your designes: for we haue prospered, to the admiration of all the beholders in what is done. And thus with my humble duty remembred, I rest, &c.

Another Letter to Master Secretary CALVERT, from Captaine WINNE, of the seuenteenth of August, 1622.

May it please your Honour:

WE haue Wheat, Barley, Oates, and Beanes both eared and codded, and though the late sowing and setting of them might occasion the contrary, yet it ripens now so fast, that it carries the likelihood of an approaching Harvest. Wee haue also a plentifull Kitchen-Garden of many things, and so ranke, that I haue not seene the like in England. Our Beanes are exceeding good: our Pease shall goe without compare: for they are in some places as high as a man of an extraordinary stature; Raddish as big as mine arme, Lettice, Cale or Cabbage, Turneps, Carrets, and all the rest is of like goodnesse. We haue a Meadow of about three Acres: it flourished lately with many cockets of good Hay, and now it is made vp for a Winter feeding. Wee hope to bee well fitted with many Acres of Meadow against another yeere: of Pasture-land, wee haue already to serue at least three hundred heads of Cattell; and to all this, if it please God, a good quantitie of Seed-ground shall be fitted, and such buildings as wee shall be able to accomplish.

Now in the next place it may please your Honour to vnderstand; That touching this Countrey, the Summer time here is so faire, so warme, and of so good a temperature, that it produceth many Hearbes and Plants very wholsome, medicinable, and delectable, many fruit Trees of sundry kindes, many sorts of Berries wholsome to eate, and in measure most abundant: insomuch as many sorts of Birds and Beasts are relieued with them in time of Winter, and wherof with further experience I trust to find some for the turne of Dyers. Our high levells of Land are adorned with Woods, both fare and seemely to behold, and greene all Winter. Within Land there are Plaines innumerable, many of them containing many thousand Acres, very pleasant to see to, and well furnished with Ponds, Brookes and Riuers, very plentifull of sundry

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dry ſorts of Fiſh: beſides ſtore of Deere and other Beaſts that yeeld both Food and Furre. Touching the ſoyle, I find it in many places, of goodneſſe farre beyond my expectation: the Earth as good as can be: the Graſſe both fat and vnctious, and if there were ſtore of Cattell to eate it vp, and with good ordering, it would become a moſt ſtedfaſt nourishment: whereof the large breed of Cattell to our Northerne Plantation, haue lately giuen prooфe ſufficient, though ſince, they haue beene moſt ſhamefully deſtroyed. The ayre here is very healthfull, the water both cleer and wholſome, and the Winter ſhort & tolerable, continuing onely in Ianury, February and part of March: the day in Winter longer then in England: the nights both ſilent and comfortable, producing nothing that can be ſaid, either horrid or hideous. Neither was it ſo cold here the laſt Winter as in England the yeere before. I remember but foure ſeuerall dayes of hard weather indeed, and they not extreame neither: for I haue knowne greater Frosts, and farre greater Snowes in our owne Countrey.

Temperate Winter.

At the Briſtow Plantation, there is as goodly Rye now growing, as can bee in any part of England: they are alſo well furniſhed with Swine, and a large breed of Goates, fairer by far then thoſe that were ſent ouer at the firſt.

Briſtow Plantation.

The Stones, Kernells, and Seeds that Stoning brought mee, were put into the ground preſently after his arriuall, the which are already of a prettie growth, though late ſet; for they came to my hands but vpon the ſeuenteenth of May. The Vines that came from Plimouth, doe proſper very well: nay, it is to be aſſured, that any thing that growes in England, will grow and proſper very well here: whereby it plainly appeares vnto your Honour, what manner of Countrey the ſame is.

It may pleaſe your Honour to vnderſtand, that our Salt-maker hath performed his part with a great deale of ſufficiency, by whom I haue ſent your Honour a Barrell of the beſt Salt that euer my eyes beheld, who with better ſetting doth vndertake to better this, which hee hath made already. I ſhall humbly alſo deſire you to remember my laſt yeeres ſuit, that our delicate Harbours and Woods may not bee altogether deſtroyed. For there hath beene rinded this yeere not ſo few as 50000. Trees, and they beane out ballaſt into the Harbors, though I looke on. It may likewiſe pleaſe your Honour to giue expreſſe order, Firſt, that ſuch as be ſent thither hereafter, may be ſuch men as ſhall bee of good ſtrength: whereof wee ſtand in need of ſixe Maſons, foure Carpenters, two or three good Quarry-men, a Slater or two, a Lyme-burner, and Lyme-ſtones, a good quantitie of hard Laths; a couple of ſtrong Maids, that (beſides other worke) can both Brew and Bake, and to furniſh vs with Wheeles, Hempe, and Flax, and a conuenient number of Weſt-countrey Labourers to fit the ground for the Plough. Secondly, that no more Boyes or Girles be ſent hither, I meane, vpon your Honors charge, nor any other perſons which haue not beene brought vp to labour: for they are vnfit for theſe affaires. Thirdly, your Honor of neceſſitie muſt needes ſend ſome Gunnes, and a Gunner with his neceſſaries: for the place and time doe require it. It is a durable Chattell; they will command the Harbour, and ſecure all, &c.

Salt made there.

Abuſes of Fiſhermen.

A Copie of a Letter from *N. H.* a Gentleman liuing at *Ferryland* in *Newfound-Land*, to a worthy Friend *W. P.* of the 18. of Auguſt, 1622.

SIR,

MY humble ſeruice remembred; accounting my ſelfe bound vnto you in a double bond, namely, loue and dutie: I could not be vnmindfull to ſhew the ſame vnto you in theſe rude lines, thereby to acquaint you with our health, the temperature of the Countrey, and the commodities and bleſſings therein. And firſt, for the firſt: Concerning our health, there is not any man amongſt our company, that hath beene ſicke ſcarcely one day ſince he came, but hath beene able to follow his worke. The Climate differs but little from England, and I my ſelfe felt leſſe cold here this Winter, then I did in England the Winter before by much. The ayre is ſweeter: for I neuer ſmelt any euill ſauor in the Countrey, nor ſaw any venemous creature to hurt mee. Gods bleſſings vpon this Land are manifold: As for wood and water, it paſſeth England: the one moſt ſweet in growing and burning, the other moſt pleaſant to taſte, and good to drinke. For in Whitſon-holidayes (I taking with me Maſter Stoning) did coaſt ſome ten miles into the Countrey Weſtward from our Plantation, to make ſome diſcouery of the Countrey, and to kill a Deere; and being ſome fiue miles into the Land, where wee lodged that night in a Wood, we found much Champion ground, and good leuels of one, two, three or foure hundred Acres together, and at the foot of each Mountaine and ſmall Hill, wee alwayes met with a faire freſh Riuer, or a ſweet Brooke of running water, whereof wee freely dranke, and it did quench my thirſt as well as any Beere, and much refreſh vs both, and neuer offended our ſtomackes at all. Wee trauelled three dayes, but found no Deere ſaue their footings, which came to paſſe by meanes of a great fire that had burned the Woods a little before ten miles compaſſe. It began betweene Formouſe and Aquafort; it burned a weeke, and then was quenched by a great raine.

I know not how or what hee was that gaue fire to it, but I thinke hee was a ſeruant hired by the Deuill to doe that wicked deed, who (I doe not doubt) will pay him for his worke. In the night the Wolues being neere, did ſomething affright vs with howlings, but did not hurt vs: for wee had Dogs, Fire, and Sword to welcome them. As for the Beares, although there bee many; they beare vs no ill will, I thinke, for I haue eaten my part of two or three, and taken no hurt by them. Foxes heere are many, and as ſubtill as a

Foxe,

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Foxe, yet haue wee coozned many of them of their rich coats, which our worshy Gouernour keepes carefully, as also of Cattagena's and Otters, whose couerings wee preserue as fitting presents for greater persons. The Fowles and Birds of the Land are Partridges, Curlues, Fillidayes, Black-birds, Bullfinches, Larkes, Sparrowes, and such like. Those of the Sea, are Goose, Ducks of foure sorts, Capderace, Teale, Snipes, Penguyns, Murres, Hounds, Sanderlings, Redshanks and others, all very fat, sweete and wholsome. The Fowles of prey, are Tercells, Goshawkes, Falcons, Laners, Sparhawkes, Gripes, Ospreis, Owles great and small, Rauens, Gulls, Pitterils, and some others; and of most of these sorts I haue killed many. As for the plentie of Codfish it is well knowne vnto you. Salmons, Eeles, Mackarell, Herrings, Lance, Caplin, Dog-fish, Hollibuts, Flowkes, Lobsters, Crabs and Muskles: All and more then all these are here in great plentie, very good and sweet meat. The wild fruit and berries, are small Peares, Cherries, Nuts, Resberries, Strawberries, Barberries, Dewberries, Hurtleberries, with others, all good to eate. Many faire Flowers I haue seene here, which I cannot name, although I had learned Gerrards *Herball by heart: But wild Roses are here both red and damaske, as fragrant and faire as in* England. *All our Corne and Seedes haue prospered well, and are already growne almost to perfect maturitie, &c.*

THE SECOND PART OF THE TENTH BOOKE.

CHAP. X.

Diuers Warlike Fleets set forth to Sea against the Spaniards, *by our* English DEBORA, *Queene* ELIZABETH, *of Glorious memory: Her manifold Deliueries and Victories.*

LOI the Man, whose Muse mus'd on Plantations,
New England, Virgin, Bermude, Newfound-landed,
Laurell for olive take, and make Relations
Of Armes, Harmes, Fights, Frights, Flights, Depopulations,
Romes *Buls*, Spaines *broyles*, Irelands *ire*, *Traitors branded.*
GOD, Angels, Winds, Seas, Men, Elizas *Glory*
Conspire; Shee outlines Death, in Heauen, in Story.

HAile greatest of *English* Names, Glorious ELIZABETH! Nor may wee after thy voyage and peregrination out of this World, vnto thy true and heauenly home & Country, forget the great Acts of thy earthly Pilgrimage. Thou wast indeed the Mother of *English* Sea-greatnesse, and didst first by thy (Generalls) not salute alone, but awe and terrifie the remotest East and West, stretching thy long and strong armes to *India*, to *China*, to *America*, to the *Peruvian* Seas, to the *Californian* Coast and *New Albions* Scepters: Thou mad'st the Northerne *Muscouite* admire thy Greatnesse: Thou gauest name to the North-west Straits (*Meta Incognita*) and the Southern *Negros*, and Ilands of the South-vnknowne-continent which knew not humanitie, were compelled to know Thee; Thou imbracedst the whole earthly Globe in thy Maritime Armes: thou freedst *England* from Easterlings and *Lumbards* borrowed legs, and taughtst her not onely to stand and goe without helpe, but become helpe to our friends, and with her own Sea forces to stand against, yea to stand vpon, and stampe vnder feet the proudest of her foes. Thou wast a Mother to thy Neighbours, *Scots*, *French*, *Dutch*; a Mirrour to the remotest of Nations. Great *Cumberlands* twelue voyages before recited are thine, and the fiery vigour of his Martiall Spirit was kindled at thy bright Lamp, & quickened by the Great Spirit of ELIZABETH. *Drake*, *Candish*, *Iohn* and *Richard Hawkins*, *Raleigh*, *Dudley*, *Sherley*, *Preston*, *Grenuile*, *Lancaster*, *Wood*, *Raimund*, *Louison*, *Monson*, *Winter*, *Frobisher*, *Danies*, and other the Star-worthies of *Englands* Sphere, whose Planet-courses we haue before related, acknowledge ELIZAS Orb to be their *First* and highest *Mouer*. How many Royall Fleets did shee set forth? In the yeeres 85. and 87. those vnder Sir *Francis Drake*, before mentioned, as that also in 95. vnder him and Sir *Iohn Hawkins*: another Fleet 1590. vnder Sir *Iohn Hawkins*, and Sir *Martin Frobisher* to the Ilands; also 1591. the Iland Fleet vnder the Lord *Thomas Howard*, now Earle of *Suffolke*; that 1592. by Sir *Iohn Burroughs* and

The Fleets set forth by queen *Elizabeth*. *Sup pag.* 1082. *&c.*

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and Sir *Robert Crosse*, when the *Madre de Dios* was taken, and another Carrike burnt: *An.* 1594. Shee sent forth a Fleet to *Brest*, where *Frobusher* was slaine. Another 1599. vnder the Lord *Thomas Howard*. *A.* 1600. vnder Sir *Richard Lewison* a Fleet to the Ilands; 1601. another to *Ireland*. *A.* 1602. vnder Sir *Richard Lewison* and Sir *William Munson*; and another vnder the same Commanders, 1603. as bequeathing in her fatall extreames, Marine Actions and Glory to her Successour. These and other her Sea-glories I purpose not here to dilate, hauing already handled some of them; but haue singled from the rest the actions of 88. 89. 96. and 97. præmising somthing as a Preface of the great deliuerances which God vouchsafed that Virgin Queen.

Apoc. 17. 6. Her persecution from the Papacie from the wombe.

That Church which is mystically called, *The woman drunken with the bloud of Saints*, had begun to persecute her from her birth, Pope *Clement* the sixt decreeing against her Mothers mariage, and Pope *Paul* the third thundring a terrible sentence against her Fathers Soueraignty. And although King *Henry* had first enacted against his daughters, and after for them by Parliamentary authoritie, yet when King *Edward* (which vsed to call her *his sweet sister Temperance*) was dead, there wanted not some which extruded both the sisters, and obtruded another succession. Queene *Mary* dispersing that storme, raised another, wherein shee was exposed to the calumni.. of faire-foule-mouthed sycophants, which would haue stained the reigne of that Queene, otherwise branded, as *short, bloody, vnfortunate*, with the slaughter of that Royall Virgin: *Story* and others saying, *That in vaine the boughs of Heresie were lopped off, if the Root were suffered to continue.* Long and straight imprisonment shee indured, and was forced by them to Masse, Confession and externall profession of that *Romish* Catholicisme, which perhaps had not diuerted her enemies designe, had not the peruersest of her enemies *Gardiner* beene auerted by his owne death; and had not also King *Philip* with the *Spaniards* enuied to the *French* so rich an Inheritance, as by Queene *Maries* death without issue (which could scarsly from her sicke and aged body be expected) was likely to fall vpon Queene *Mary* of *Scotland* betrothed to the Dolphin of *France*, whereby the *Spanish* greatnesse already embroyled enough, was likely to bee ouermatched by the *French*, increased with addition of three mightie Kingdomes. Queene *Mary* dying, and Cardinall *Poole* with many Prelates, as it were, attending her exequies with their owne, with generall applause Shee was acknowledged Queen. Her first care was to restore Religion, notwithstanding the dangers thence incompassing her: shee also reiected the mariage with King *Philip*, whereof hee had treated with her by the Earle of *Feria* his Embassadour, promising to procure thereunto the Popes dispensation: neither admitted shee the offered match of *Charles*, sonne to *Ferdinand* the Emperour; and when *Henry* the *French* King by the *Guisians* was perswaded to challenge *England* to his sonne and daughter in law, causing them to vie her title *Francis & Mary by the Grace of God King and Queene of Scotland, England, and Ireland*) and prepared Warres against her, God tooke him out of the world, being slaine at a Tilt sport.

In queen *Maries* daies.

French wrongs

The new King and Queene continued their former challenge, Title and Ensignes, which gaue no small occasions of those euills, which afterwards inuolued her, breeding a great disgust betwixt those two greatest Ladies which Christendome had, both Heires to an absolute Soueraignty. Shee expelled the *French* out of *Scotland*, stablished the affaires of *Ireland*, procured armour and weapons out of *Germany*, caused much Artillery to bee cast of Brasse and Iron, new Mynes of Brasse being found at *Keswicke*, and the stone *Calaminaris* vsefull for Brasse-workes found here also: prouision for Gunpowder was first at her commandement made here at home; *Barwicke* fortified, the Nauie furnished, the Sea Townes imitating her example and increasing dayly in Naual forces, answered by Martiall Spirits for Land and Sea seruice. Thus did God blesse her that had glorified him in establishing his Truth, notwithstanding the pouertie of the State at her entrance, deepely indetted by her predecessours; and the faint friendship or professed enmitie of *Rome* and all her disciples. *Thus shall it bee done to the* Woman *God will honour*, and more then thus: for what was all the time of her reigne but vicissitudes of Treasons, Warres, and manifold externall and internall broyles? and yet in an admirable working of Diuine Grace, when had *England* so long and flourishing peace at home, or glory and renowme abroad? as if hee which brought light out of darknesse, would permit all such contrary workings to bee the obiect of his goodnesse, the fewell and materialls of her greatnesse.

Q. *Elizabeths* prosperitie. See of Gods mercies in this & other kinds, the B. of *Chichester* his Religious Tractate of Thanksgiuing. See also *Camdens Elizabetha*, and others Annales of her Reigne.

Arthur Poole of the house of *George* Duke of *Clarence*.

Arthur Poole, the fourth yeere of her reigne abused the greatnesse of his bloud with other conspirators, to the *Guisian* purposes, but taken and sentenced receiued not bloudie reward from her mild and mercifull hand.

Ann. 1569. *Pius* his impious Bull.

Pope *Pius* the fift denounceth her excommunicate, discharging her Subiects from loyaltie and allegeance and arming them against her: *Ridolfi* a *Florentine* playes the Merchant of Popish wares, the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland* take armes, the Duke of *Norfolke* is entangled, the *French* and *Spaniard* are perswaded by the Pope, who promised also if need were, to ingage to this purpose all the goods of the Sea Apostolike, Chalices, Crosses, and holy Vestments: *Vitellius* is commanded to inuade *England* with an Army from the Low-countries: but God protected ELIZABETH, and her Enemies abroad were disappointed, the Traitors at home falling into their owne pit.

Irish action.

About the same time *Edmund* and *Peter*, brethren to the Earle of *Ormond* were busie in *Ireland*,

land, to inflame which rebellion *Mendoza* came out of *Spaine*, but before it brake forth into any great combustion it was extinct.

Don Iohn of *Austria* enters next vpon the Stage (for I omit *Barnes* and *Mathers*), Sir *Henry Percie*, the B. of *Ros* his attempts, and other Acts and Arts sauouring more of the Foxe then the Lion) and pretended a peace, whiles hee intended the deliuerance of the *Scottish* Queene, and matrying her, to make himselfe King of *England* and *Scotland*, by helpe of fugitiues and fauour of the Pope and *Guisians*: and in the midst of his warlike preparations suddenly dieth. When *Pius* his impious curses had thus proued blessings, hee deceaseth, and *Gregory* his successour in the Papacie, and malice to Queene ELIZABETH, the great Founder of Seminaries, gaping for no lesse then a Kingdome to his base sonne *Iames Boncompagno*, treateth with the *Spaniard*, who had swallowed *England* also in his conceit. *Thomas Stukley* an *English* fugitiue promiseth *Ireland* to the Popes bastard, who in recompence giues him the titles of Marquesse of *Lagen*, Earle of *Wexford* and *Caterlough*, Vrcount of *Morough*, and Baron of *Ross* (all places of note in *Ireland*) and made him Generall of eight hundred *Italian* Souldiers; the King of *Spaine* paying their wages. But *Sebastian* King of *Portugall*, which should haue conducted the *Spanish* forces against *England*, being intangled with an *African* Expedition, procured *Stucley* to goe thither with him, where both lost their liues. And the *Spaniard* was now diuerted from *English* designes to those neerer of *Portugall*, there imploying the forces intended against vs.

Don Iohn base son of *Charles* Emperour. 1576.

A. 1572. *Greg.* 13. confirmeth the sentence against Q. *Elis. Stukly* treason

A. 1578.

Doctor *Nicolas Sanders* playeth the next part, who hauing written in defence of the Popes visible Monarchy Ecclesiasticall, and belched out the fowlest slanders of Queen ELIZABETHS parentage that Hell could deuise, would make his writings visible by his deeds; and with *Iames Fitz Morice* an *Irish* Traitor, hauing obtained to be the Popes *Nuntio*, with a banner consecrated at *Rome*, and some forces out of *Spaine*, entreth *Ireland*, there fortifieth and winneth *Desmond* to his partie. *San Iosephus* followeth with seuen hundred *Italians* and *Spaniards*, with Armour for fiue thousand. Their Fort is taken, *Fitz morice* first, and after the Earle with many others slaine, *Sanders* runnes mad, and wandering vp and downe in the Woods and Mountaines dieth miserably; the Country is pacified and ELIZABETH preuaileth. The Seminaries (Schooles of Treason) were now erected at *Rome* and *Rhemes*, to become worse then that *Troian* Horse; Cells of desperate Emissaries, incendaries of their owne Countrey: *Campion* and others suffer; seditious Bookes are written against the Queene, whereby *Somerill* was instigated to kill her.

1579. 1580. *Sanders* Author of the booke *De visib. Monarch.* & of the forged tale *De schismate Anglicano*. In which he abuseth the queens Mother with grosse lies, neuer before seen or dreamt of by the sharpest and spitefullest eyes which Malice could entertain, euen then when she was most malicious & most serpent-sighted.

Mendoza the *Spanish* Embassadour was commanded to depart out of *England*, hauing practised with *Throckmorton** and others about an inuasion of the Land, and to remoue the Queene. About the same time in manner miraculously, traiterous projects came to light by certaine papers of one *Creighton* a *Scottish* Iesuite, who being taken by *Dutch* Pirates tare them and threw them into the Sea; which would not bee accepted to Iesuiticall plots, but by the helpe of the winde brought them backe to the Ship; which being deliuered to Sir *William Wade* were ioyned again, and reuealed new plots of the Pope, the *Spaniard*, and *Guisians* to inuade *England*: Whereupon an *Association* was made by many thorow the Kingdome, binding themselues by their hands and seales to prosecute all such to death as should attempt any thing against the life of the Queene. Cardinall *Allen* for the *English* Catholikes Ecclesiasticall, *Ingleseld* for the Laikes, the Bishop of *Rosse* for the Queene of *Scots*, were said to haue agreed to depriue the Queene, and to disinherite King IAMES as a fauourer of Heresie, &c.

* 1583.

* 1584. *Mendoza. Throckmorton. Creighton* papers. Association. Parsons treason *Allens booke.*

A. 1585. Doctor *Parry* (whom Queene ELIZABETH had before pardoned his life) being heartned by *Ragazonius* the Popes *Nuntio* in *France*, and absolued in the Popes name by the Cardinall *Comensis*, vndertooke to kill the Queene, being thereunto incouraged by *Allens* booke, teaching that excommunicated Princes may bee dispoyled of liues and Scepters. His partner reuealed him, and his mischiefe lighted on himselfe. *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland* (brother of *Thomas* before executed at *Yorke*) low himselfe in the Tower; and the Lord Chancellour three dayes after in the Starre Chamber declared that he had beene committed for traiterous deuises against the Queen and State; the particulars whereof were then opened by the Atturney *Popham*, seeking to set free the Queene of *Scots*, to destroy the Queene and the Religion, to haue dealt with *Charles Paget* (termed *Mops*) about these things, with the inuasion of *England*, &c. The *Burkes* rebellion in *Ireland* fell out that yeere, and many broyles, which cost three thousand their liues at one time, the title *Mac-William* in *Connagh* extinguished, and the insolence of the Flanders betwixt *Scotland* and *England* repressed. The *Spaniard* arrested the *English* Ships in his Ports, whence the Expeditions of the Earle of *Cumberland*, and Sir *Francis Drake* before mentioned tooke their beginning, and the Warres betwixt the two Kingdomes.

Earle of *Northumberland*.

Burks & Flanders rise in *Ireland*.

A. 1586. that prodigious plot of *Savage*, *Ballard*, *Babington*, and the rest of that bloudy crue conspiring to kill the Queene, was detected and the plotters were executed. In 87. the *French* Embassadour, a *Guisian*, conferred with *Stafford* to kill the Queene, making great promises to that purpose. And he and *Moody* were further treated with on that point by *Trappius* his Secretary, which by *Stafford* was reuealed and preuented. But whiles all pretended the freeing of the Queen of *Scots*, by this meanes they shortned her dayes and freed her of her life.

Babington, &c.

French Embassadors plot with *Moody.*

The story is knowne, and I shall not need to insist vpon these later things, nor on *Tyrones* Tragicall

Tyrons treasons

Lopez.

Luke 8.29.

gicall rebellion, the death of so many thousands *English, Irish, Spanish*; nor *Lopez* his plot to poison the Queene, &c. I but propound these things to excite *English* thankfulnesse to God, and hatred to *that Whoore, drunken with bloud*, which hath thus enchanted the Kings of the earth; yea like the Legion Deuill hath broken all chaines of allegeance, and hath initiated in hellish mysteries naturall sworne subiects to inuasion and mutuall massacres; yea to account it tolerable, lawfull, commendable, meritorious, and *in ordine ad deum*, necessary (ô times! ô monsters!) to kill and murther; and hath made it a compendious way to win the Kingdome of Heauen by killing the Kings of the Earth. And if the bloud of so many Saints from *Abel* to *Zacharias* were threatned to fall on *Ierusalem*, sometimes *the holy Citie*; what may be said of *Rome*? whose Temporall Monarchy first founded in the bloud of *Rhemus* brother of *Romulus*, proceeded in exiling their owne Kings, and in exterminating worlds of men out of the world (*Cæsar* alone is said in fiftie battells to haue slaine * 1192000. men, besides what was slaine in his Ciuill Warres) in a world of time together: exceeded in the sanctitie of the bloud of so many thousand Saints and Martyrs in ten dismall persecutions, and yet fell short of the pretended Catholike *Rome*, that mysticall *Woman drunken with bloud.*

Rome, Citie of murthers & haters of kings

* *Plin. l. 7. c. 25.*

I dare boldly auer, and by History make it good, (yea * in great part to a iudicious obseruer the former parts of this Worke haue shewed) that since the Papall challenge of Monarchy ouer Monarkes by *Gregory* the seuenth, the Deuills thousand yeeres of imprisonment being expired, Antichristian *Rome* hath by Sword, Fire, Warres, Ciuill and Forraine, and other inhumane, immane, diuelliish furies procured the shedding of more humane bloud, then euer Heathen *Rome* in farre longer time had shed to erect their Heathenish Empire, from the dayes of *Romulus* which founded the Citie, to *Augustus* which grounded and stablished the Empire, and *Tiberius* vnder whom Christ was crucified: Yea if you adde the persecutions of the succeeding Emperors till *Iulian* the Apostata; yet haue the later Antichristian exceeded in numbers, as much as the executions of Warres are vsually beyond all comparison of the Iudiciall and Legall. I adde, that as the Ethnike *Romans* spilt none (except in persecutions) but Ethnike bloud: so the pretended Christian *Romists* (except in the *Indies* and the Holy Land Wars) shed none in this account but Christian. This may seem a prodigal speech & prodigious paradox, to those which know not the millions which perished in the Holy Land Wars, set & kept on foot about 200. yeers together by Papall ambition; so many hundreths of thousands which perished in the same times, by open warres made by the Popes *Crusades* against the *Albigenses*, *Waldenses*, and what other names it pleased them to giue to better men then themselues, in almost eightie yeeres continued warres: So many Ciuill Warres in *Germany*, the subiects and competitors armed by Crusades against the Emperours till that Eagle was plucked; where one *Henry* whom *Hildebrand* first deposed, fought sixtie battells: In *England, France, Italy*, and other parts, in the daies of King *Iohn*, *Fredericke* the second, *Conrade*, *Manfred*, *Phillip*, and others: and after that, the long *Bohemian* broiles drenched in bloud after *Husses* fire: and lately so innumerable millions (*pauperis est numerare*) in *America* and the Ilands which these bookes plainly euince to haue beene written in bloud by *Romen* authoritie and pretence; not to make mention of the *Philippines*, the East *Indies*, the Wars in *Sicile* and *Naples*; and the *Greeke* Empire first weakned, and after by *Romen* ambition lost: how many hundreth thousands hath *France* lost of Christians within these last hundreth yeeres? how many more haue taken their fatall farewells in the *Belgian* quarrell? How doe those *Low-countries* and *Germany* still flow in bloud? That I speake not of our *England* and *Ireland*? But I hate the thoughts of those things, and therefore come to the 88. businesse, that also set on worke from *Rome*, the widest and openest passage from hell for his ingresse and egresse, that was a *Murtherer from the beginning*, and in the last ages *turning himselfe into an Angell of light*, hath there established his principall Vicar vnder pretended titles and seemings of Christ and Christianitie. Yea this is also remarkable that in the treasons against Queene *Elizabeth*, and in those against our present Souereigne King *Iames* (whom God long preserue) by *Watson*, *Clerke*, *Cobham*, &c. at first, and in the Master and Monster-peece (which was now ready to breake forth with violence and virulence from Hell, and to blow vp all other Treasons) that of the *Gun-powder Traitors*; still the busiest part of the Tragedie is committed to some *Romish* Priest or Iesuite, who should fit and frame the resolute dissoluteneese of wild spirits to the execution of it or themselues. The Master Workman (I say not *Beelzebub*) is the Pope, as appeareth in those before mentioned, and in this of 88. whose Bull declaratory against that Worthy of women followeth, as the contents thereof are deliuered by *Meteranus*, to whose labours in this Story wee are principally indebted. It was to be published in the Popes name by Cardinall *Allen* after the Nauie had arriued in *England*, to command the *English* to yeeld their obedience to the Duke of *Parma*. From the Pope therefore wee will begin our 88 Story, touching the preparation and successe of that *Armada* surnamed inuincible.

Present *Rome* greater man-slaier & Saint-slaier then the Ethnike.

* See to. 1. l. 8. c. 1. 2. 3. 4. & 6. l. 2. c. 1. to. 2. l. 8. c. 4. &c.

Priests, agents in euery treason.

The Pope Master Workman.

Allen or *Allen* was by *Spanish* procurement made Cardinall for this purpose; and to this purpose had written a violent booke which heartned *Parry* to vndertake to kill the Queen. He and *Bristow* & *Martin* were Authors of the *Rhemish* Translation and Notes of the *N.T.*

CHAP.

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CHAP. XI.

Octagesimus Octauus mirabilis Annus.

The Popes Bull, the King of *Spaines* preparations, the Duke of *Medinas* Expedition, the Duke of *Parmas* Forces, for the inuasion of *England*: diuers Sea-fights twixt the *English* and *Spanish* Fleets, the Sea flight of the *Spanish*, and miserable disasters in their returne. Their lies. The Queens Religious Triumph.

SIxtus Quintus, *by diuine prouidence, vniuersall Pastor of the Flock of Christ, to whom by continued and lawfull succession, the administration and charge of the Catholike Church pertaineth; taking into consideration the miseries and calamities whereinto the famous Kingdomes of* England *and* Ireland *had falne, which in times past were commended so much for Vertues, Religion, and Christian Pietie and Obedience, and now by the impious and vniust Empire of* Elizabeth *pretended Queene, and a few adhering to her, not onely to haue come to a dissolute estate and dangerous to it selfe, but also as infected and venemous members are wont to cause infection and disease to the whole body of Christians: and wanting there the due remedies which elswhere by help of Christian Princes he vseth, to prevent abuses & to maintaine Ecclesiasticall discipline: Forasmuch as* Henry *the Eight, late King of* England, *a Rebell and forsaker of the Sea Apostolike, separated himselfe and his from the communion of Christians by force, and* Elizabeth *the present Vsurper perseuereth therein, not without great commotion and danger of the Neighbour Regions, shewing her selfe obstinate and impenitent, so that there is no hope that those Kingdomes may at any time be reformed and reduced to the exercise of Christian Religion, true peace and quietnesse, except shee be depriued of the administration of the Kingdome.*

Therefore our most holy Father desiring (as his Office requireth) to prouide for this euill, with present and strong remedies inspired to him from God, to the health of the vniuersall Church, incited as well by his owne, as his predecessors affection and zeale, alway borne toward England; *and moued by the continuall sollicitation, vehement and importunate exhortation of very many, and those principall men of the said Nation; hee hath vsed great diligence with diuers Princes, and especially with the Mightie and Catholike King of* Spaine, *imploring his aide hereunto, by the reuerence which hee beareth the* Roman *Sea, by the old friendship and consanguinitie which his Family hath had with the Kings of* England, *by his singular charitie and benevolence formerly shewed to the Catholikes of that Countrey; for obtaining by that meanes his desire of peace and quietnesse in his Neighbour Prouinces, for his studie and readinesse towards the propagation of Catholike Religion, and lastly for the furtherance of the common good of* Europe; *hath besought him to confer all the Forces which God almightie hath giuen him hereunto, that that Woman may be deiected from her degree, and that the euill men and hurtfull to mankind, which adhere to her may be punished, and that Kingdome may bee reduced to certaine reformation and quietnesse, from which great good and many commodities to the Common-wealth might be to be expected. Wherefore that hee might make knowne to all the world the Iustice of this Cause, and the Subiects also of that Kingdome might fully be satisfied, likewise that hee might denounce the iust iudgement of God against her; It hath seemed meet to his Holinesse, with the Declaratory Sentence made against this Woman, to shew the cause also why he had so proceeded against her.*

First, because shee is an Heretike [a] *and Schismatike* [b] *and therefore excommunicated of two Popes, his predecessors, contumacious, disobedient to God and the supreme* [c] *Sea: Also shee tooke to her selfe with presumptious vsurpation supreme Authoritie and Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction ouer the Soules* [d] *of Men, against Nature, Reason, against all Lawes Diuine and Humane; and that as well by vertue of the sentences giuen by* Clement *the Seuenth, and* Paul *the Third, as of the publike declaration of King* Henry *her Father. Thirdly, because shee vsurped the Kingdome against all right, not onely in regard of the impediments aforesaid, but also against the old Contracts in times past made betwixt the Sea Apostolike and the Kingdome of* England *in the time of* Henry *the Second, when the said Kingdome reconciled it selfe to the* Roman *Sea, for the murther of Saint* Thomas *of* Canturbury. *At which time it was agreed* [e], *that none should bee taken for lawfull King of* England *without consent of the Great Bishop; which conuention or contract was after renewed by King* Iohn, *and confirmed by Oath. Which thing was most profitable, and so established by the request of the Nobilitie and People.*

For many and grieuous iniuries [f], *extorsions, and other wrongs perpetrated by her and by others, through her permission, against the distressed innocent Subiects of both Kingdomes.*

For seditions and rebellions betwixt the Inhabitants of neighbour Prouinces, raised against their lawful Magistrate and a naturall Prince, by which shee seduced innumerable Soules and many potent Regions.

Papall pretended causes of depriuing the Queene.

Fugitiues impotent Zeale.

Spanish arguments to requite good with euill.

a *Act.* 24. 14. By the way which they cal heresie, so worship wee the God of our fathers, beleeuing all things written in the Law, &c.

b They make the schisme or rent, which vniustly excommunicate & cut off from the body of Christ, as *Io.* 9. *Simile illos, cæci sunt, &c.*

c *Hinc ille lacrymæ.*

d With lie and all shee reiected the title of supreme head, to auoid from appearance of this euill, and declared her selfe to challenge, onely, power ouer all her subiects, to command them to do their duties & execute their offices, excluding forrain iurisdiction as *Dauid, Salomon, Constantine*, & her predecessors had done, exercising power ouer Priests, not in the Priesthood.

e O impudency! What King of *England* euer sought the Popes confirmation: King *Iohn* by Papall Arts made himselfe tributary, but without and against his subiects consent; as *Ma. Paris* & *R. Wendouer* then liuing testifie at large: that writing being burnt and disclaimed; the subiects also rebelling against the Author thereof. f *Quia totum telum non recepisset*: Shee wronged them much in sauing her throat from their blades. g Vnnaturall Prince, which not content with Inheritance, would haue made conquest of the Prouinces, so to swallow all their priuiledges, and subiect them to forraine inquisition and rule: so buying with 100. millions of treasure and the liues of 400000. Christians, the losse of those which would haue bought and sought to be his subiects, if hee would haue kept the oathes which the Pope dispensed with, twice made to them; and ruled as his predecessors had done.

For entertainment h *giuen to Fugitiue Heretikes, and Rebells, wicked and publike malefactors, and vndertaking their protection, to the great losse and detriment of Christian Regions.*

Also for sending to and procuring the Turke, *that our mightie* i *and cruell Enemy, to inuade Christendome and disturbe* k *the setled Peace.*

For the horrible and l *long persecution of the Saints of God, for holy* m *BB. ill handled, spoyled, imprisoned, and diuers torments and miserable tortures and slaughters done to the members of the holy and Catholike Church.*

For the inhumane and vniust imprisonment and crueltie, lately exercised against the most gracious Princesse, Mary *Queene of* Scotland, *which had fled into* England, *hauing first* n *receiued promise of securitie, protection, and aide.*

For abolishing the true Catholike Religion o, *the profanation of holy Sacraments, also of Monasteries* p, *Temples, Persons consecrated to the memory of Saints, and all other things which make or may help to eternall life.*

And concerning Secular affaires q *and the State politike, for that the ancient Nobilitie being reiected and excluded, shee hath promoted obscure and vnworthy men to Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall dignities; and by this meanes hath made a sale of Lawes and Rights; and lastly for the absolute tyranny* r *which shee vsurpeth and continually exerciseth, to the great contempt of God, oppression of the miserable* s *People, the losse of Soules, and destruction of Countries.*

Wherefore seeing those offences are of that nature and moment, that some make her vncapable of the kingdome, others make her vnworthy of life, his Holinesse by the power of Almightie God, and of Apostolicall authoritie committed to him, doth renew the sentence of his predecessors, Pius *the Fifth, and* Gregory t *the Thirteenth, whereby the said* Elizabeth *is excommunicated and depriued of her Kingdome. And now by these present Letters, the same* Elizabeth *againe excommunicateth and depriueth of all Royall Dignitie, Titles, Rights and pretences to the said Kingdomes of* England *and* Ireland; *declaring her illegitimate, and a true Vsurper of the Kingdomes; and absoluing the Subiects of that Land, and all others from all dutie* u *of Dominion, Fidelitie and Obedience, and from the Oath* x *giuen to her or to any of her substitutes.*

Further, expresly commanding vnder paine of the anger y *of God Almightie, that none of whatsoeuer condition or degree, after hee shall haue notice hereof; doe presume to yeeld her any obedience, fauour, or ayde whatsoeuer: but that all may imploy all their power and indeuour, that due punishment may be taken of her; that shee at length, which hath separated her selfe by many wayes from God and his Church, seeing her selfe forsaken and destitute of all worldly refuge, may be brought to acknowledge her faults, and to subiect her selfe to the iudgement of the most High, with all submission.*

And therefore commands all and euery the Inhabitants of the said Kingdomes, and all others, that with all their power they execute the premisses, withdrawing all helpe publike and priuate from the said person and her adherents: and that as soone as they shall be hereof certified, they ioyne themselues to the Catholike Armie, led by the Illustrious and victorious Prince Alexander Farnesius, *Duke of* Parma, *and Deputie of the Catholike King; with all the forces they can gather, that they may assist the said deprimation and punishment of the parties aforesaid, and the restitution of the holy Catholike Religion, declaring that all which shall show themselues disobedient* z *to this Mandate, shall not escape deserued punishments.*

Be it knowne further to all men, that it is not the purpose of his Holinesse, the Catholike King, or the said Dukes Highnesse, in this Expedition, to oppresse the said Kingdomes, or thereof to make conquest, or to alter the Lawes, Priuiledges or Customes thereof, or to deprime any man there, of his libertie or life (except the rebellious and contumacious) or to bring any change a, *besides that which shall be iudged fit by common voyces of his Holinesse, the Catholike Maiesty and the States of that Kingdome, to the restoring and continuing of the Catholike Religion, and the punishment of that Vsurper and her adherents: Certifying and securing all, that all controuersies which may happen by the deprimation of that Woman (whether they shall arise about priuate mens affaires, or about the Royall Succession, or betwixt the Clergy and Laity, or what soeuer other discords) they shall be all compounded and decided according to the Lawes, Iustice, and Christian equitie, without any iniury or damage. Neither shall it onely bee prouided conueniently that the Catholikes which haue suffered so many euills be not spoyled, but fauour is also granted to all others, which being penitent shall submit themselues vnto the Chiefe Commander of the Army. And*

h The Pope confesseth hee gaue entertainment to the Queenes Fugitiues, and for their sakes thus roared. The *Spaniard* entertained her Fugitiues, and she might not admit those whom he would not suffer to obey him as his Ancestors had done

i A mighty & cruell forgery of his Holinesse

k Who is here the inuader & disturber of peace? And whereto tends all this but to disanull peace?

l *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?*

m *Boner*, &c. was ill handled because they were not so handled as they had handled *Cranmer, Ridley*, &c.

n See M. *Camdens* History, *Anno* 1568. *& seq.* where those occurrents are otherwise related.

o *Ap.* 2. *Thou hast tried them that say they are Apostles and are not and hast found them liers.*

p How much more did *Hezekiah* & *Iosias* in demolishing the meanes of superstition, how holy soeuer at their first institution? So the brasen Serpent, a Diuine type of Christ crucified was demolished, &c.

q *Vis dicam quid sis? magnus es ardelio.* Pitie she promoted not Cardinal *Allen* or Father *Parsons*, the one to *Lambeth*, the other to *Tib.* I should say the Broad Seale.

r What a faire deliuerance from this tyranny should we haue had by the *Spanish* Whips and Kniues?

s We had indeed bin miserable, had we falne into the hands of such Physicians.

t The holinesse of three Popes curse her, and the holy and blessed Trinitie blesse her.

u Dutie and faith acknowledged and yet denied! Is not this babbling?

x But God *will not hold him guiltlesse that taketh his name in vaine.*

y Yet this is the first commandement of promise; so contrary are Gods blessing and the Popes cursing. *Eph.* 6. 2.

z A false Prophet! for neither did *England* euer prosper more, or feare the Pope or *Spaniard* lesse, or so much loue or honour Her or any of her progenitors, as Her Maiesty after this: such a blessed haruest God raised out of this Cursers cursed seed.

a The Duke of *Medina* Generall of this Fleet was of another mind, who being told of Catholikes in *England* which would take his part, &c. answered, That he must make way howsoeuer for his Master. And were not Count *Egmond* and Count *Horne* and others, Papists, which *D'Alua* executed? There were 700. *English* Fugitiues in *Parmas* Army for this inuasion, *Qui omnium despicatissime habiti*, the *baggage* of the Armies estimate: nor was respect giuen to *Stanly* and *Westmerland*, Traitors of note, *Sed pro impietate in Patriam omni aditu prohibiti & tanquam pessima auspicia merito non sine detestatione reiecti*, saith *Camden*. They were excluded all Councells of Warre; for men vse to loue the Treason and hate the Traytor.

whereas by due information made, wee are giuen to vnderstand that there are many innocents, which through ignorance of Christian Faith hauing falne, haue hitherto erred onely of ignorance, being neuertheleſſe reckoned amongſt Heretikes: wee purpoſe not at all to puniſh ſuch perſons, but to inaure patiently, till by conference of learned men, and good ſound counſells, they may be better inſtructed touching the truth; and not ſhew themſelues obſtinate, but deſirous to preuent the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, and deſtruction of Countries which may be expected by the reſiſtance of ſome wicked principall aduerſaries.

Therefore by theſe Preſents wee declare, that it is not onely lawfull for all, as well publike as priuate perſons, beſides thoſe which haue vndertaken this Expedition, to lay hand on the ſaid Vſurper, and other her adherents, to take them and deliuer them to the Catholike ſide; but alſo this deed ſhall bee eſteemed of vs for a faithfull and ſingular ſeruice, and ſhall be recompenced with very great rewards, according to the qualitie of the perſons taken or betrayed. All others alſo which heretofore haue giuen ayde, or ſhall hereafter aſſiſt to the puniſhment of the exill, and the reſtitution of Catholike Religion in thoſe Kingdomes, ſhall receiue their reward and recompence, increaſed by vs in Dignities and Honours, as their good and faithfull ſeruice to the Common-wealth ſhall deſire. Wherein as much as may be, care ſhall be had that reckoning and reſpect be holden of the antient and honourable Houſes and Stockes of the ſaid Kingdomes. Laſtly, free acceſſe and ſafe conduct by theſe Preſents is granted to all men, which will ioyne themſelues to the Catholike Armie, and will bring thereto proviſion, furniture of warre, and other neceſſaries, full and liberall ſatisfaction is promiſed for all things, which for the ſeruice and commoditie of the ſaid Armie ſhall be ſupplied by them. And all are admoniſhed and plainly commanded, that they doe their vtmoſt indeuour and diligence, that by their meanes cauſe may bee removed of vſing force in puniſhing thoſe which ſhall neglect this Precept.

Matth. 26. 14. Iudas Iſcariot went to the chiefe Priests: here the chiefe Prieſt preuents the Traitor & couenants for more then 30. pieces, before he be ſollicited with *what will you giue me?* The Iewiſh Prieſts were dull, compared to theſe *Romiſh.*

Further more the * *Holy Father, in his fatherly loue and ſingular affection to this Expedition, out of the Spirituall Treaſure* * *of the holy Church (which is committed to his cuſtody and diſpenſation) doth liberally grant plenary Indulgences and remiſſion of Sins, to all thoſe which ſhall bring any aid or fauour to the deprimation and puniſhing of the ſaid perſons, and the reformation of both Kingdomes: to wit, after due penance, Contrition and Confeſſion had according to the Lawes of God and Men, and the receiued cuſtome amongſt Chriſtians.*

* Holy Father.
* *Pro theſauro carbonis.*
The Pope grants that liberally which is all-ly.

NOw that all might bee carried more cloſely, and that this Expedition might ſeeme made againſt the *Low-countries*, rather then the *Engliſh*, a ſolemne meeting was appointed firſt neer *Oſtend*, after at *Bruncksburg* in *Flanders* for a treaty of peace with the Queene of *England*. *Henry* Earle of *Derby*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Iames Croſt*, D. *Dale*, D. *Rogers* were ſent. *Richardot* plainly ſaid that he knew not what might be put in practiſe in the meane time againſt *England*. But the Prince and he being demanded if their were any enterpriſe of inuading *England*, they vtterly denied any thoughts therof. Count *Aremberg*, *Campignie*, *Richardot*, *Maes* & *Garnier* were the Princes Delegates, and profeſſed that they had ſufficient Commiſſion for treaty of peace. Firſt a truce was propounded by the *Engliſh*, and by them denied. Then the *Engliſh* required that the ancient leagues betwixt the Kings of *England* and the Houſe of *Burgundy* might be renewed and confirmed, that the *Low-countrymen* might inioy their priuiledges and libertie of conſcience, that *Spaniards* and forraine forces might be removed, that neither they nor their neighbours ſhould haue cauſe to feare; and then the Queene would redeliuer her foure Cautionary Townes. They whiled them with ſuch anſwers as ſuted to their purpoſes, and long adoe was made in weauing and vnweauing *Penelopes* web, till the *Spaniſh* Armada was vpon the Coaſt, and the very Ordnance proclaimed in their eares a ſurceaſe from further illuſions. Then did *Parma* diſmiſſe them, pulled off his Viſor, vncaſing the Fox, and truly appearing in the Lions skin. But let vs now come to take view of this Fleet, and the preparations made for it.

The King of *Spaine* hauing with ſmall fruit, aboue twenty yeeres together waged warre againſt the *Netherlands*, after deliberation with his Counſellours thereabout, thought it moſt conuenient to aſſault them once againe by Sea, which had bin attempted ſundry times heretofore, but not with forces ſufficient. Vnto the which expedition it ſtood him now in hand to ioine great puiſſance, as hauing the *Engliſh* people his profeſſed enemies; whoſe Iland is ſo ſituate, that it may either greatly helpe or hinder all ſuch as ſaile into thoſe parts. For which cauſe he thought good firſt of all to inuade *England*, being perſwaded by his Secretary *Eſconedo*, and by diuers other well experienced *Spaniards* and *Dutchmen*, and by many *Engliſh* fugitiues, that the conqueſt of that Iland was leſſe difficult, then the conqueſt of *Holland* and *Zealand*. Moreouer the *Spaniards* were of opinion, that it would be farre more behouefull for their King to conquer *England* and the *Low-countries* all at once, then to bee conſtrained continually to maintaine a warlike Nauie to defend his Eaſt and Weſt *Indie* Fleets, from the *Engliſh Drake*, and from ſuch like valiant enemies.

And for the ſame purpoſe the King Catholike, had giuen commandement long before in *Italy* & *Spaine*, that a great quantitie of timber ſhould be felled for the building of Ships; and had beſides made great preparation of things and furniture requiſite for ſuch an expedition, as namely in founding of braſen Ordnance, in ſtoring vp of corn and victuals, in training of men to vſe warlike weapons, in leuying and muſtering of Souldiers: inſomuch that about the beginning of the yeer 1588. he had finiſhed ſuch a mightie Nauie, & brought it into *Lisbon* Hauen, as neuer the like had before that time ſailed vpon the Ocean Sea.

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A very large and particular deſcription of this Nauie was put in print and publiſhed by the *Spaniards*, the tranſlated copy whereof, *in perpetuam rei memoriam*, to incite *Engliſh* thankfulneſſe, I haue here inſerted, but abridged.

Squadron of the Galeons of Portugall.

THe Galeon S. *Martin*, Captain Generall of the Armie, of 1000. tuns, carrieth 177. Mariners, 300. Souldiers, choſen men, 50. Peeces of Canon, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Cord, and all that which is needfull.

The Galeon S. *Iohn*, Admirall Generall, of 1050. tuns, carrieth 170. Mariners, 231. Souldiers, 50. Peeces of Canons, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Cords, and that which is neceſſary.

The Galeon of S. *Marke* is of 792. tuns, and carrieth 292. Souldiers, 117. Mariners, and Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, as much as is needfull.

The Galeon S. *Philip*, of 800. tuns, hath 415. Souldiers, 117. Mariners, 40. Peeces of Artillery, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that is needfull.

The Galeon S. *Lewes* 830. tuns, hath 376. men of Warre, and 116. Mariners, 40. Peeces of Ordnance, and Bullets, Match, Powder, and other things as much as is needfull.

The Galeon of S. *Mathew* 750. tuns, 177. men of Warre, 50. Mariners, 40. great Peeces, and Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, and all other things as much as is needfull.

The Galeon S. *Iames* 520. tunnes, 300. Souldiers, 100. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which is needfull.

The Galeon of *Florence*, of 961. tuns, 300. Souldiers, 100. Mariners, 52. Peeces of Ordnance, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the reſt as much as is needfull.

The Galeon S. *Chriſtopher*, 352. tuns, 300. men of Warre, 90. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Lead, Powder, Match, and all that which they need.

The Galeon S. *Bernard*, 352. tuns, hath 280. Souldiers, 100. Mariners, 30. Canons, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and other neceſſary things as much as they need.

The *Zabra Auguſta*, of 166. tuns, carrieth 55. Souldiers, 55. Mariners, 13. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and other neceſſary things as much as they need.

The *Zabra Iulia*, of 166. tuns, 60. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, with Ordnance, Bullets, Powder, and other neceſſaries.

There is in this Squadron, 12. Veſſells, 10. of them Galeons, and two Zabres, which are of 7737. tuns: & there are imbarked in them 3330. Souldiers footmen, & 1290. mariners, which are in ſum 4624. men, & they carry 350. great Peeces, and all that which is neceſſary to the reſt, as bullets, powder, match, lead, &c.

The Armie of *Biſcay*, of which is Captain Generall *Iuan Martines* of *Ricalde*.

THe Ship S. *Angell*, the Captaine is of 768. tuns, and hath 323. men of War, 114. Mariners, 30. Canons, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which is needfull. The *Gangrin*, Admirall of 1160. tuns, carrieth 300. Souldiers, 100. Mariners, 36. great Peeces of Canons, Bullets, Powder, Match Lead, and all that which is needfull. The Veſſell of S. *Iames*, 660. tuns, hath 250. Souldiers, 102. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and other neceſſary prouiſions. The Conception of *Zubelzu*, 468. tuns, hath 100. men of War, and 70. Mariners, 20. great Canons, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all other neceſſary things. The *Conception de Iuanes del Cano*, 418. tuns, hath 164. men of Warre, 70. Mariners, 24. great Peeces, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which they need. The *Magdalene* of *Iohn Frauncis* of *Ayala*, 330. tuns, carrieth 200. Souldiers, 70. Mariners, 22. great Peeces, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and that which is neceſſary to the reſt. The Ship S. *Iohn*, 350. tuns, hath 130. men of Warre, and 80. Mariners, and 24. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which they need for the reſt. The *Mary* of 165. tuns, carrieth 180. Souldiers, and 100. Mariners, 24. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and other neceſſary things. The *Mariela* of 520. tuns, hath 130. Souldiers, 54. Mariners, 16. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and the reſt of their fraught. The Ship of S. *Mary* of *Monte-major*, of 707. tuns, 220. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, and Match, and other prouiſions. The Pinnace, called the *Marie* of *Aguiare*, of 70. tuns, hath 30. men of War, 23. Mariners, 10. Peeces of Canon, Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, and other neceſſary things. The Pinnace, called *Iſabella*, of tuns, hath 30. Souldiers, 23. Mariners, 12. Canons, Bullets, and other neceſſary things. The Pinnace of *Michel Saſo*, of 96. tuns, 30. Souldiers, 24. Mariners, 12. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all other neceſſary things. The Pinnace of S. *Steuen*, of 78. tuns, hath 30. men of Warre, 26. Mariners, 12. Peeces of Canon, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all other neceſſary things of prouiſion.

There is in this Squadron, 14. Ships, ten of them great, and foure Pinnaces, which are of 6567. tuns of burden, in which Ships bee imbarked 2037. Souldiers, 868. Mariners, which make in all 2802. and 260. great Peeces of Canon, 119000. Bullets, 467. Quintals of Powder, 140. of Lead, 89. of Match.

The Armie of the Gallyes of *Caſtille*, of the which is Generall, *Iaques Flores de Valdes*.

THe Galeon S. *Chriſtopher*, Captaine of 70. tuns, hath 205. men of Warre, and 120. Mariners, and 40. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which is neceſſary to the reſt. The Galeon S. *Iohn Baptiſt*, of 750. tuns hath 250. Souldiers, 140. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, &c Bullets,

bullets, Powder, lead, Match, & other necessary things. The Galeon S. *Peter*, of 530. tuns, 130. men of Warre, 140. Mariners, and 40. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest needfull. The Galeon S. *Iohn*, of 530. tuns, 170. Souldiers, 120. Mariners, and 30. great Peeces, Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, and all the rest. The Galeon S. *Iames* the great, of 530. tuns, 230. Souldiers, 132. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the rest. The Galeon S. *Philip*, and S. *Iames*, of 530. tuns, 159. Souldiers, and 116. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all that is necessary. The Galeon of the *Ascension*, of 530. tuns, 226. Souldiers, 114. Mariners, and 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all other necessary things. The Galeon of our *Lady del Barrio*, of 130. tuns, 170. Souldiers, 108. Mariners, and 30. Canons, Bullets, Powder, Lead, and all other necessary furnitures. The Galeon of S. *Medel* and *Celedon*, of 530. tuns, 170. Souldiers, 110. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. Galeon S. *Anne* of the Port, of 250. tuns, 100. men of Warre, and 80. Mariners, 24. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Ship of our Lord of *Vigonia*, 750. tuns, 190. men of Warre, and 130. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Vessell of the *Trinitee*, of 780. tuns, 200. Souldiers, 122. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Ship of S. *Katherine*, of 862. tuns, 200. men of Warr, 160. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, and Powder, Bullets, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Ship of S. *Iohn Baptist*, of 652. tuns, 200. Souldiers, 30. Mariners, 30. Canons, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Pinnace of our Lord *Rosary*, 30. Souldiers, 25. Mariners, 24. great Peeces, Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, and the rest of their prouision.

There are in this Squadron, fourteene Galeons and Ships, and two Pinnaces, which beare 8714. *tuns. In these Vessells there are imbarked* 2458. *Souldiers*, 1719. *Mariners, which are in all*, 4177. *and* 348. *great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which they need.*

THe Captaine Ship of 1550. tuns carrieth 304. men of War, 118. Mariners, 50. Canons, Powder, Bullets, and the rest of their prouision. The Ship S. *Francis*, the Admirall of 915. tuns, 230. Souldiers, 60. Mariners, 30. Canons, Powder, Bullets, and the rest of their prouision. The Galeon S. *Iohn Baptist*, of 810. tuns 250. Souldiers, and 40. Mariners, 40. great Peeces, Powder, Bullets, Match, Lead, and the rest. The Ship S. *Iohn Gargaran*, of 569. tuns, 170. men of War, 60. Mariners, 20. great Peeces, Powder, Bullets, Match, Lead, and the rest. The *Conception* of 862. tuns, 200. men of War, 65. Mariners, 25. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Hulke *Duquesa, S. Anne* of 900. tuns. 250. men of War, and 80. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Powder, Bullets, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The *Trinitie*, 650. tuns, 200. men of Warre, 80. Mariners, 20. Canons, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and the rest. The Ship S. *Mary de Iuncar*, of 730. tuns, 240. men of War, 80. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the rest. The Pinnace of the *Holy Ghost*, 40. men of War, 33. Mariners, 10. Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match and Cord, and all that which they need.

The Armie of the Ships of *Andelozie*, of the which is Cap. *Don Pedro de Valdes*. This *Pedro de Valdes* was taken, and prisoner in *England*.

There are in this Squadron 11. *Ships*, 10. *great, and a Pinnace, of the burden of* 8762. *tuns, in which are imbarked* 2400. *Souldiers*, 800. *Mariners, and* 260. *great Peeces.*

THe Ship of S. *Anne*, the Captaine, of 1200. tuns of burden, hath 300. men of Warre, 60. Mariners, 50. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, and all the rest. The Ship of our *Lord* of the *Rose*, Admirall of 945. tuns, 230. Souldiers, 64. Mariners, and 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the rest. The Ship S. *Sanior*, of 958. tuns, 330. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 30. Canons, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and the rest: The Ship of S. *Steuen*, of 936. tuns, 200. men of Warre, 70. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the rest. The Ship of S. *Marthe* of 548. tuns, 180. men of Warre, 70. Mariners, 25. great Peeces, bullets, powder, and the rest. The ship S. *Barbe* of 525. tuns, 160. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 15. Canons, bullets, powder, lead, match, and all the rest. The ship of S. *Bonaventure*, of 369. tuns, 170. Souldiers, 60. Mariners, 15. great Peeces, bullets, powder, lead, and the rest. The *Mary* of 291. tuns, 120. Souldiers, 40. Mariners, 15. great Peeces, bullets, powder, lead, and the rest. The S. *Croix* 686. tuns, 150. Souldiers 40. Mariners, 20. great Peeces, bullets, powder, match, lead, and the rest. The Hulke *Dowella*, 500. tuns, 160. men of War, 40. Mariners, 18 great Peeces, powder, bullets, match, lead and all the rest. The *Patax* of the *Annunciation* of 60. tuns, 30. men of War, 16. Mariners, 12. great Peeces, bullets, powder, match, lead, and all the rest. The *Patax* S. *Bernabe*, is the same burden as the aforenamed. The *Patax* of our Lady of *Guadalupe* is of the same burden also. The Pinnace of *Magdelene*, is also the same burden.

The Armie of Ships come from the Prouince of *Giporce*, of which is Generall *Michell de Oquendo*.

There are in this Squadron, 14. *Ships, ten great Ships, two Pataches, and two Pinnaces, of* 6991. *tuns of burden. In which Vessels, there are imbarked* 2092. *men of Warre, and* 670. *Mariners, all commeth* 2708.

THe *Regasona*, the Captaine, which is of 1294. tuns, hath 350. Souldiers, 90. Mariners, 35. great Peeces, powder, bullets, lead, match, and all the rest: The *Lama*, the Admirall, of 728. tuns, 210. Souldiers, 80. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, powder, bullets, lead, match, and all the rest.

The Armie of the East, of the which is chief *Martin de Vrtendona*.

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The *Rata S. Mary* crowned of 820. tuns, 340. men of Warre, 90. Mariners, 40. great Peeces, powder, bullets, match, lead, and the rest. The S. *Iohn* of *Cicile*, of 880. tuns, 290. men of Warre, 70. Mariners, 30. Canons, and all the rest. The *Trinitie Valencera*, of a 1000. tuns, 240. Souldiers, 90. Mariners, 41. great Peeces, and all the rest of their furnitures. The *Annuntiation* of 730. tuns, 200. Souldiers, 90. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, and all the rest. The S. *Nicholas Prodaueli* of 834. tunnes, 280. Souldiers, 84. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, and all the rest. The *Iuliane* of 780. tuns, 330. Souldiers, 80. Mariners, 36. great Peeces, and the rest. The *Mary Pison* of 666. tuns, 256. Souldiers, 80. Mariners, 22. great Peeces, and the rest of their need. The *Trinitie Escala* of 900. tunnes, 302. Souldiers, 25. great Peeces, and all the rest of their furniture.

In which Squadron there are ten Ships, which are of 7705. tuns of burthen, and there are imbarked in them 2880. Souldiers, 807. Mariners, 310. great Peeces, with the rest of that they haue.

The Armie of *Hulkes* in the which is Cap. *Iohn Lopez* of *Medina*.

THe great *Grifon*, the Captaine, of 600. tuns, 250. Souldiers, 60. Mariners, 40. great Peeces, and the rest. The S. *Sauior* the Admirall of 650. tuns, 230. Souldiers, 60. Mariners, 30. great Peeces and the rest of their prouision. The *Sea Dog*, of 200. tuns, 80. Souldiers, 30. Mariners, 10. great Peeces, and the rest. The White *Faulcon* the great, of 500. tuns, 160. men of Warre, 40. Mariners, 18. great Peeces, and all the rest. The Blacke *Caſtle* of 750. tuns, 250. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 25. great Peeces, and all the rest. The Barke of *Awburg*, of 600. tuns, 250. men of War. 50. Mariners, 25. Canons, and the rest. The *Houſe of peace* the great, of the ſame burthen. The S. *Peter* the great of the ſame burthen alſo. The *Sampſon*, and *Peter* the ſmall, doe beare the ſame. The Barke of *Anzique*, of 450. tuns, 210. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 26. great Peeces, and the reſt of their prouiſion. The *Falcon*, the meane White, of 300. tuns, 80. men of War, 30. Mariners, 18. great Peeces, and all the reſt. The S. *Andrew* of 400. tuns, 160. Souldiers. 40. Mariners, 15. great Peeces, and the reſt of their prouiſion. The *Little houſe of peace*, of 350. tuns, 160. Souldiers, 40. Mariners, 15. great Peeces, and the reſt of their prouiſion. The *Flying Rauen* of 400. tuns, 210. Souldiers 40. Mariners, 18. great Peeces, and the reſt of their furniture.

Pataches and *Zabres*, wherein *Don Antony* of *Mendoza* commandeth.

THe *White Doue*, of 250. tuns, 60. Souldiers, 30. Mariners, 12. great Peeces, and the reſt. The *Aduenture*, S. *Barbe* traughted of the ſame. The S. *Iames* 600. tuns, 60. Souldiers, 40. Mariners, 19. great Peeces, and all the reſt. S. *Gabriel* of the Port, of 280. tuns, 50. Souldiers, 25. Mariners, 9. great Peeces, and the reſt of their furniture. The *Eſay* is fraughted of the ſame.

There are in this Squadron 23. Hulkes, which are of 10271. tuns, in the which are imbarked 3221. men of Warre, 708. Mariners, 410. great peeces, and their neceſſary prouiſion.

The Captaine of our Lord of *Pilier* of *Zaragoſſe* of 300. tunnes, 120. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 12. great Peeces, and their furniture. The *Engliſh Charity*, of 180. tuns, 80. Souldiers, 36. Mariners, 12. great Peeces, and the reſt. The *Scottiſh* S. *Andrew* of 150. tuns, 51. Souldiers, 30. Mariners, 12. great Peeces, and their furniture. The *Patache* of the *Crucifix*, 150. tuns, 50. Souldiers, 30. Mariners, 8. great Peeces, and their furniture. Our *Lord* of the *Hauen* fraught alike. The *Conception* of *Caraſſa*, and our *Lord* of *Begona*, and the *Conception de Capitilla*, and S. *Hieroſ*, being of the burthen of 60. or 70. tuns, 50. Souldiers, 30. Mariners, 8. great Peeces, a Peece, and their furniture. Our *Lady* of *grace*, the *Conception* of *Frauncys Laſtero*, our *Lady* of *Guadalupe*, S. *Frauncys*, the *Holy Spirit*, our *Lady* of *Freneſida*, all fraughted alike. The *Zabra* of the *Trinitie*, the *Zabra* of our *Lady Caſtre*, S. *Andrew*, the *Conception* of *Zomartiba*, S. *Clere*, S. *Iohn* of *Caraſſa*, and the *Aſſumption*, all fraughted alike.

There are in this Squadron 22. Pataches and Zabres, which are of the burthen of 1131. tuns, in the which there are imbarked 479. Souldiers, 574. Mariners, and there is 193. great Peeces, and all their furniture.

The foure Galeaces of *Naples*, which are giuē in charge to *Don Vgo de Moncada*.

THe Galeace the Captaine called S. *Laurence*, hath 270. Souldiers, 130. Mariners, 300. Slaues, 50. Peeces of Canon, and their furniture. The Galeace *Patrone*, 180. Souldiers, 112. Mariners, 300. Slaues, 50. great Peeces, and their furniture. The Galeace *Girone*, 170. Souldiers, 120. Mariners, 300. Slaues, 50. great Peeces. The Galeace *Neapolitaine* 124. Souldiers, 115. Mariners, 300. Slaues, 50. great Peeces, and the reſt of their neceſſary fraught.

There are in theſe foure Galeaces 873. Souldiers, 468. Mariners, 200. great Peeces, 1200. Slaues, and the reſt of their furniture.

The Gally *Captaine*, 110. Souldiers, 106. Mariners, 306. Slaues, and fiftie great Peeces, and other neceſſaries. The Gally *Princeſſe*, the Gally *Diana*, the Gally *Vacana*, are the like.

In the aboue named Galeaces, there are 1200. Slaues, and in the foure gallies, 888. which is in all 2088. Moreouer, they carry powder for their need, if it be offered to doe battery, 600. Quintals.

So that there are in the ſaid Army 130. Ships of 57868. tuns, 19295. Souldiers, and 8450. Mariners, 2088. Slaues, and 2630. great Peeces of Braſſe of all ſorts, among which there are Colewines, and demy Colewines, and Canons to the Stone, and other neceſſaries for their fraught.

In the Booke follow the names of the Aduenturers, alſo of ſuch as in the Army were entertained for pay; ſuch alſo as were imbarked for the ſeruice of the Canon, for the Hoſpitall, the Regiments, and Companies in pay, the Officers, &c. which for breuitie I omit.

The

The Galeons were sixtie foure in number, being of an huge bignesse, and verie stately built, being of maruelous force also, and so high, that they resembled great Castles, most fit to defend themselues and to withstand any assault, but in giuing any other Ships the encounter farre inferiour vnto the *English* and *Dutch* Ships, which can with great dexteritie weild & turne themselues at all assaies. The vpper worke of the said Galeons was of thickneſſe and strength sufficient to beare off Musket-shot. The lower worke and the timbers thereof were out of measure strong, being framed for plankes and ribs foure or fiue foot in thickneſſe, insomuch that no bullets could pierce them, but such as were discharged hard at hand: which afterward proued true, for a great number of bullets were found to sticke fast within the masse substance of those thicke plankes. Great and well pitched Cables were twined about the masts of their Ships, to strengthen them against the battery of shot. A description of the Galeons

The Galliasses were of such bignesse, that they contained within them Chambers, Chappels, Turrets, Pulpits, and other commodities of great houses. The Galliasses were rowed with great Oares, there being in each of them 300. slaues for the same purpose, and were able to doe great seruice with the force of their Ordnance. All these together with the rest aforenamed were furnished and beautified with Trumpets, Streamers, Banners, warlike Ensignes, and other such like ornaments. A description of the Galliasses.

Their Pieces of Brasen Ordnance were 1600. and of Iron 1000. The Bullets thereto belonging were 120. thousand. Item of Gunpowder 5600. *quintals*. Of Match 1200 *quintals*. Of Muskets and Kaleiuers 7000. Of Halberts and Partisans 10000. Moreouer, they had great store of Canons, double Canons, Culuerings and field-pieces for land seruice. The great Ordnance, bullets, Gunpowder, and other furniture.

Likewise they were prouided of all instruments necessarie on Land to conueigh and transport their furniture from place to place; as namely of Carts, Wheeles, Wagons, &c. Also they had Spades, Mattocks and Baskets to set pioners on worke. They had in like sort great store of Mules and Horses, and whatsoeuer else was requisite for a Land-armie. They were so well stored of Biscuit, that for the space of halfe a yeere, they might allow each person in the whole Fleete halfe a quintall euery moneth: whereof the whole summe amounteth vnto an hundreth thousand quintals. Their prouision of victuals & other things necessary.

Likewise of Wine they had 147. thousand *Pipes*, sufficient also for halfe a yeeres expedition. Of Bacon 6500. quintals, Of Cheese three thousand quintals. Besides Fish, Rice, Beanes, Peise, Oyle, Vinegar, &c.

Moreouer, they had 13000. Pipes of fresh water, and all other necessarie prouision; as namely Candles, Lanternes, Lampes, Sa les, Hempe, Oxe-hides and Lead to stop holes that should be made with the batterie of Gunshot. To be short, they brought all things expedient either for a Fleete by Sea, or for an Armie by land.

This Nauie (as *Diego Pimentelli* afterward confessed) was esteemed by the King himselfe to containe 32000. persons, and to cost him euery day 30. thousand Ducates. 31000. persons in the Nauie.

There were in the said Nauie fiue *Tercaes* of *Spaniards* (which *Tercaes* the *Frenchmen* call Regiments) vnder the command of fiue Gouernours, tearmed by the *Spaniards* Masters of the field, and amongst the rest there were many old and expert Souldiers chosen out of the Garrisons of *Sicilie*, *Naples*, and *Terçera*. Their Captaines or Colonels were *Diego Pimentelli*, *Don Francisco de Toledo*, *Don Alonzo de Luçon*, *Don Nicolas de Isla*, *Don Augustin de Mexia*: who had each of them two and thirty Companies vnder their conduct. Besides the which Companies there were many bands also of *Castilians* and *Portugals*, euery one of which had their peculiar Gouernours, Captaines, Officers, Colours and weapons. A *Spanish tercio* consisteth of 3200. souldiers.

It was not lawfull for any man, vnder grieuous penaltie, to carry any woman or harlots in the Fleete: for which cause the women hired certaine Ships, wherein they sailed after the Nauie: some of the which being driuen by tempest arriued vpon the coast of *France*. Baggage of the Armada.

The Generall of this mightie Nauie, was *Don Alonso Perez de Guzman* Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, Lord of *S. Lucar*, and Knight of the golden Fleece: by reason that the Marqueſſe of *Santa Cruz* appointed for the same dignity, deceased before the time.

Iohn Martines de Ricalde was Admirall of the Fleete.

Francis Bonadilla was chiefe Marshall: who all of them had their officers fit and requisite for the guiding and managing of such a multitude. Likewise *Martin Alorcon* was appointed Vicar generall of the Inquisition, being accompanied with more then a hundreth Monkes, to wit, *Iesuites*, *Capuchines*, and Friers *Mendicant*. Besides whom also there were Phisitians, Chirurgians, Apothecaries, and whatsoeuer else pertained vnto the Hospitall.

Ouer and besides the forenamed Gouernours and Officers, being men of chiefe note, there were 124. very noble and worthy Gentlemen, which went voluntarily of their owne costs and charges, to the end they might see fashions, learne experience, and attaine vnto glory. Amongst whom was the Prince of *Ascoli*, *Alonzo de Leiua*, the Marqueſſe *de Pennafiel*, the Marqueſſe *de Gaues*, the Marqueſſe *de Barlango*, *Count de Paredes*, *Count de Telnua*, and diuers other Marqueſſes and Earles of the honorable families of *Mendoza*, of *Toledo*, of *Pacheco*, of *Cordoua*, of *Guzman*, of *Manriques*, and a great number of others.

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I haue by me the Duke Orders for the whole Nauie, during this Voyage, made aboard the Gallion Saint Martin, *May* 28. *the beginning whereof I haue added, the whole would be too long.*

DON ALONSO PERES DE GVSMAN, *the good Duke of* Medina, Sidonia, *Countie of* Nebla, *Marqueſſe of* Caſheſhe *in* Africa, *Lord of the Citie Saint* Lucar, *Captaine Generall of the Occian Sea, of the Coaſt of* Andaluzia, *and of this Armie of his Maieſtie, and Knight of the honorable Order of the golden Fleece.*

I Doe ordaine and command, that the generall Maſters of the field, all Captaines of the Sea, Pilats, Maſters, Souldiers, Mariners, and Officers, and whatſoeuer other people for the Land or Sea ſeruice commeth in this Armie, all the time that it indureth, ſhall be thus gouerned, as hereafter followeth, *viz.*

The cauſe of the iourney.

First, and before all things, it is to be vnderſtood by all the aboue named from the higheſt to the loweſt: that the principall foundation and cauſe that hath moued the King his Maieſtie to make and continue this iournie, hath beene, and is, to ſerue God, and to returne vnto his Church a great many of contrite ſoules that are oppreſſed by the Heretikes, enemies of our holy Catholike faith, which haue them ſubiects to their ſects and vnhappineſſe: and for that euery one, may put his eyes vpon this marke, as we are bound, I doe command and much deſire euery one, to

Their ſhrift.

giue charge vnto the inferiors and thoſe vnder their charge to imbarke themſelues, being ſhriuen, and hauing receiued the Sacrament with competence and contrition for their ſinnes; by the which contrition and zeale to doe God ſuch great ſeruice, he will carry and guide vs to his great glory; which is, that which particularly and principally is pretended.

For auoiding blaſphemy and raging oathes, and others.

In like manner, I doe charge and command you, to haue particular care, that no Soldier, Mariner, or other, that ſerueth in this Armie, doe blaſpheme, or rage againſt God, or our Lady, or any of the Saints, vpon paine that he ſhall therefore ſharply be corrected, and very well chaſtened, as it ſhall ſeeme beſt vnto vs: and for other oathes of leſſe qualitie, the Gouernours in the ſame Ships they goe in, ſhall procure to remedy all: they ſhall puniſh them in taking away their allowance of Wine, or otherwiſe as they ſhall thinke good. And for that the moſt occaſions come by play, you ſhall publikly prohibit it, eſpecially the games that are forbidden: and that none doe play in the night by no meanes.

Debarring play.

Articles follow to ſuppreſſe quarrels, to auoid diſgracing any man, and all occaſions of ſcandall, forbidding carriage of common women; with other orders for watchwords, attendance on the Admirall, for fire and wilde-fire, and lights, armours, ſhot, powder, match, and other neceſſary inſtructions, too long to be here particularized: that in the height of humaine policie, and religious hypocriſie, the hand of God in Englands *preſeruation may be made euident.*

The preparation of the Duke of *Parma* to aide the *Spaniards.*

While the *Spaniards* were furniſhing this their Nauie, the Duke of *Parma*, at the direction of King *Philip*, made great preparation in the low Countries, to giue aide and aſſiſtance vnto the *Spaniards*, building Ships for the ſame purpoſe, and ſending for Pilots and Ship-wrights out of *Italy*. In *Flanders* he cauſed certaine deepe channels to be made, and among the reſt, the channell of *Yper*, commonly called *Yper-lee*, employing ſome thouſands of workemen about that ſeruice: to the end that by the ſaid Cannell he might tranſport Ships from *Antwerp* and *Ghendt* to *Bruges* where he had aſſembled aboue a hundreth ſmall Ships, called Hoyes, being well ſtored with victuals, which Hoyes he was determined to haue brought into the Sea by the way of *Sluys*, or elſe to haue conueied them by the ſaid *Yper-lee*, being now of greater depth, into any port of *Flanders* whatſoeuer.

In the Riuer of *Waten*, he cauſed 70. Ships with flat bottomes to be built, euery one of which ſhould ſerue to carry 30. horſes, hauing each of them Bridges likewiſe for the Horſes to come on boord, or to goe forth on land. Of the ſame faſhion he had prouided 200. other veſſels at *Neuport*, but not ſo great. And at *Dunkerk* he procured 28. Ships of warre, ſuch as were there to be had, and cauſed a ſufficient number of Mariners to be leuied at *Hamburg*, *Breme*, *Emden*, and at other places. He put in the ballaſt of the ſaid Ships, great ſtore of beames of thicke plankes, being hollow and beſet with Iron pikes beneath, but on each ſide full of claſpes and hookes, to ioyne them together.

He had likewiſe at *Graueling* prouided 20. thouſand of caske, which in a ſhort ſpace might be compact and ioyned together with nailes and cords, and reduced into the forme of a Bridge. To be ſhort, whatſoeuer things were requiſite for the making of Bridges, and for the barring & ſtopping vp of Hauens mouthes with ſtakes, poſts, and other meanes, he commanded to be made ready. Moreouer, not far from *Neuport* hauen, he had cauſed a great pile of wooden fagots to be laid, and other furniture to be brought for the rearing vp of a Mount. The moſt part of his Ships contained two Ouens a peece to bake Bread in, with a great number of ſaddles, bridles, and ſuch other like

like apparell for Horſes. They had Horſes likewiſe, which after their landing ſhould ſerue to conuey and draw engines, field-pieces, and other warlike prouiſions.

Neere vnto *Nerupert* he had aſſembled an armie, ouer the which hee had ordained *Camillo de Monte* to be Camp-maſter. This army conſiſted of 30. bands or enſignes of *Italians*, of ten bands of *Wallons*, eight of *Scots*, and eight of *Burgundians*, all which together amount vnto 56. bands euery band containing a hundreth perſons. Neere vnto *Dixmund* there were muſtered eightie bands of *Dutchmen*, ſixtie of *Spaniards*, ſix of high *Germans*, and ſeuen bands of *Engliſh* fugitiues, vnder the conduct of Sir *William Stanlie*, an *Engliſh* Knight. In the ſuburbs of *Cortreight* there were 4000. horſemen together with their horſes in a readineſſe: and at *Waten* 900. horſes, with the troupe of the Marqueſſe *del Guaſto* Captaine generall of the horſemen.

Vnto this famous expedition and preſuppoſed victorie, many potentates, Princes, and honorable perſonages lued themſelues: out of *Spaine* the Prince of *Melito*, called the Duke of *Paſtrana*, and taken to be the Son of one *Ruygomes de Silua*, but in very deede accompted among the number of King *Philips* baſe ſons. Alſo the Marqueſſe of *Burgraue*, one of the ſons of Arch-duke *Ferdinand* and *Philippa Welſera*. *Veſpaſian Gonſaga* of the family of *Mantua*, being for chiualry a man of great renowne, and heretofore Vice-roy in *Spaine*. Item *Iohn Medices*, baſe ſon vnto the Duke of *Florence*. And *Amadas* of *Sauoy*, the Duke of *Sauoy* his baſe ſon, with many others of inferiour degrees.

At length when as the *French* King about the end of May ſignified vnto her Maieſtie in plaine tearmes that ſhe ſhould ſtand vpon her guard, becauſe he was now certainly enformed, that there was ſo dangerous an inuaſion imminent vpon her Realme, that he feared much, leaſt all her land and ſea-forces would be ſufficient to withſtand it, &c. then began the Queenes Maieſtie more carefully to gather her forces together, and to furniſh her own ſhips of warre, and the principall ſhips of her ſubiects, with ſouldiers, weapons, and other neceſſary prouiſion. The greateſt and ſtrongeſt ſhips of the whole Nauie ſhe ſent vnto *Plimmouth*, vnder the conduct of the right honorable Lord *Charles Howard*, Lord high Admirall of *England*, &c. Vnder whom the renowned Knight Sir *Francis Drake* was appointed Vice-admirall. The number of theſe ſhips was about an hundreth. The leſſer ſhips being 30. or 40. in number, and vnder the conduct of the Lord *Henry Seimer* were commanded to lie betweene *Douer* and *Caleis*. Her Maieſties warlike preparation by Sea.

On land likewiſe throughout the whole realme, ſouldiers were muſtered and trained in all places, and were committed vnto the moſt reſolute and faithfull captaines. And whereas it was commonly giuen out, that the *Spaniard* hauing once vnited himſelfe vnto the Duke of *Parma*, ment to inuade by the riuer of Thames, there was at Tilburie in Eſſex, ouer-againſt Grauеſend, a mighty army encamped: and on both ſides of the riuer fortifications were erected, according to the preſcription of *Frederike Genebelli* an *Italian* enginier. Likewiſe there were certaine ſhips brought to make a Bridge, though it were very late firſt. Vnto the ſaid Armie came in proper perſon the Queenes moſt roiall Maieſtie, repreſenting *Tomyris* that *Scithian* warlike Princeſſe, or rather diuine *Pallas* her ſelfe. Alſo there were other ſuch armies leuied in *England*. Her Maieſties Land-forces.

The principal Reculants (leaſt they ſhould ſtir vp any tumult in the time of the *Spaniſh* inuaſion) were ſent to remaine at certain conuenient places, as namely in the Iſle of *Ely* and at *Wisbich*. And ſome of them were ſent vnto other places, to wit, vnto ſundry Biſhops and Noblemen, where they were kept from endangering the ſtate of the common wealth, and of her ſacred Maieſtie, who of her moſt gracious clemency gaue expreſſe commandement, that they ſhould be intreated with all humanitie and friendſhip. Catholike Roman.

The Prouinces of *Holland*, *Zeland*, &c. giuing credit vnto their intelligence out of *Spaine*, made preparation to defend themſelues: but becauſe the *Spaniſh* ſhips were deſcribed vnto them to be ſo huge, they relied partly vpon the ſhallow and dangerous Seas all along their coaſts. Wherefore they ſtood moſt in doubt of the Duke of *Parma*, his ſmall and flat-bottomed ſhips. Howbeit they had all their ſhips of warre to the number of nintie and aboue, in a readineſſe for all aduentures: the greater part whereof were of a ſmall burthen, as being more meete to ſaile vpon their Riuers and ſhallow Seas: and with theſe ſhips they beſieged all the hauens in *Flanders*, beginning at the mouth of *Scheld*, or from the towne of *Lillo*, and holding on to *Greneling*, and almoſt vnto *Caleis*, and fortified all their Sea-townes with ſtrong garriſons. The preparation of the vnited Prouinces.

Againſt the *Spaniſh* fleets arriuall, they had prouided fiue and twenty or thirty good ſhips, committing the gouernment of them vnto Admirall *Lonck*, whom they commanded to ioine himſelfe vnto the Lord *Henry Seymor*, lying betweene *Douer* and *Cales*. And when as the foreſaid ſhips (whereof the greater part beſieged the hauen of *Dunkerke*) were driuen by tempeſt into *Zeland*, *Iuſtin* of *Naſſau* the Admirall of *Zeland* ſupplied that ſquadron with fiue and thirty ſhips, being of no great burthen, but excellently furniſhed with Guns, Mariners and Souldiers in great abundance, & eſpecially with 1200 braue Muſquetiers, hauing beene acouſtomed vnto Sea-fights, and being choſen out of all their company for the ſame purpoſe: and ſo the ſaid *Iuſtin* of *Naſſau* kept ſuch diligent ward in the Station, that the Duke of *Parma* could not iſſue forth with his Nauie into Sea out of any part of *Flanders*.

In the meane while the *Spaniſh Armada* ſet ſaile out of the hauen of *Lisbon* vpon the 19. of May

The *Spaniſh* fleete ſet ſaile vpon the 19 of May.

O multum dilecta Deo, tibi militat æther conjurati veniunt ad claſſica venti &c.

Guins valour.

May; *An. Dom.* 1588. vnder the conduct of the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, directing their courſe for the Bay of *Corunna*, *alias* the *Groine* in *Gallicia*, where they tooke in ſouldiers, and warlike prouiſion, this port being in *Spaine* the neereſt vnto *England*. As they were ſailing along, there aroſe ſuch a mighty tempeſt, that the whole Fleet was diſperſed, ſo that when the Duke was returned vnto his company, he could not eſcry aboue eighty ſhips in all, whereunto the reſidue by little and little ioyned themſelues, except eight which had their Maſts blowne ouer-boord. One of the foure Gallies of *Portingall* eſcaped very hardly, retiring her ſelfe into the hauen. The other three were vpon the coaſt of *Baion* in *France*, by the aſſiſtance and courage of one *David Gwin*, an *Engliſh* Captine (whom the *French* and *Turkiſh* ſlaues aided in the ſame enterpriſe) vtterly diſabled and vanquiſhed: one of the three being firſt ouercome, which conquered the two other, with the ſlaughter of their Gouernour and ſouldiers, and among the reſt of *Don Diego de Mandrana*, with ſundry others: and ſo thoſe ſlaues arriued in *France* with the three Gallies, ſet themſelues at libertie.

They ſet ſaile from the *Groine* vpon the 11. of Iuly.

The *Spaniards* come within kenning of *England*.

Cap. *Fleming*.

The Nauie hauing refreſhed themſelues at the *Groine*, and receiuing daily commandement from the King to haſten their iournie, hoiſed vp ſailes the 11. day of Iuly, and ſo holding on their courſe till the 19. of the ſame moneth, they came then vnto the mouth of the narrow Seas or *Engliſh* channell. From whence (ſtriking their ſailes in the meane ſeaſon) they diſpatched certain of their ſmall ſhips vnto the Duke of *Parma*. At the ſame time the *Spaniſh* Fleete was eſcried by an *Engliſh* Pinnace, Captaine whereof was Maſter *Thomas Fleming*, after they had beene aduertiſed of the *Spaniards* expedition by their ſcoutes and eſpials, which hauing ranged along the coaſt of *Spaine*, were lately returned home into *Plimmoth* for a new ſupply of victuals and other neceſſaries, who conſidering the foreſaid tempeſt, were of opinion that the Nauie being of late diſperſed and toſſed vp and downe the maine Ocean, was by no meanes able to performe their intended Voyage. Moreouer, the Lord *Charles Howard*, Lord high Admirall of *England*, had receiued Letters from the Court, ſignifying vnto him, that her Maieſty was aduertiſed that the *Spaniſh* Fleete would not come forth, nor was to be any longer expected for, and therefore, that vpon her Maieſties commandement hee muſt ſend backe foure of her talleſt and ſtrongeſt Ships vnto *Chattam*.

The L. Admirals ſhort warning vpon the 19. of Iuly.

The Lord high Admirall of *England* being thus on the ſudden, namely vpon the 19. of Iuly about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, enformed by the Pinnace of Captaine *Fleming* aforeſaid, of the *Spaniards* approach, with all ſpeede and diligence poſſible hee warped his Ships, and cauſed his Mariners and Souldiers (the greater part of whom was abſent for the cauſe aforeſaid) to come on boord, and that with great trouble and difficultie, inſomuch that the Lord Admirall himſelfe was faine to lie without in the road with ſix Ships onely all that night, after the which many others came forth of the hauen.

The 20. of Iuly.

The very next day, being the 20. of Iuly about high noone, was the *Spaniſh* Fleet eſcried by the *Engliſh*, which with a South-weſt winde came ſailing along, and paſſed by *Plimmouth*; in which regard (according to the iudgement of many skilfull Nauigators) they greatly ouerſhot themſelues, whereas it had beene more commodious for them to haue ſtaied themſelues there, conſidering that the *Engliſhmen* being as yet vnprouided, greatly relied vpon their owne forces, and knew not the eſtate of the *Spaniſh* Nauie. Moreouer, this was the moſt conuenient Port of all others, where they might with greater ſecurity haue beene aduertiſed of the *Engliſh* forces, and how the commons of the land ſtood affected, and might haue ſtirred vp ſome mutinie, ſo that hither they ſhould haue bent all their puiſſance, and from hence the Duke of *Parma* might more eaſily haue conueied his Ships. But this they were prohibited to doe by the King and his Counſell, and were expreſly commanded to vnite themſelues vnto the ſouldiers and ſhips of the ſaid Duke of *Parma*, and ſo to bring their purpoſe to effect. Which was thought to be the moſt eaſie and direct courſe, for that they imagined that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* men would be vtterly daunted and diſmaied thereat, and would each man of them retire vnto his owne Prouince or Port for the defence thereof, and tranſporting the Armie of the Duke vnder the protection of their huge Nauie, they might inuade *England*. It is reported that the chiefe commanders in the Nauy, and thoſe which were more skilfull in nauigation, to wit, *Iohn Martines de Ricalde*, *Diego Flores de Valdez*, and diuers others, found fault that they were bound vnto ſo ſtrict directions and inſtructions, becauſe that in ſuch a caſe many particular accidents ought to concurre and to be reſpected at one and the ſame inſtant, that is to ſay, the opportunitie of the winde, weather, time, tide, and ebbe, wherein they might faile from *Flanders* to *England*. Oftentimes alſo the darkneſſe and light, the ſituation of places, the depths and ſhoalds were to be conſidered: all which eſpecially depended vpon the conueniency of the windes, and were by ſo much the more dangerous. But it ſeemed that they were enioyned by their Commiſſion to ancre neere vnto, or about *Caleis*, whither the Duke of *Parma* with his ſhips and all his warlike prouiſion was to reſort, and while the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* great ſhips were in the midſt of their conflict, to paſſe by, and to land his ſouldiers vpon the Downes. The *Spaniſh* Captiues reported that they were determined firſt to haue entred the Riuer of Thames, & thereupon to haue paſſed with ſmall ſhips vp to London, ſuppoſing that they might eaſily win that rich and flouriſhing Citie, being but meanely fortified and inhabited with Citizens not accuſtomed to the wars, who durſt

Gods great mercy to *England*. For had not *Flemming* brought word, the Queenes Nauie had eaſily beene oppreſſed: nor could it ſo ſoon be ready, had the *Spaniards* then taken their opportunitie.

not

not withstand their first encounter, hoping moreouer to finde many rebels against her Maiestie, and Popish Catholikes, or some fauourers of the *Scottish* Queene (not long before beheaded) who might be instruments of sedition.

Thus often aduertising the Duke of *Parma* of their approach, the 20. of Iuly they passed by *Plimmouth*, which the *English* pursuing and getting the winde of them, gaue them the chase and the encounter, and so both Fleetes frankly exchanged their Bullets.

The day following, which was the 21. of Iuly, the *English* Ships approached within Musket shot of the *Spanish*: at what time the Lord *Charles Howard* most hotly and valiantly discharged his Ordnance vpon the *Spanish* Vice-admirall. The *Spaniards* then well perceiuing the nimblenesse of the *English* ships in discharging vpon the enemy on all sides, gathered themselues close into the forme of an halfe Moone, and slackned their sailes, least they should outgoe any of their company. And while they were proceeding on in this manner, one of their great Galliasses was so furiously battered with shot, that the whole Nauie was faine to come vp rounder together for the safegard thereof: whereby it came to passe that the principall Galleon of *Sivill* (wherein *Don Pedro de Valdez*, *Vasques de Silua*, *Alonzo de Sayas*, and other Noble men were embarqued) falling foule of another ship, had her fore-mast broken, and by that meanes was not able to keepe way with the *Spanish* Fleete, neither would the said Fleete stay to succour it, but left the distressed Galeon behinde. The Lord Admirall of *England*, when hee saw this Ship of *Valdez*, and thought she had beene voide of Marriners and Souldiers, taking with him as many ships as he could, passed by it, that hee might not loose sight of the *Spanish* Fleete that night. For Sir *Francis Drake* (who was notwithstanding appointed to beare out his Lanterne that night) was giuing of chase vnto fiue great Hulkes which had separated themselues from the *Spanish* Fleete: but finding them to be Easterlings, hee dismissed them. The Lord Admirall all that night following the *Spanish* Lanterne instead of the *English*, found himselfe in the morning to be in the midst of his enemies Fleete, but when he perceiued it, he cleanly conueied himselfe out of that great danger.

The 21. of Iuly

Galeon forsaken.

The day following, which was the 22. of Iuly, Sir *Francis Drake* espied *Valdez* his ship, whereunto he sent for his Pinnace, and being aduertised that *Valdez* himselfe was there, and 450. persons with him, he sent him word that hee should yeelde himselfe. *Valdez* for his honours sake caused certaine conditions to be propounded vnto *Drake*: who answered *Valdez*, that he was not now at leisure to make any long *parle*, but if he would yeelde himselfe, he should finde him friendly and tractable: howbeit if he had resolued to die in fight, he should proue *Drake* to be no dastard. Vpon which answer, *Valdez* and his Company vnderstanding that they were fallen into the hands of fortunate *Drake*, being moued with the renowme and celebritie of his name, with one consent yeelded themselues, and found him very fauourable vnto them. Then *Valdez* with forty or fiftie Noblemen and Gentlemen pertaining vnto him, came on boord Sir *Francis Drakes* ship. The residue of his company were carried vnto *Plimmouth*, where they were detained a yeere and an halfe for their ransome.

The 22. of Iuly

Don Pedro de Valdez with his ships and company take.

Valdez comming vnto *Drake*, and humbly kissing his hand, protesting vnto him, that he and his had resolued to die in battell, had they not by good fortune fallen into his power, whom they knew to be right courteous and gentle, and whom they had heard by generall report to be most fauourable vnto his vanquished foe: insomuch, that he said it was to be doubted whether his enemy had more cause to admire and loue him for his great, valiant, and prosperous exploits, or to dread him for his singular felicity and wisdome, which euer attended vpon him in the wars, and by the which he had attained vnto so great honor. With that *Drake* embraced him, and gaue him very honorable entertainment, feeding him at his owne table, and lodging him in his Cabbin. Here *Valdez* began to recount vnto *Drake* the forces of all the *Spanish* Fleete, and how foure mighty Gallies were separated by tempest from them: and also how they were determined first to haue put into *Plimmouth* hauen, not expecting to be repelled thence by the *English* ships, which they thought could by no meanes withstand their impregnable forces, perswading themselues that by meanes of their huge Fleete, they were become Lords and commanders of the maine Ocean. For which cause they marueiled much how the *Englishmen* in their small Ships durst approach within musket shot of the *Spaniards* mighty wodden Castles, gathering the wind of them, with many other such like attempts. Immediately after, *Valdez* and his Company (being a man of principall authority in the *Spanish* Fleet, and being descended of one and the same family with that *Valdez*, which in the yeere 1574. besieged *Leiden* in *Holland*) were sent captiues into *England*. There were in the said ship 55. thousand Duckets in ready monie of the *Spanish* Kings gold, which the souldiers merrily shared among themselues.

Virtus in hoste laudanda.

55000. duckets

The same day was set on fire one of their greatest ships, being Admirall of the squadron of Guipusco, and being the ship of *Michael de Oquendo* Vice-admirall of the whole Fleete, which contained great store of Gunpowder, and other warlike prouision. The vpper part onely of this ship was burnt, and all the persons therein contained (except a very few) were consumed with fire. And thereupon it was taken by the *English*, and brought into *England*, with a number of miserable burnt and scorched *Spaniards*. Howbeit the Gunpowder (to the great admiration of all men) remained whole and vnconsumed.

A great Biscaine ship taken by the *English*.

In

In the meane season the Lord Admirall of *England* in his ship, called the *Arke-royall*, all that night pursued the *Spaniards* so neere, that in the morning hee was almost left alone in the enemies Fleete, and it was foure of the clocke at afternoone before the residue of the *English* Fleete could ouertake him. At the same time *Hugo de Moncada*, Gouernour of the foure Gallasses, made humble suite vnto the Duke of *Medina* that hee might be licenced to encounter the Admirall of *England*: which liberty the Duke thought not good to permit vnto him, because he was loath to exceede the limits of his Commission and charge.

The 23. of Iuly

Vpon tuesday, which was the 23. of Iuly, the Nauy being come ouer against *Portland*, the wind began to turne Northerly, insomuch that the *Spaniards* had a fortunate and fit gale to inuade the *English*. But the *Englishmen* hauing lesser and nimbler ships, recouered againe the vantage of the winde from the *Spaniards*, whereat the *Spaniards* seemed to be more incensed to fight then before. But when the *English* fleet had continually and without intermission from morning to night beaten and battered them with all their shot both great and small: the *Spaniards* vniting themselues, gathered their whole Fleete close together into a roundell, so that it was apparant that they ment not as yet to inuade others, but onely to defend themselues, & to make haste vnto the place prescribed vnto them, which was neere vnto *Dunkerk*, that they might ioyne forces with the Duke of *Parma*, who was determined to haue proceeded secretly with his small ships vnder the shadow and protection of the great ones, and so had intended circumspectly to performe the whole expedition.

Slow motions of the great *Spanish* ships.

Admirals hot fight.

Captaine *Fenners* valour.

This was the most furious and bloudy skirmish of all, in which the Lord Admirall of *England* continued fighting amidst his enemies Fleete, and seeing one of his Captaines a farre off, he spake vnto him in these words: *Oh* George, *what doest thou? Wilt thou now frustrate my hope and opinion conceiued of thee? Wilt thou forsake mee now?* With which words hee being enflamed, approached forthwith, encountered the enemy, and did the part of a most valiant Captaine. His name was *George Fenner*, a man that had beene conuersant in many Sea-fights. In this conflict there was a certaine great *Venetian* ship with other small ships surprized and taken by the *English*.

A great *Venetian* ship and other small ships taken by the *English*.

The *English* Nauy in the meane while increased, whereunto out of all Hauens of the Realme resorted ships and men: for they all with one accord came flocking thither as vnto a set field, where immortall fame and glory was to be attained, and faithfull seruice to be performed vnto their Prince and Countrey. In which number there were many great and honorable personages, as namely, the Earle of *Oxford*, of *Northumberland*, of *Cumberland*, &c. with many Knights and Gentlemen: to wit, Sir *Thomas Cecill*, Sir *Robert Cecill*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *William Hatton*, Sir *Horatio Palauicini*, Sir *Henry Brooke*, Sir *Robert Carew*, Sir *Charles Blunt*; Master *Ambrose Willoughbie*, Master *Henry Nowell*, Master *Thomas Gerard*, Master *Henry Dudley*, Master *Edward Darcie*, Master *Arthur Gorge*, Master *Thomas Woodhouse*, M. *William Harwie*, &c. And so it came to passe that the number of the *English* ships amounted vnto an hundreth: which when they were come before *Douer*, were increased to an hundred and thirty, being notwithstanding of no proportionable bignesse to encounter with the *Spaniards*, except two or three and twenty of the Queenes greater ships, which onely, by reason of their presence, bred an opinion in the *Spaniards* minds concerning the power of the *English* Fleet: the Marriners and Souldiers whereof were esteemed to be twelue thousand.

12000. *English* Mariners and Souldiers.

The 24. of Iuly

The foute and twentie of Iuly, when as the Sea was calme, and no winde stirring, the fight was onely betweene the foure great Gallasses and the *English* ships, which being rowed with Oares, had great vantage of the *English* ships, which notwithstanding for all that would not be forced to yeelde, but discharged their chaine-shot to cut asunder their Cables and Cordage of the Gallasses, with many other such Stratagems. They were now constrained to send their men on land for a new supply of Gunpowder, whereof they were in great scarcitie, by reason they had so frankly spent the greater part in the former conflicts. The same day, a Counsell being assembled, it was decreed that the *English* Fleete should be deuided into foure squadrons: the principall whereof was committed vnto the Lord Admirall: the second to Sir *Francis Drake*: the third to Captaine *Hawkins*: the fourth to Captaine *Frobisher*.

Want of Powder.

Spanish order.

The *Spaniards* in their sailing obserued very diligent and good order, sailing three and foure and sometimes more ships in a ranke, and following close vp one after another, and the stronger and greater ships protecting the lesser.

The 25. of Iuly

The fiue and twenty of Iuly, when the *Spaniards* were come ouer-against the Isle of *Wight*, the Lord admirall of *England* being accompanied with his best ships (namely the *Lion*, Captaine whereof was the Lord *Thomas Howard*: The *Elizabeth Ionas* vnder the command of Sir *Robert Southwell*, son in law vnto the Lord Admirall: the *Beare* vnder the Lord *Sheffield*, Nephew vnto the Lord Admirall: the *Victorie* vnder Captaine *Barker*: and the *Galeon Leicester* vnder the foresaid Captain *George Fenner*) with great valour and dreadfull thunder of shot, encountered the *Spanish* Admirall, being in the very midst of all his Fleete. Which when the *Spaniards* perceiued, being assisted with his stronger ships, he came forth and entered a terrible combat with the *Englishe*: for they bestowed each on other the broad sides, and mutually discharged all their

Terrible fight.

Ordnance,

Ordnance, being within one hundred or an hundred and twenty yards one of another. At length the *Spaniards* hoised vp their sailes, and againe gathered themselues vp close into the forme of a roundell. In the meane while Captaine *Frobisher* had engaged himselfe into a most dangerous conflict. Whereupon the Lord Admirall comming to succour him, found that hee had valiantly and discreetly behaued himselfe, and that he had wisely and in good time giuen ouer the fight, because that after so great a batterie he had sustained no damage. For which cause the day following, being the sixe and twenty of Iuly, the Lord Admirall rewarded him with the order of Knighthood, together with the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffield*, Master *Iohn Hawkins*, and others. The 26. of Iuly

The same day the Lord Admirall receiued intelligence from *New-hauen* in *France*, by certaine of his Pinnaces, that all things were quit in *France*, and that there was no preparation of sending aide vnto the *Spaniards*, which was greatly feared from the *Guisian* faction, and from the Leaguers: but there was a false rumour spread all about, that the *Spaniards* had conquered *England*. *Guisians* feared T.e. conquest.

The seuen and twentieth of Iuly, the *Spaniards* about the sun-setting were come ouer-against *Deuer*, and rode at ancre within the sight of *Caleis*, intending to hold on for *Dunkerk*, expecting there to ioyne with the Duke of *Parma* his forces, without which they were able to doe little or nothing. Likewise the *English* Fleete following vp hard vpon them, ancred iust by them within culuering-shot. And here the Lord *Henry Seymer* vnited himselfe vnto the Lord Admirall with his fleet of 30. ships which rode before the mouth of *Thames*. The 27 of Iuly. The *Spaniards* ancre before *Caleis*.

As the *Spanish* Nauie therefore lay at ancre, the Duke of *Medina* sent certaine Messengers vnto the Duke of *Parma*, with whom vpon that occasion many Noblemen and Gentlemen went to refresh themselues on land: and amongst the rest the Prince of *Ascoli*, being accounted the Kings base son, and a very proper and towardly yong Gentleman, to his great good went on shoare, who was by so much the more fortunate, in that he had not opportunity to returne on boord the same ship, out of which he was departed, because that in returning home it was cast away vpon the *Irish* coast, withall the persons contained therein. The Duke of *Parma* being aduertised of the *Spanish* Fleetes arriuall vpon the coast of *England*, made all the haste hee could to be present himselfe in this expedition for the performance of his charge: vainely perswading himselfe that now by the meanes of Cardinall *Allen*, hee should be crowned King of *England*, and for that cause he had resigned the Gouernment of the *Low-Countries* vnto Count *Mansfeld* the elder. And hauing made his vowes vnto Saint *Mary* of *Hall* in *Hennult* (whom he went to visite for his blinde deuotions sake) he returned toward *Bruges* the eight and twenty of Iuly. The next day trauelling to *Dunkerk*, hee heard the thundring Ordnance of either Fleete: and the same euening being come to *Dixmud*, hee was giuen to vnderstand the hard successe of the *Spanish* Fleete. Prince of *Ascoli* his good fortune. The 28. of Iuly. The 29. of Iuly

Vpon tuesday, which was the 13. of Iuly, about high noone, he came to *Dunkerk*, when as all the *Spanish* Fleete was now passed by: neither durst any of his ships in the meane space come forth to assist the said *Spanish* Fleet for feare of fiue and thirty warlike ships of *Holland* and *Zeland*, which there kept watch and ward vnder the conduct of the Admirall *Iustin* of *Nassau*. The foresaid fiue and thirty ships were furnished with most cunning Mariners and old expert Souldiers, amongst the which were twelue hundred Musketeers, whom the States had chosen out of all their Garrisons, and whom they knew to haue beene heretofore experienced in Sea-fights. This Nauie was giuen especially in charge not to suffer any ship to come out of the Hauen, nor to permit any Zabraes, Pataches or other small vessels of the *Spanish* Fleete (which were more likely to aide the *Dunkerkers*) to enter thereinto, for the greater ships were not to be feared by reason of the shallow Sea in that place. Howbeit the Prince of *Parma* his forces being as yet vnready, were not come on boord his ships, onely the *English* Fugitiues, being seuen hundred in number, vnder the conduct of Sir *William Stanley*, came in fit time to haue beene embarked, because they hoped to giue the first assault against *England*. The residue shewed themselues vnwilling and loath to depart, because they saw but a few Marriners, who were by constraint drawne into this expedition, and also because they had very bare prouision of Bread, Drinke, and other necessary victuals. Moreouer, the ships of *Holland* and *Zeland* stood continually in their sight, threatning shot and Powder, and many inconueniences vnto them: for feare of which ships, the Mariners and Sea-men secretly withdrew themselues both day and night, least that the Duke of *Parma* his Souldiers should compell them by maine force to goe on boord, and to breake through the *Hollanders* Fleete, which all of them iudged to be impossible, by reason of the straightnesse of the Hauen. The 30. of Iuly. States Fleete. *English Hispaniolized* traitors

But it seemeth that the Duke of *Parma* and the *Spaniards* grounded vpon a vaine and presumptuous expectation, that all the ships of *England* and of the *Low-Countries* would at the first sight of the *Spanish* and *Dunkerk* Nauie haue betaken themselues to flight, yeelding them Sea-roome, and endeuouring onely to defend themselues, their hauens, and Sea-coasts from inuasion. Wherefore their intent and purpose was, that the Duke of *Parma* in his small and flat-bottomed ships, should as it were vnder the shadow and wings of the *Spanish* Fleete, conuey ouer all his The *Spaniards* vaine opinion concerning their own fleet

troupes, armour, and warlike prouiſion, and with their forces ſo vnited, ſhould inuade *England*; or while the *Engliſh* Fleete were buſied in fight againſt the *Spaniſh*, ſhould enter vpon any part of the coaſt, which he thought to be moſt conuenient. Which inuaſion (as the Captiues afterward confeſſed) the Duke of *Parma* thought firſt to haue attempted by the Riuer of *Thames*; vpon the bankes whereof hauing at his firſt arriuall landed twenty or thirty thouſand of his principall Souldiers, he ſuppoſed that he might eaſily haue won the Citie of *London*; both becauſe his ſmall ſhips ſhould haue followed and aſſiſted his Land-forces, and alſo for that the Citie it ſelfe was but meanely fortified and eaſie to ouercome, by reaſon of the Citizens delicacie and diſcontinuance from the warres.

When as therefore the *Spaniſh* Fleete rode at anker before *Caleis*, to the end they might conſult with the Duke of *Parma* what was beſt to be done according to the Kings commandement, and the preſent eſtate of their affaires, and had now (as we will afterward declare) purpoſed vpon the ſecond of Auguſt, being Friday, with one power and conſent to haue put their intended buſineſſe in practiſe; the Lord Admirall of *England* being admoniſhed by her Maieſties Letters from the Court, thought it moſt expedient either to driue the *Spaniſh* Fleet from that place, or at leaſtwiſe to giue them the encounter: and for that cauſe (according to her Maieſties preſcription) he tooke forthwith eight of his worſt and baſeſt ſhips which came next to hand, and diſburthening them of all things which ſeemed to be of any value, filled them with Gunpowder, Pitch, Brimſtone, and with other combuſtible and fiery matter; and charging all their Ordnance with powder, bullets and ſtones, and ſent the ſaid ſhips vpon the 28. of Iuly, being Sunday, about two of the clocke after midnight, with the winde and tide againſt the *Spaniſh* Fleete: which when they had proceeded a good ſpace, being forſaken of the Pilots, and ſet on fire, were directly carried vpon the King of *Spaines* Nauie: which fire in the dead of night put the *Spaniards* into ſuch a perplexitie and horror (for they feared leſt they were like vnto thoſe terrible ſhips, which *Frederie Ieuebelli* three yeeres before, at the ſiege of *Antwerpe*, had furniſhed with Gunpowder, ſtones, and dreadfull engines, for the diſſolution of the Duke of *Parma* his Bridge, built vpon the Riuer of *Scheld*) that cutting their cables whereon their ankers were faſted, and hoiſing vp their ſailes they betooke themſelues very confuſedly vnto the maine Sea.

Sea-ſtratagem

The 28. of Iuly

And this ſudden confuſion, the principall and greateſt of the foure Galliaſſes falling fowle of another ſhip, loſt her rudder: for which cauſe when ſhe could not be guided any longer, ſhe was by the force of the tide caſt into a certaine ſhoald vpon the ſhoare of *Caleis*, where ſhe was immediately aſſaulted by diuers *Engliſh* Pinnaces, Hoyes, and Drumblers. And as they lay battering of her with their Ordnance, and durſt not boord her, the Lord Admirall ſent thither his long Boate with an hundreth choiſe Souldiers vnder the command of Captaine *Amias Preſton*. Vpon whoſe approach their fellowes being more emboldened, did offer to boord the Galliaſſe; againſt whom the Gouernor thereof and Captaine of all the foure Galliaſſes, *Hugo de Moncada*, ſtoutly oppoſed himſelf, fighting by ſo much the more valiantly, in that he hoped preſently to be ſuccoured by the Duke of *Parma*. In the meane ſeaſon, *Moncada*, after hee had endured the conflict a good while, being hit on the head with a Bullet, fell downe ſtarke dead, and a great number of *Spaniards* alſo were ſlaine in his company. The greater part of the reſidue leaping ouer-boord into the Sea, to ſaue themſelues by ſwimming, were moſt of them drowned. Howbeit there eſcaped among others *Don Anthonio de Mauriques*, a principall officer in the *Spaniſh* fleete (called by them their *Veador* Generall) together with a few *Spaniards* beſides: which *Anthonio* was the firſt man that carried certaine newes of the ſucceſſe of their fleete into *Spaine*. This huge & monſtrous Galliaſſe, wherein were contained three hundred ſlaues to lug at the Oares, and foure hundred ſouldiers, was in the ſpace of three houres rifled in the ſame place; and there was found amongſt diuers other commodities 50000. Duckets of the *Spaniſh* Kings treaſure. At length when the ſlaues were releaſed out of their fetters, the *Engliſh* men would haue ſet the ſaid ſhip on fire, which *Monſieur Gourdon*, the Gouernour of *Caleis*, for feare of the damage which might thereupon enſue to the Towne and Hauen, would not permit them to doe, but draue them from thence with his great Ordnance.

The Galliaſſe of *Hugo de Moncada* caſt vpon the ſhoalds before *Caleis*.

M. *Amias Preſton* valiantly boordeth the Galliaſſe.

Moncada ſlain.

50000. duckets

Gourdon

Vpon the 29. of Iuly in the morning, the *Spaniſh* Fleete after the foreſaid tumult, hauing arranged themſelues againe into order, were, within ſight of *Greuelyng*, moſt brauely and furiouſly encountered by the *Engliſh*; where they once againe got the winde of the *Spaniards*: who ſuffered themſelues to be depriued of the commodity of the place in *Caleis* rode, and of the aduantage of the winde neere vnto *Dunkerk*, rather then they would change their array, or ſeparate their forces now conioyned and vnited together, ſtanding onely vpon their defence. And albeit there were many excellent and warlike ſhips in the *Engliſh* fleet, yet ſcarſe were there 22. or 23. among them all which matched 90. of the *Spaniſh* ſhips in bigneſſe, or could conueniently aſſault them. Wherefore the *Engliſh* ſhips vſing their prerogatiue of nimble ſtirrage, whereby they could turne and wield themſelues with the winde which way they liſted, came oftentimes very neere vpon the *Spaniards*, and charged them ſo ſore, that now and then they were but a Pikes length at ſunder: and ſo continually giuing them one broad ſide after another, they diſpatched all their ſhot both great and ſmall vpon them, ſpending one whole day from morning till night in that violent

The great fight before *Greuelyng* the 29. of Iuly.

Engliſh ſhips aduantage.

kind

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kinde of conflict, vntill such time as powder and bullets failed them. In regard of which want they thought it conuenient not to pursue the *Spaniards* any longer, because they had many great vantages of the *English*, namely for the extraordinary bigneſſe of their ſhips, and alſo for that they were ſo neerely conioyned, and kept together in ſo good array, that they could by no meanes be fought withall one to one. The *English* thought therefore, that they had right well acquitted themſelues, in chaſing the *Spaniards* firſt from *Calais*, and then from *Dunkerk*, and by that means to haue hindered them from ioyning with the Duke of *Parma* his forces, and getting the winde of them, to haue driuen them from their owne coaſts.

The *Spaniards* that day ſuſtained great loſſe and damage, hauing many of their ſhips ſhot thorow and thorow, and they diſcharged likewiſe great ſtore of Ordnance againſt the *Engliſh*; who indeede ſuſtained ſome hinderance, but not comparable to the *Spaniards* loſſe; for they loſt not any one ſhip or perſon of account. For very diligent inquiſition being made, the *Engliſhmen* all that time wherein the *Spaniſh* Nauie ſailed vpon their Seas, are not found to haue wanted aboue one hundreth of their people: albeit Sir *F. Drakes* ſhip was pierced with ſhot aboue forty times, and his very cabben was twiſe ſhot thorow, and about the concluſion of the fight, the bed of a certaine Gentleman lying weary thereupon, was taken quite from vnder him with the force of a Bullet. Likewiſe, as the Earle of *Northumberland* and Sir *Charles Blunt* were at dinner vpon a time, the Bullet of a Demi-culuering brake thorow the middeſt of their Cabbin, touched their feete, and ſtrooke downe two of the ſtanders by, with many ſuch accidents befalling the *Engliſh* ſhips, which it were tedious to rehearſe. Whereupon it is moſt apparant, that God miraculouſly preſerued the *Engliſh* Nation. For the Lord Admirall wrote vnto her Maieſty, that in all humaine reaſon, and according to the iudgement of all men (euery circumſtance being duely conſidered) the *Engliſhmen* were not of any ſuch force, whereby they might, without a miracle, dare once to approach within the ſight of the *Spaniſh* Fleete: inſomuch, that they freely aſcribed all the honour of their victory vnto God, who had confounded the enemy, and had brought his counſels to none effect.

Gods prouident mercies to the Engliſh.

The ſame day the *Spaniſh* ſhips were ſo battered with *Engliſh* ſhot, that that very night and the day following, two or three of them ſunke right downe: and among the reſt a certain great ſhip of *Biſcay*, which Captaine *Croſſe* aſſaulted, which periſhed euen in the time of the conflict, ſo that very few therein eſcaped drowning; who reported that the Gouernors of the ſame ſhip ſlew one another vpon the occaſion following: one of them which would haue yeelded the ſhip was ſuddenly ſlaine; the brother of the ſlaine party in reuenge of his death ſlew the murtherer, and in the meane while the ſhip ſunke.

Three Spaniſh ſhips ſunke in the fight.

The ſame night two *Portugall* galeons of the burthen of ſeuen or eight hundreth tuns a peece; to wit, Saint *Philip* and Saint *Matthew*, were forſaken of the *Spaniſh* Fleete, for they were ſo torne with ſhot, that the water entered into them on all ſides. In the Galeon of Saint *Philip* was *Francis de Toledo*, brother vnto the *Count de Argas*, being Colonell ouer two and thirty bands; beſides other Gentlemen; who ſeeing their maſt broken with ſhot, they ſhaped their courſe, aſwell as they could, for the coaſt of *Flanders*: whither when they could not attaine, the principall men in the ſhip committed themſelues to their skiffe, arriued at the next towne, which was *Oſtend*; and the ſhip it ſelfe being left behinde with the reſidue of their company, was taken by the *Vliſhingers*. In the other Galeon, called the Saint *Matthew*, was embarked *Don Diego Pimentelli* another Camp-maſter and Colonell of two and thirty bands, being brother vnto the Marqueſſe of *Tamnares*, with many other Gentlemen and Captaines. Their ſhip was not very great, but exceeding ſtrong, for of a great number of Bullets which had batterd her, there were ſcarce twenty where with ſhe was pierced or hurt: her vpper worke was of force ſufficient to beare off a Musket ſhot: this ſhip was ſhot thorow and pierced in the fight before *Gruueling*: inſomuch that the leakage of the water could not be ſtopped: whereupon the Duke of *Medina* ſent his great skiffe vnto the Gouernour thereof, that he might ſaue himſelfe and the principall perſons that were in his ſhip: which he, vpon a hault courage, refuſed to doe; wherefore the Duke charged him to ſaile next vnto himſelfe: which the night following hee could not performe, by reaſon of the abundance of water which entered his ſhip on all ſides; for the auoiding whereof, and to ſaue his ſhip from ſinking, he cauſed fifty men continually to labour at the Pump, though it were to ſmall purpoſe. And ſeeing himſelfe thus forſaken and ſeparated from his Admirall, he endeuored what he could to attaine vnto the coaſt of *Flanders*; where being eſpied by foure or fiue men of war, which had their ſtation aſſigned them vpon the ſame coaſt: he was admoniſhed to yeelde himſelfe vnto them; which he refuſed to doe, was ſtrongly aſſaulted by them altogether, & his ſhip being pierced with many bullets, was brought into far worſe caſe then before, & forty of his ſouldiers were ſlain. By which extremity he was enforced at length to yeelde himſelfe vnto *Peter Banderdueſt* and other Captaine, which brought him and his ſhip into *Zeland*; and that other ſhip alſo laſt before mentioned: which both of them, immediatly after the greater and better part of their goods were vnladen, ſunke right downe. For the memory of this exploit, the foreſaid Captain *Banderdueſt* cauſed a Banner of one of theſe ſhips to be ſet vp in the great Church of *Leiden* in *Holland*, which is of ſo great a length, that being faſted to the very roofe, it reached downe to the ground.

Two Galeons taken and carried into Zeland

A ſmall ſhip caſt away about *Blankenberg.*

About the ſame time another ſmall ſhip being by neceſſity driuen vpon the coaſt of *Flanders*, about *Blankenberg*, was caſt away vpon the ſands, the people therein being ſaued. Thus Almighty God would haue the *Spaniards* huge ſhips to be preſented, not onely to the view of the *Engliſh*, but alſo of the *Zelanders*; that at the ſight of them they might acknowledge of what ſmall ability they had beene to reſiſt ſuch impregnable forces, had not God endued them with courage, prouidence, and fortitude, yea, and fought for them in many places with his owne arme.

The diſhonorable flight of the *Spaniſh* nauy: & the prudent aduice of the L. Admiral.

The 29. of Iuly the *Spaniſh* fleete being encountered by the *Engliſh* (as is aforeſaid) and lying cloſe together vnder their fighting ſailes, with a South-weſt winde ſailed paſt *Dunkerk*, the *Engliſh* ſhips ſtill following the chaſe. Of whom the day following, when the *Spaniards* had got Sea roome, they cut their maine ſailes; whereby they ſufficiently declared that they meant no longer to fight, but to flie. For which cauſe the Lord Admirall of *England* diſpatched the Lord *Henry Seymer* with his ſquadron of ſmall ſhips vnto the coaſt of *Flanders*, where, with the helpe of the *Dutch* ſhips, he might ſtop the Prince of *Parma* his paſſage, if perhaps he ſhould attempt to iſſue forth with his army. And he himſelfe in the meane ſpace purſued the *Spaniſh* fleet vntill the ſecond of Auguſt, becauſe he thought they had ſet ſaile for *Scotland*. And albeit he followed them very neere, yet did he not aſſault them any more, for want of Powder and Bullets. But vpon the fourth of Auguſt, the winde ariſing, when as the *Spaniards* had ſpread all their ſailes, betaking themſelues wholly to flight, & leauing *Scotland* on the left hand, trended toward *Norway* (whereby they ſufficiently declared that their whole intent was to ſaue themſelues by flight, attempting for that purpoſe, with their battered and crazed ſhips, the moſt dangerous nauigation of the Northren Seas) the *Engliſh* ſeeing that they were now proceeded vnto the latitude of 57. degrees, and being vnwilling to participate that danger whereinto the *Spaniards* plunged themſelues, and becauſe they wanted things neceſſary, and eſpecially Powder and Shot, returned backe for *England*; leauing behinde them certaine Pinaſſes onely, which they enioyned to follow the *Spaniards* aloofe, and to obſerue their courſe. And ſo it came to paſſe, that the fourth of Auguſt, with great danger and induſtry, the *Engliſh* arriued at *Harwich*; for they had beene toſſed vp and downe with a mighty tempeſt for the ſpace of two or three dayes together, which it is likely did great hurt vnto the *Spaniſh* fleet, being (as I ſaid before) ſo maimed and battered. The *Engliſh* now going on ſhoare, prouided themſelues forthwith of Victuals, Gunpowder, and other things expedient, that they might be ready at all aſſayes to entertaine the *Spaniſh* fleete, if it chanced any more to returne. But being afterward more certainely informed of the *Spaniards* courſe, they thought it beſt to leaue them vnto thoſe boiſterous and vncouth Northren Seas, and not there to hunt after them.

Our want of Powder & Bullets proclaime the fulneſſe of Gods preſent power & merciful both deliuerance and victory.

The *Engliſh* return home vpon the purſuit of the *Spaniards* the 4. of Aug.

The *Spaniards* conſult to ſaile round about *Scotland* & *Ireland*, and ſo to returne home.

The *Spaniards* ſeeing now that they wanted foure or fiue thouſand of their people, and hauing diuers maimed and ſicke perſons, and likewiſe hauing loſt ten or twelue of their principall ſhips, they conſulted among themſelues, what they were beſt to doe, being now eſcaped out of the hands of the *Engliſh*, becauſe their victuals failed them in like ſort, & they began alſo to want cables, cordage, ankers, maſts, ſailes, and other naual furniture, and vtterly deſpaired of the Duke of *Parma* his aſſiſtance (who verily hoping & vndoubtedly expecting the return of the *Spaniſh* fleet, was continually occupied about his great preparation, commanding abundance of ankers to be made, and other neceſſary furniture for a Nauy to be prouided) they thought it good at length, ſo ſoone as the winde ſhould ſerue them, to fetch a compaſſe about *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and ſo to returne for *Spaine*.

Horſes caſt ouer-boord.

For they well vnderſtood, that commandement was giuen thorowout all *Scotland*, that they ſhould not haue any ſuccour or aſſiſtance there. Neither yet could they in *Norway* ſupply their wants. Wherefore, hauing taken certaine *Scottiſh* and other fiſherboats, they brought the men on boord their owne ſhips, to the end they might be their guides and Pilots. Fearing alſo leaſt their freſh water ſhould faile them, they caſt all their horſes and mules ouer-boord: and ſo touching no where vpon the coaſt of *Scotland*, but being carried with a freſh gale betweene the *Orcades* and *Faar-Iſles*, they proceeded farre North euen vnto 61. degrees of latitude, being diſtant from any land at the leaſt 40. leagues. Here the Duke of *Medina*, Generall of the Fleet, commanded all his followers to ſhape their courſe for *Biſcay*: and he himſelfe with twenty or fiue and twenty of his ſhips which were beſt prouided of freſh water and other neceſſaries, holding on his courſe ouer the maine Ocean, returned ſafely home. The reſidue of his ſhips being about forty in number, and committed vnto his Vice-admirall, fell neerer with the coaſt of *Ireland*, intending their courſe for Cape *Clare*, becauſe they hoped there to get freſh water, and to refreſh themſelues on land. But after they were driuen with many contrary windes, at length, vpon the ſecond of September, they were caſt by a tempeſt ariſing from the South-weſt vpon diuers parts of *Ireland*, where many of their ſhips periſhed: And amongſt others, the ſhip of *Michael de Oquendo*, which was one of the great Galliaſſes: and two great ſhips of *Venice* alſo, namely, *la Ratta* and *Belanzara*, with other 36 or 31. ſhips more, which periſhed in ſundry tempeſts, together with moſt of the perſons contained in them.

The ſhipwrack of the *Spaniards* vpon the *Iriſh* coaſt.

Likewiſe ſome of the *Spaniſh* ſhips were the ſecond time carried with a ſtrong Weſt wind into the channell of *England*, whereof ſome were taken by the *Engliſh* vpon their coaſt, and others by the men of *Rochel* vpon the coaſt of *France*.

More-

Moreouer, there arriued at *Newhauen* in *Normandy*, being by tempest inforced so to doe, one of the foure great Galliasses, whereby they found the ships with the *Spanish* women which followed the Fleet at their setting forth. Two ships also were cast away vpon the coast of *Normandy*, one of them being of a great burthen; howbeit all the persons in the said great ship were saued: insomuch that of 134. ships, which set saile out of *Portugall*, there returned home 53. onely, small and great: namely of the foure Galliasses but one, and but one of the foure Gallies. Of the 91. great Galleons and Hulkes there were missing 58. and 33. returned: of the Pataches and Zabraes 17. were missing, and 18. returned home. In briefe, there were missing 81. ships, in which number were Galliasses, Gallies, Galeons, and other vessels both great and small. And amongst these 53. ships remaining, those also are reckoned which returned home before they came into the *English* chanell. Two Galeons of those which were returned, were by misfortune burnt as they rode in the hauen; and such like mishaps did many other vndergoe. Of 30000. persons which went in this expedition, there perished (according to the number and proportion of the ships) the greater and better part; and many of them which came home, by reason of the toile & inconueniences which they sustained in this voiage, died not long after their arriuall. The Duke of *Medina* immediately vpon his returne was deposed from his authority, commanded to his priuate house, and forbidden to repaire vnto the Court, where he could hardly satisfie or yeeld a reason vnto his malicious enemies and backbiters. Many honorable personages and men of great renown deceased soone after their returne, as namely *Iohn Martines de Ricalde*, with diuers others. A great part also of the *Spanish* Nobility and Gentry employed in this expedition perished either by fight, diseases, or drowning, before their arriuall; and among the rest *Thomas Perenot* of *Grandwell* a *Dutchman*, being Earle of *Cantebroi*, and son vnto Cardinall *Grandwell* his brother.

Of 134. ships of the *Spanish* fleet there returned home but 53.

D. of *Medina*.

Ricaldes death.

Vpon the coast of *Zeland* *Don Diego de Pimentell*, brother vnto the Marquesse *de Tauuares*, and kinsman vnto the Earle of *Benauentum & Calua*, and Colonell ouer 32. bands with many other in the same ship was taken and detained as prisoner in *Zeland*.

Into *England* (as we said before) *Don Pedro de Valdez*, a man of singular experience, and greatly honoured in his country, was led captiue, being accompanied with *Don Vasques de Silua*, *Don Alonzo de Sayas*, and others.

Likewise vpon the *Scottish* Westerne Iles of *Lewis*, and *Ila*, and about Cape *Cantyre* vpon the maine land, there were cast away certaine *Spanish* ships, out of which were saued diuers Captaines and Gentlemen, and almost foure hundred souldiers, who for the most part, after their shipwracke, were brought vnto *Edenborough* in *Scotland*; and being miserably needy and naked, were there cloathed at the liberalitie of the King and the Merchants, and afterward were secretly shipped for *Spaine*; but the *Scottish* Fleete wherein they passed touching at *Yarmouth* on the coast of *Norfolke*, were there staied for a time vntill the Counsels pleasure was knowne; who in regard of their manifold miseries, though they were enemies, winked at their passage.

Spaniards pitied.

Vpon the *Irish* coast many of their Noblemen and Gentlemen were drowned, and diuers slain by the barbarous and wilde *Irish*. Howbeit there was brought prisoner out of *Ireland*, *Don Alonzo de Lucon*, Colonel of two and thirty bands, commonly called a *Tercia* of *Naples*; together with *Rodarigo de Lasso*, and two others of the family of *Cordoua*, who were committed vnto the custody of Sir *Horatio Palauicini*, that *Monsieur de Teligny* the son of *Monsieur de la Noue* (who being taken in fight neere *Antwerpe*, was detained prisoner in the Castle of *Turney*) might be ransomed for them by way of exchange. To conclude, there was no famous nor worthy family in all *Spain*, which in this expedition lost not a son, a brother, or a kinsman.

Spaines generall losse.

For the perpetuall memory of this matter, the *Zelanders* caused new coine of Siluer and Brasse to be stamped: which on the one side contained the armes of *Zeland*, with this inscription; *GLORY TO GOD ONELY*: and on the other side, the pictures of certaine great ships, with these words; *THE SPANISH FLEET*: and in the circumference about the ships, *IT CAME, WENT, AND WAS. Anno* 1588. That is to say, the *Spanish* fleet came, went and was vanquished this yeere; for which glory be giuen to God onely. Likewise they coined another kinde of mony; vpon the one side whereof was represented a ship fleeing, and a ship sinking: on the other side, foure men making prayers and giuing thankes vnto God vpon their knees; with this sentence: *Man purposeth, God disposeth.* 1588. Also, for the lasting memory of the same matter, they haue stamped in *Holland* diuers such coines, according to the custome of the ancient *Romans*. Also other coines were stamped with a Fleet flying with full saile, and inscribed; *Venit, Vidit, Fugit*: It came, saw, fled: others with the fired ships, and the fleet in confusion, the word *DVX FOEMINA FACTI*.

New coines stamped for the memory of the *Spaniards* ouerthrow.

While this wonderfull and puissant Nauie was sailing along the *English* coasts, and all men did now plainly see and heare that which before they would not be perswaded of, all people throughout *England* prostrated themselues with humble prayers and supplications vnto God: but especially the outlandish Churches (who had greatest cause to feare, and against whom by name, the *Spaniards* had threatned most grieuous torments) enioyned to their people continuall fastings and supplications, that they might turne away Gods wrath and fury now imminent vpon

The people of *England* and of the vnited prouinces, pray, fast, and giue thankes vnto God.

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vpon them for their sins; knowing right well, that prayer was the onely refuge against all enemies, calamities, and necessities, and that it was the onely solace and reliefe for mankinde, being visited with affliction and misery. Likewise such solemne daies of supplication were obserued throughout the vnited Prouinces.

Also a while after the *Spanish* Fleet was departed, there was in *England*, by the commandement of her Maiesty, and in the vnited Prouinces, by the direction of the States, a solemne festiuall day publikely appointed, wherein all persons were enioyned to resort vnto the Church, and there to render thankes and praises vnto God: and the Preachers were commanded to exhort the people thereunto. The foresaid solemnity was obserued vpon the 19. of Nouember: which day was wholly spent in Preaching, praying, giuing thankes, with the accustomed solemnities of Bonfires, Singing, Ringing, and other wonted expressions of publike ioy.

Likewise, the Queenes Maiesty her selfe, imitating the ancient *Romans*, rode into *London* in triumph, in regard of her owne and her subiects glorious deliuerance. For being attended vpon very solemnly by all the principall estates and officers of her Realme, she was carried thorow her said Citie of *London* in a triumphant chariot, and in robes of triumph; from her Palace vnto the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*, out of the which the ensignes and colours of the vanquished *Spaniards* hung displaied. And all the Citizens of *London* in their Liueries stood on either side the street, by their seuerall Companies, with their Ensignes and Banners: and the streets were hanged on both sides with Blew cloath, which, together with the foresaid Banners, yeelded a very stately and gallant prospect. Her Maiesty being entered into the Church, together with her Clergy and Nobles gaue thankes vnto God, and caused a publike Sermon to be preached before her at *Pauls* Crosse; wherein none other argument was handled, but that praise, honour, and glory might be rendered vnto God, and that Gods name might be extolled by thanksgiuing. And with her own Princely voyce she most Christianly exhorted the people to doe the same: whereupon the people with a loud acclamation wished her a most long and happy life, to the confusion of her foes. The Lord Admirall had a pension assigned for his good seruice.

This publike ioy was increased by Sir *Robert Sidney* (now Earle of *Leicester*) who returning out of *Scotland*, related to her Maiestie the King of *Scots* faithfull friendship, and loue to her, and to the Religion. He had beene employed to the said King, whiles the *Spanish* Fleet hoouered on the coast, to gratulate with him in the Queenes name, for his alacrity in the common cause, and to obtaine his promise of aide, if the *Spaniards* landed in *Scotland*; and to put him in minde how ambitiously the *Spaniard* sought to swallow in all *Britaine*, vrging the Pope to Excommunicate him, so to strip him of *Scotland*, and quit his succession *in England*; to admonish him of the threats of *Mendoza* and the Popes *Nuntio*, that therefore he should be very wary of the Papists in *Scotland*. He answered conceitedly, amongst other speeches, that *he hoped for no other benefit from the* Spaniard, *then that which* Polyphemus *had promised* Vlysses, *namely, that when the rest were deuoured, he should be swallowed last.*

The Kings wise speech.

Thus the magnificent, huge, and mighty fleet of the *Spaniards* (which themselues tearmed in all places inuincible) such as sailed not vpon the Ocean Sea many hundreth yeeres before, in the yeere 1588. vanished into smoake; to the great confusion and discouragement of the authours thereof. In regard of which her Maiesties happy successe all her neighbours and friends congratulated with her, and many Verses were penned to the honour of her Maiesty by learned men, whereof we will here annexe those of Master *Beza*.

Epinitian or triumphall verses.

Ad serenissimam Elizabetham Angliæ Reginam Theodor. Beza.

STraverat innumeris Hispanus nauibus æquor,
Regnis iuncturus sceptra Britanna suis.
Tanta hæsus, rogitas, qua motus causa? superbos
Impulit Ambitio, vexit Auaritia.
Quàm bene te ambitio mersit vanissima ventus?
Et tumidos tumida, vos superastis aqua!
Quàm bene totius raptores orbis auaros,
Hausit inexhausti insta vorago maris!
At tu, cui venti, cui totum militat æquor,
Regina, ô mundi totius vna, decus,
Sic regnare Deo perge, ambitione remota,
Prodiga sic opibus perge iuuare pios,
Vt te Angli, longùm Anglis ipsa fruaris,
Quàm dilecta bonis, tam metuenda malis.

The same in English.

THe *Spanish* Fleet did flote in narrow Seas,
And bêd her ships against the *English* shore,
With so great rage as nothing could appease,
And with such strength as neuer seene before:
And all to ioyne the Kingdome of that land
Vnto the Kingdomes that he had in hand.
Now if you aske what set this King on fire.
To practise warre when he of peace did treat.
It was his *Pride*, and neuer quencht desire,
To spoile that Ilãds wealth, by peace made great:
His *Pride* which far aboue the heauens did swel
And his desire as vnsuffic'd as hell.
But well haue winds his proud blasts ouerblown
And swelling waues alaid his swelling heart,
Well hath the Sea with greedy gulfs vnknown,
Deuoured the deuourer to his smart:
And made his ships a pray vnto the sand,
That meant to pray vpon anothers land.
And now, O *Queene*, aboue all others blest,
For whom both winds & waues are prest to fight
So rule your owne, so succour friends oppresst,
(As farre from pride, as ready to doe right)
That *England* you, you *England* long enioy,
No lesse your friends delight, then foes annoy.

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I haue thought good to adde here the prime reports made by the Spaniards *and their friends, touching the ſucceſſe of their* Armada, *as they were printed in* Spaine, *and after publiſhed and ſcorned in* England.

The true Relation of the ſucceſſe of the Catholike Armie againſt their Enemies, by the Letters of the Poſt-maſter of *Logrono* of the fourth of September, and by Letters from *Roan* of the one and thirtieth of Auguſt, and by Letters from *Paris* of the Kings Embaſſadour there: wherein he declareth the impriſonment of *Francis Drake*, and other great Nobles of *England*, and how the Queene is in the Field with an Armie, and of a certaine Mutinie which was amongſt the Queenes Armie, with the ſucceſſe of the ſaid Catholike Armie ſince they entred in the *Groyne*, till they came on the Coaſt of *England*, with two Ballers * compounded by *Chriſtouer Brauo*, a blind man of *Cordowa*, Printed with licence by *Gabriel Ramos Beiarano* Printer.

* Like lips like lettuce. A blind Ballidmaker fit *Homer* for *Achillian* conqueſts.

THe newes of England *is confirmed here, by a Letter of the Gouernour of* Roan. *Hee writeth hee hath in his power the chiefe Pilot of Captaine* Drake, *and that he knoweth that all the* Engliſh *Armie remained ouerthrowne, hauing ſunke two and twentie Ships, and taken fortie, and impriſoned* Francis Drake, *hauing giuen them chaſe almoſt as high as* Abſpurge, *and ſlaine many by the ſword, and likewiſe ſaith that there was found in Captaine* Drakes *Ship, a Peece of Ordnance of fiue and twentie foot long, which diſcharged a Shot of a hundreth weight at once made of purpoſe, with one onely Shot to ſinke our* Spaniſh *Admirall, and it pleaſed God, although ſhee was ſomewhat battered, yet was ſhee repaired againe, and ouerthrew the* Engliſh *Armie.*

By a Letter of *Diego Peres*, chiefe Poſtmaſter of *Logrono* dated the ſecond of September, 1588.

THe Engliſh *haue loſt aboue fortie Ships in one encounter where they could not flye, which was in* Luxaten *a Hauen in* Scotland, *to the which place, ſince the departure of the* Spaniſh *Armies from* Calleis, *the* Engliſh *Armie followed, and ſuppoſing they went to take that Hauen, they got before ours to defend the entrance: wee ſeeing them ſo neere the* Engliſh *Fleet, and that they could not retire, as they alwaies did when they pleaſed to the* Engliſh *Hauen, they ſet vpon them ſo valiantly that they ſunke twentie of their Ships, and they tooke twentie ſix whole and ſound, and the reſt ſeeing their deſtruction fled away with great loſſe of men, and their Ships very much battered, and with this (they ſay) the* Spaniſh *Armie tooke the Hauen where they are very well lodged, as euery one affirmeth, and ſo the newes is here: I pray God giue them good ſucceſſe: Wee vnderſtand by the Poſt come from* Calleis, *that in* England *it is forbidden vpon paine of death and loſſe of goods, that no bodie doe write newes from thence to any place: which confirmeth the newes aboue.*

Copie of a letter that *Iohn Gamarra* wrote from *Roan* the 31. of Auguſt of the ſame yeere

I Doe not write newes of the Spaniſh *Armie, becauſe they are diuers, and would gladly write the very truth. Now by the newes which runneth from diuers places, as* Calleis, Deepe, *and* Holland, *and preſumptions from* England *and other places, it is holden for certaine that they fought with the* Engliſh, *and broken their heads, hauing ſunke many of their Ships and taken others, and the reſt which they ſay were twentie ſeuen Ships, returned very much battered to the Riuer of* London, *which are all thoſe that could eſcape: There goeth with this Poſt another Poſt of* Iorge Seguin *of* Calleis, *which ſaith that certaine Maſters and Marriners of* Zeland, *did affirme to the Gouernours of* Calleis, Mounſier de Gorden, *that our Fleet is in a Hauen or Riuer in* Scotland, *called* Triſta, *where they ſay there may ride two thouſand Ships: this is that which commonly is currant here.*

Copie of a Letter that *Pedro de Alua* did write from *Roan* the firſt of September of the ſame yeere.

BY newes from London *the thirtie ſix of Auguſt, it is knowne for moſt certaine from perſons of credite, that the Queens Admiral Generall was arriued in the Riuer of* London, *with twentie fiue ſhips onely without his Admirall Ship, which was taken by our Admirall Saint* Iohn, *and it is well knowne in* England, *that to hide the loſſe of their Admirall Ship, they ſay hee put himſelfe in a ſmaller Ship the better to follow our Armie: and it is knowne for certaintie that he ſaued himſelfe in a Boat when he loſt his Ship. That* Drake *for certaintie is taken or ſlaine. The ſame is confirmed by the way of* Holland, *by a Pinnace of theirs. And from* Auſterland, *that the Queene commanded vpon paine of death, that no body ſhould ſpeake of her Fleet, and that there was great ſorrow in thoſe parts of* England, *and that the Queene had in the field thirtie thouſand raw Souldiers, betwixt* Douer *and* Margate, *and that the Catholikes vnderſtanding that all their Fleet was diſperſed, moued a certaine Mutinie, which forced the Queene to goe her ſelfe into the Field, and for certaine it is knowne that there is not brought into* England, *neither Ship nor Boat of ours, more then the Ship of* Don Pedro Valdez, *and that our Fleet was gone into* Scotland, *and arriued in a Hauen called* Trapena Euxaten.

Aduiſe from *London*, which the Embaſſador of our Soueraigne Lord the King reſident in *Paris* had from thence.

AFter that I had written this, here is arriued a Scottiſhman, *which ſaith that all the* Spaniſh *Fleet is arriued in* Scotland, *and that* Scottiſhmen *haue taken Armes againſt the* Engliſh.

By a Letter of the chiefe Poſt maſter of *Burdeux*, written to the *French* Embaſſadour, the 2. of Sept. 1588.

That

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Relation of that which hath passed till this day, the fifth of Sept. 1588. till three of the clock in the afternoon, knowne by the relations and aduice come to his Maiestie from the happy Fleet, whereof is Generall the Duke of *Medina*, in the conquest of *England*.

THat vpon the thirtieth of Iuly, without seeing any sayle of the Enemies in the Sea, hee came to the Channell, sixe leagues from Plimouth: *where understanding the Enemies were, hee gathered together and set in order all the Fleet: and sayling the first of* August, *there was discouered some Sayles of the Enemies; the which the second day were numbred to bee threescore Sayle, of which the Duke tooke the wind, and passed without any fight, although he presented the same to them, howbeit they began to shoot at the Rearward: but the Duke in the Galleon S.* Martin, *set the Prow of his Ship against the biggest of the Enemies, the which being succoured by twentie others, fled away: of this fight and first encounter, there was sunke three Galeasses, and foure mightie Galeons of the Queenes: there was burnt also one by negligence of a Gunner, the Admirall of* Oquendo, *and the Enemies tooke the chiefe Ship of* Don Pedro de Valdez, *which being entangled with others vnder his charge: was left without Tackle, and so neere the Enemies, that shee could not be succoured by others.*

With this, our Fleet seeing that the Enemy in euery point did flye from giuing battell, they sailed with some calme weather, and the Enemies after them, shooting alwayes at the Rearward, vntill the seuenth, that our Fleet ancored in the Road of S. Iohn, *betwixt* Calleis *and* Bollin, *nine leagues from* Dunkerk, *and the Enemies did the like, the neerest they could to* England.

The night being approached, the Enemies got vp their Ankers to get wind, and not to suffer our Ships to goe out of the Road to Sea, because they had trimmed eight Ships of fire, which with the current of the water, should haue put themselues amongst our Ships to haue burnt them. But my Lord the Duke, foreseeing the danger preuented them, with commandement that the Ships that were neerest should cut their Cables, and take vp the others with a readinesse vncredible: and with this the Enemies pretence was hindered, and so got the Sea most brauely and with good fortune, that if hee had not done it our Army should haue beene in an euill case, for in the very place where we left, there was shot off by them out of those fiery Ships, such Fires and other Engines, that were sufficient to burne the Sea, much more Ships which are made of Wood and Pitch.

In this departure, the Captaine of the Galeasses had a great mischance: for getting vp her Anker, a Cable fell foule of her Helme, that shee could not follow the rest, which caused one of her sides to lie so high that her Ordnance could not play, and so twentie fiue Pinnaces came and battered her, and with all this, if the Mariners, Souldiers and Rowers that were in her, had not cast themselues into the Sea, it is holden for certaine, that Don Hugo de Moncada *had defended her, as he did vntill she came into* Calleis, *where at the entrance thereof, he was killed of two Culuer shot, the people on shoare defended the Galeasse, and all that was in her, and deliuered the same to our Soueraigne Lord the Kings Ministers.*

At this time the Duke had a very franke wind, and the like had the Queenes Fleet: and so they both passed by the sight of Dunkerke, *insomuch as they on Land knew the Galleon S.* Martin, *and others that went fighting with the* English *Army, and in this order they went till the twelfth.*

Afterwards they write, that their came into Calleis *a Ship, which saith, that the twelfth day they did see the two Fleets together in fight: another which came afterwards, said he had seene some Ships spoyled and torne, and from them they threw out their baggage which they saued in Boats, which argueth they were Ships of the Enemies, for that our men had no place to saue themselues, nor there were none of them arriued into* Flanders, *which was their place of returne.*

OVt of England *was aduise giuen, that on the thirteenth arriued fifteene of the Queenes Ships, and they said that the Galleon S.* Martin, *wherin my Lord the Duke is (whom God preserue) had encountred with* Drake, *and had grappled his Ship, and captiued his Person, and other Noble* Englishmen, *and taken other fifteene Ships, beside others that were distressed, and the Duke with his Fleet followed his way to* Scotland, *because the wind was not come about.*

With these newes his Maiesty resteth very much contented, and caused them to be sent to the Empresse, by the hands of Francisco Ydiaquez, *his Secretary of Estate.*

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CHAP. XII.

A Discourse of the Portugall *Voyage*, A. 1589. *Sir* IOHN NORRIS *and Sir* FRANCIS DRAKE *Generalls, written (as is thought) by Colonell* ANTONIE WINGFIELD, *imployed in the same Voyage, formerly published by his friend to whom it was written; and here abbreuiated.*

HAuing determinately purposed to put on this habite of a Souldier, I grew doubtfull whether to employ my time in the warres of the *Low-countries*, which are in auxiliarie manner maintained by her Maiestie, or to follow the fortune of this voyage, which was an aduenture of her and many honourable personages, in reuenge of vnsupportable wrongs offered vnto the estate of our Countrey by the

Castilian

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Castilian King: in arguing whereof, I finde that by how much the Challenger is reputed before the Defendant, by so much is the iourney to bee preferred before those defensiue Warres. For had the Duke of *Parma* his turne beene to defend, as it was his good fortune to inuade: from whence could haue proceeded that glorious honour which these late warres haue laid vpon him, or what could haue beene said more of him, then of a Respondent (though neuer so valiant) in a priuate Duell? Euen that he hath done no more then by his honour he was tied vnto. For the gaine of one Towne, or any small defeat giueth more renowme to the Assailant, then the defence of a Countrey, or the withstanding of twentie encounters, can yeeld any man who is bound by his place to guard the same: whereof as well the particulars of our age, especially in the *Spaniard*, as the reports of former Histories may assure vs, which haue still layed the fame of all warres vpon the Inuader. And doe not ours in these dayes liue obscured in *Flanders*, either not hauing wherewithall to manage any warre, or not putting on Armes, but to defend themselues when the enemy shall procure them? Whereas in this short time of our Aduenture, we haue won a Towne by *Escalade*, battered and assaulted another, ouerthrowne a mightie Princes power in the Field, landed our Army in three seuerall places of his Kingdome, marched seuen dayes in the heart of his Country, lyen three nights in the Suburbs of his principall Citie, beaten his forces into the Gates thereof, and possessed two of his frontier Forts, as shall in discourse thereof more particularly appeare. But our Army, which hath not cost her Maiestie much aboue the third part of one yeeres expences in the *Low-countries*, hath already spoyled a great part of the prouision hee had made at the *Groine* of all sorts, for a new voyage into *England*; burnt three of his Ships, whereof one was the second in the last yeeres expedition, called *S. Iuan de Colorado*; taken from him aboue 150. Peeces of good artillery; cut off more then 60. Hulkes, and 20. *French* Ships well manned fit and ready to serue him for men of warre against vs, laden for his store with Corne, Victualls, Masts, Cables and other merchandizes; slaine and taken the principall men of Warre hee had in *Galicia*; made *Don Pedro Enriquez de Guzman, Conde de Fuentes*, Generall of his forces in *Portugall*, shamefully run at *Peniche*; laid along of his best Commander in *Lisbon*; wherefore I directly conclude that this proceeding is the most safe and necessary way to be held against him, and therefore more importing then the warre in the *Low-countries*. I doubt not but this voyage hath sufficiently made knowne what they are euen vpon their owne dunghill; which, had it bin set out in such sort as it was agreed vpon by their first demand, it might haue made our Nation the most glorious people of the world. For hath not the want of eight of the twelue Peeces of Artillery, which were promised vnto the Aduenture, lost her Maiesty the possession of the *Groine* and many other places, as hereafter shall appeare, whose defensible rampiers were greater then our battery (such as it was) could force: and therefore were left vnattempted? It was also resolued to haue sent 600. *English* Horses of the *Low-countries*, whereof wee had not one, notwithstanding the great charges expended in their transportation hither: and that may the Army assembled at *Puente de Burgos* thanke God of, as well as the forces of *Portugall*, who fore-ran vs six dayes together: Did we not want seuen of the thirteen old Companies, which we should haue had from thence; foure of the ten *Dutch* Companies; and six of their men of Warre for the Sea, from the *Hollanders*: which I may iustly say wee wanted, in that we might haue had so many good Souldiers, so many good ships, and so many able bodies more then wee had? Did there not vpon the first thinking of the iourney, diuers gallant Courtiers put in their names for Aduenturers to the sum of 10000. li. who seeing it went forward in good earnest, aduised themselues better, and laid the want of so much money vpon the iourney? Was there not moreouer a round summe of the aduenture spent in leuying, furnishing, and maintaining three moneths one thousand fiue hundred men for the seruice of *Bergben*, with which Companies the Mutinies of *Ostend* were suppressed, a seruice of no small moment?

A briefe rehearsall of the *English* explours in this voyage.

What misery the detracting of the time of our setting out, which should haue beene the first of February, did lay vpon vs, too many can witnesse: and what extremitie the want of that months victualls which wee did eat, during the moneth wee lay at *Plimouth* for wind, might haue driuen vs vnto, no man can doubt of, that knoweth what men doe liue by, had not God giuen vs in the end a more prosperous wind and shorter passage into *Galitia* then hath been often seene, where our owne force and fortune reuictualled vs largely: of which crosse winds, that held vs two dayes after our going out, the Generalls being weary, thrust to Sea in the same, wisely chusing rather to attend the change thereof there, then by being in Harbour to lose any part of the better, when it should come by hauing their men on shoare: in which two dayes twentie fiue of our Companies shipped in part of the Fleet were scattered from vs, either not being able or willing to double *Vshant*.

These burdens layed vpon our Generalls before their going out, they haue patiently endured, and I thinke they haue thereby much enlarged their honour: for hauing done thus much with the want of our Artillery, 600. Horse, 3000. Foot, 10000. li. of their aduenture, and one moneths victualls of their proportion, what may be coniectured they would haue done with their full complement? For our instruction against them, who had almost seduced you from the true opinion you hold of such men, you shall vnderstand that Generall *Norris* from his booke was trained vp

Generall *Norris* and Generall *Drake*.

Generall *Norris* his Martiall education and employments.

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in the warres of the Admirall of *France*, and in very young yeeres had charge of men vnder the Earle of *Essex* in *Ireland*: which with what commendations hee then discharged, I leaue to the report of them who obserued those seruices. Vpon the breach betwixt *Don Iohn* and the States, he was made Colonell Generall of all the *English* Forces there present, or to come, which he continued two yeeres: he was then made Marshall of the Field vnder *Conte Hohenlo*: and after that, Generall of the Army in *Friseland*: at his comming home in the time of *Monsieurs* gouernment in *Flanders*, he was made Lord President of *Munster* in *Ireland*, which he yet holdeth, from whence within one yeere hee was sent for, and sent Generall of the *English* Forces, which her Maiestie lent then to the *Low-countries*, which he held till the Earle of *Leicesters* going ouer. And he was made Marshall of the Field in *England*, the enemy being vpon our Coast, and when it was expected the Crowne of *England* should haue beene tried by battell. All which places of Command, which neuer *Englishman* successiuely attained vnto in forraine warres, and the high places her Maiestie hath thought him worthy of, may suffice to perswade you that hee was not altogether vnlikely to discharge that he vndertooke.

What fame Generall *Drake* hath gotten by his iourney about the world, by his aduentures to the West *Indies*, and the scourges hee hath laid vpon the *Spanish* Nation, I leaue to the Southerne parts to speake of. But to answere the reports, which haue beene giuen out in reproach of the Actors and Action by such as were in the same: let no man thinke otherwise, but that they, who fearing the casuall accidents of Warre had any purpose of returning, did first aduise of some occasion that should moue them thereunto: and hauing found any whatsoeuer did thinke it sufficiently iust, in respect of the earnest desire they had to seeke out matter that might colour their comming home.

Of these there were some, who hauing noted the late *Flemish* wars, did find that many young men haue gone ouer and safely returned Souldiers within few moneths, in hauing learned some words of Art vsed in the wars, and thought after that good example to spend like time amongst vs: which being expired they began to quarrell at the great mortalitie that was amongst vs. The neglect of discipline in the Armie, for that men were suffered to bee drunke with the plentie of Wines. The scarsitie of Surgions. The want of carriages for the hurt and sicke: and the penury of victualls in the Campe: It hath beene proued by strickt examinations of our Musters, that we were neuer in our fulnesse before our going from *Plimouth* 11000. Souldiers, nor aboue 2500. Mariners. It is also euident that there returned aboue 6000. of all sorts, as appeareth by the seuerall paiments made to them since our comming home. And I haue truely shewed you that of these numbers very neere three thousand forsooke the Armie at the Sea, whereof some passed into *France*, and the rest returned home. So as wee neuer being 13000. in all, and hauing broughe home aboue six thousand with vs, you may see how the world hath beene seduced, in beleeuing that we haue lost 16000. men by sickneese.

If at home in the eyes of your Iustices, Maiors, Preachers, and Masters, and where they pay for euery pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquor: doe they thinke that those base disordered persons whom themselues sent vnto vs, as liuing at home without rule, who hearing of Wine doe long for it as a daintie that their purses could neuer reach to in *England*, and hauing it there without money euen in their houses where they lie and hold their guard, can be kept from being drunke; and once drunke, held in any order or tune, except we had for euery drunkard an Officer to attend him? But who bee they that haue run into these disorders? Euen our newest men, our youngest men, and our idlest men, and for the most part our slouenly prest men, whom the Iustices (who haue alwayes thought vnworthily of any warre) haue sent out as the scum and dregs of the Countrey. And those were they, who distempering themselues with their hot Wines, haue brought in that sickneese, which hath infected honester men then themselues. But I hope, as in other places the recouery of the disease, doth acquaint their bodies with the ayre of the Countrey where they be, so the remainder of these which haue either recouered, or past without sickneese will proue most fit for Martiall seruices.

If we haue wanted Surgeons, may not this rather be laid vpon the Captaines (who are to prouide for their seuerall Companies) then vpon the Generalls, whose care hath been more generall. And how may it be thought that euery Captaine, vpon whom most of the charges of raising their Companies was laid as an aduenture, could prouide themselues of all things expedient for a war, which was alwayes wont to be maintained by the purse of the Prince. But admit euery Captain had his Surgeon: yet were the want of curing neuertheleese: for our *English* Surgeons (for the most part) bee vnexperienced in hurts that come by shot; because *England* hath not knowne warres but of late, from whose ignorance proceeded this discomfort, which I hope will warne those that hereafter goe to the warres, to make preparation of such as may better preserue mens liues by their skill.

From whence the want of carriages did proceed, you may coniecture in that wee marched through a Country neither plentifull of such prouisions, nor willing to part from any thing: yet this I can assure you, that no man of worth was left either hurt or sicke in any place vnprouided for. And that the Generall commanded all the Mules and Asses, that were laden with any baggage

gage to be vnburdened and taken to that vse: and the Earle of *Essex* and he for mony hired men to carry men vpon Pikes. And the Earle (whose true vertue and nobilitie, as it doth in all other his actions appeare, so did it very much in this) threw downe his owne stuffe, I meane apparell and necessaries which hee had there from his owne carriages, and let them be left by the way to put hurt and licke men vpon them. Earle of *Essex* his worthy Acts.

And the great complaint that these men make for want of victualls, may well proceed from their not knowing the wants of warre; for if to feed vpon good Beeues, Muttons, and Goates, be to want, they haue endured great scarcitie at Land, whereunto they neuer wanted two dayes together wine to mixe with their water, nor bread to eat with their meat (in some quantitie) except it were such as had vowed rather to starue then to stir out of their places for food: of whom we haue too many.

After six dayes laying from the Coast of *England*, and the fifth after we had the wind good, being the twentieth of Aprill in the euening, we landed in a bay more then an *English* mile from the *Groine*, in our long Boats and Pinnaces without any impeachment: from whence we presently marched toward the Towne, within one halfe mile wee were encountred by the enemy, who being charged by ours, retired into their gates. For that night our Armie lay in the Villages, Houses, and Mils next adioyning, and very neere round about the Towne, into the which the Galeon named S. *Iohn* (which was the second of the last yeeres Fleet against *England*) one Hulke, two smaller Ships, and two Gallies which were found in the Road, did beat vpon vs and vpon our Companies as they passed too and fro that night and the next morning. Generall *Norris* hauing that morning before day viewed the Towne, found the same defended on the Land side (for it standeth vpon the necke of an Iland) with a wall vpon a dry Ditch: whereupon hee resolued to try in two places what might be done against it by *Escalade*, and in the meane time aduised for the landing of some Artillerie to be vpon the Ships and Gallies, that they might not annoy vs: which being but in execution, vpon the planting of the first Peece the Gallies abandoned the Road, and betooke them to *Ferroll*, not farre from thence: and the Armada being beaten with the Artillery and Musketers that were placed vpon the next shoare, left her playing vpon vs. The rest of the day was spent in preparing the Companies, and other prouisions readie for the surprise of the base Towne, which was effected in this sort. Our men land within a mile of the *Groine* the 20. of April.

There were appointed to bee landed 1200. men, vnder the conduct of Colonell *Huntley*, and Captaine *Fenner* the Vice-Admirall, on that side next fronting vs by water in long Boates and Pinnaces, wherein were placed many Peeces of Artillery to beat vpon the Towne in their approach: at the corner of the wall, which defended the other water side, were appointed Captain *Richard Wingfield*, Lieutenant Colonell to Generall *Norris*, and Captaine *Sampson*, Lieutenant Colonell to Generall *Drake*, to enter at low water with fiue hundred men if they found it passable, but if not, to betake them to the *Escalade*, for they had also Ladders with them: at the other corner of the wall, which ioyned to that side that was attempted by water, were appointed Colonell *Umpton*, and Colonell *Bret*, with three hundred men to enter by *Escalade*. All the Companies which should enter by Boat being imbarked before the low water, and hauing giuen the alarme, Captaine *Wingfield* and Captaine *Sampson* betooke them to the *Escalade*, for they had in commandement to charge all at one instant. The Boats landed without any great difficultie: yet had they some men hurt in landing. Colonell *Bret*, and Colonell *Umpton* entred their quarter without encounter, not finding any defence made against them: for Captaine *Hinder* being one of them that entred by water, at his first entry, with some of his owne companie whom hee trusted well, betooke himselfe to that part of the wall, which hee cleered before that they offered to enter, and so scoured the wall, till he came on the backe of them, who maintained the fight against Captaine *Wingfield* and Captaine *Sampson*; who were twice beaten from their Ladders, and found very good resistance, till the enemies perceiuing ours entred in two places at their backes, were driuen to abandon the same. The reason why that place was longer defended then the other, is (as *Don Iuan de Luna*, who commanded the same affirmeth) that the enemie that day had resolued in counsell how to make their defence, if they were approached: and therein concluded, that, if wee attempted it by water, it was not able to bee held, and therefore vpon the discouery of our Boates, they of the high Towne should make a signall by fire from thence, that all the low Towne might make their retreat thither: but they (whether troubled with the sudden terror we brought vpon them, or forgetting their decree) omitted the fire, which made them guard that place till we were entred on euery side.

Then the Towne being entred in three seuerall places with an huge cry, the Inhabitants betooke them to the high Towne: which they might with lesse perill doe, for that ours being strangers there, knew not the way to cut them off. The rest that were not put to the sword in furie, fled to the Rocks in the Iland, others hid themselues in Chambers and Sellers, which were euery day found in great numbers.

Amongst those *Don Iuan de Luna*, a man of very good commandement, hauing hidden himselfe in a house, did the next morning yeeld himselfe. There was also taken that night a Commissarie of victuals, called *Iuan de Vera*, who confessed that there were in the *Groine* at our entrie fiue hundred

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dred Souldiers, being in ſeuen Companies, which returned very weake (as appeareth by the ſmall numbers of them) from the iourney of *England*. The reſt falling into the hands of the common Souldiers, had their throats cut, to the number of fiue hundred as I coniecture, firſt and laſt, after wee had entred the Towne; and in the entry thereof there was found euerie Seller full of Wine, whereon our men by inordinate drinking, both grew themſelues for the preſent ſenſleſſe of the danger of the ſhot of the Town, which hurt many of them being drunk, and tooke the firſt ground of their ſickneſſe; for of ſuch was our firſt and chiefeſt mortalitie. There was alſo abundant ſtore of Victualls, Salt, and all kind of prouiſion for ſhipping and the warre: which was confeſſed by the ſaid Commiſſary of Victualls taken there, to be the beginning of a *Magaſin* of all ſorts of prouiſion for a new Voyage into *England*: whereby you may coniecture what the ſpoile thereof hath aduantaged vs, and preiudiced the King of *Spaine*.

Intemperate drinking cauſe of ſickneſſe.

New voyage to England intended.

The next morning about eight of the clocke the enemies abandoned their Ships. And hauing ouercharched the Artillery of the Gallion, left her on fire, which burnt in terrible ſort two daies together, the fire and ouercharging of the Peeces being ſo great, as of fiftie that were in her, there were not aboue ſixteene taken out whole; the reſt with ouercharge of the powder being broken and molten with heat of the fire, were taken out in broken pieces into diuers Ships. The ſame day was the Cloiſter of the South ſide of the Towne entred by vs, which ioyned verie neere to the wall of the Town, out of the chambers and other places whereof we beat into the ſame with our Musketiers.

Gallion burnt.

The next day in the afternoone there came downe ſome two thouſand men, gathered together out of the Countrey, euen to the gates of the Towne, as reſolutely (led by what ſpirit I know not) as though they would haue entred the ſame: but at the firſt defence made by ours that had the guard there, wherein were ſlaine about eighteene of theirs, they tooke them to their heeles in the ſame diſorder they made their approach, and with greater ſpeed then ours were able to follow: notwithſtanding wee followed after them more then a mile. The ſecond day Colonell *Huntley* was ſent into the Countrey with three or foure hundred men, who brought home very great ſtore of Kine and Sheepe for our reliefe.

The third day in the night, the Generall had in purpoſe to take a long Munition-houſe builded vpon their wall, opening towardes vs, which would haue giuen great aduantage againſt them; but they knowing the commodity thereof for vs, burnt it in the beginning of the euening; which put him to a new councell: for he had likewiſe brought ſome Artillery to that ſide of the Towne. During this time there happened a very great fire in the lower end of the Towne; which, had it not bin by the care of the Generals heedily ſeene vnto, and the fury thereof preuented by pulling downe many houſes which were moſt in danger, as next vnto them, had burnt all the prouiſions we found there, to our wonderfull hinderance.

Dangerous fire

The fourth day, were planted vnder the guard of the Cloiſters two Demy-canons, and two Coluerings againſt the Towne, defended or gabbioned with a croſſe wall, the row which our battery lay; the firſt and ſecond tire whereof ſhooke all the wall down, ſo as all the Ordnance lay open to the Enemy, by reaſon wherof ſome of the Canoniers were ſhot and ſome ſlaine. The Lieutenant alſo of the Ordnance, M. *Spencer*, was ſlaine faſt by Sir *Edward Norris*, Maſter thereof: whoſe valour being accompanied with an honourable care of defending that truſt committed vnto him, neuer left that place, till he receiued direction from the Generall his brother to ceaſe the battery, which he preſently did, leauing a guard vpon the ſame for that day; and in the night following made ſo good defence for the place of the battery, as after there were very few or none annoyed therein. That day Captaine *Goodwin* had in commandement from the Generall, that when the aſſault ſhould be giuen to the Towne, he ſhould make a proffer of an *Eſcalade* on the other ſide, where he held his guard: but he (miſtaking the ſignall that would haue beene giuen) attempted the ſame long before the aſſault, and was ſhot in the mouth. The ſame day the Generall hauing planted his Ordnance ready to batter, cauſed the Towne to be ſummoned; in which ſummons they of the Towne ſhot at our Drum: immediately after that there was one hanged ouer the wall, and a parle deſired; wherein they gaue vs to vnderſtand, that the man hanged was hee that ſhot at the Drum before; wherein they all intreated to haue faire wars, with promiſe of the ſame on their parts. The reſt of the parle was ſpent in talking of *Don Iuan de Luna*, and ſome other priſoners, and ſomewhat of the rendring of the Towne, but not much, for they liſtned not greatly thereunto.

Generall *Norris* hauing by his skilfull view of the Towne (which is almoſt all ſeated vpon a Rocke) found one place thereof mineable, did preſently ſet workemen in hand withall; who after three daies labour (and the ſeuenth after we were entred the baſe Towne) had bedded their Powder, but indeed not farre enough into the wall. Againſt which time the breach made by the Canon being thought aſſaultable, and Companies appointed as well to enter the ſame, as that which was expected ſhould be blowne vp by the Mine: namely, to that of the Canon, Captaine *Richard Wingfield*, and Captaine *Philpot*, who led the Generalls Foot-company, with whom alſo Captaine *Yorke* went, whoſe principall commandement was ouer the Horſe-men. And to that of the Mine, Captaine *Iohn Sampſon*, and Captaine *Anthony Wingfield* Lieutenant Colonell to the

Vndermining.

Maſter

Master of the Ordnance, with certaine selected out of diuers Regiments. All these Companies being in Armes, and the assault intended to be giuen in all places at an instant, fire was put to the traine of the Mine; by reason the Powder brake out backwardes in a place where the Caue was made too high, there could be nothing done in either place for that day. During this time Captain *Hinder* was sent with some chosen out of euery Company into the Country for prouisions, whereof he brought in good store, and returned without losse. Prouisions brought in.

The next day Cap. *Anthony Sampson* was sent out with some fiue hundred to fetch in prouisions for the Army, who was encountred by them of the Country, but he put them to flight, and returned with good spoile. The same night the Miners were set to worke againe, who by the second day after had wrought very well into the foundation of the wall. Against which time the Companies aforesaid being in readinesse for both places (Generall *Drake* on the other side, with two or three hundred men in Pinnaces, making proffer to attempt a strong Fort vpon an Iland before the Towne, where he left more then thirtie men) fire was giuen to the traine of the Mine, which blew vp halfe the Tower vnder which the Powder was planted. The assailants hauing in charge vpon the effecting of the Mine presently to giue the assault, performed it accordingly; but too soone: for hauing entred the top of the breach, the other halfe of the Tower, which with the first force of the Powder was onely shaken and made loose, fell vpon our men: vnder which were buried about twentie or thirtie, then being vnder that part of the Tower. This so amazed our men that stood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terror came, as they forsooke their Commanders, and left them among the ruines of the Mine. The two Ensignes of Generall *Drake* and Captaine *Anthony Wingfield* were shot in the breach, but their colours were rescued: the Generalls by Captaine *Sampsons* Lieutenant, and Captaine *Wingfields* by himselfe. Amongst them that the wall fell vpon, was Cap. *Sydenham* pittifully lost; who hauing three or foure great stones vpon his lower parts, was held so fast, as neither himselfe could stirre, nor any reasonable company recouer him. Notwithstanding the next day being found to be aliue, there was ten or twelue lost in attempting to relieue him. Tower falleth.

The breach made by the Canon, was wonderfully well assaulted by them that had the charge thereof, who brought their men to the push of the Pike at the top of the breach. And being readie to enter, the loose earth (which was indeede but the rubbish of the outside of the wall) with the weight of them that were thereon slipped outwardes from vnder their feet. Whereby did appeare halfe the wall vnbattered. For let no man thinke that Culuerin or Demy-canon can sufficiently batter a defensible rampire: and of those Peeces which we had; the better of the Demy-canons at the second shot brake in her carriages, so as the battery was of lesse force, being but of three Peeces.

In our retreat (which was from both breaches thorow a narrow lane) were many of our men hurt: and Captaine *Dolphin*, who serued very well that day, was hurt in the very breach. The failing of this attempt, in the opinion of all the beholders, and of such as were of the best iudgement, was the fall of the Mine; which had doubtlesse succeeded, the rather, because the approch was vnlooked for by the enemy in that place, and therefore not so much defence made there as in the other; which made the Generall grow to a new resolution: for finding that two daies battery had so little beaten their wall, and that he had no better preparation to batter withall: he knew in his experience, there was no good to be done that way; which I thinke he first put in proofe, to try if by that terror hee could get the vpper Towne, hauing no other way to put it in hazzard so speedily, and which in my conscience had obtained the Towne, had not the defendants bin in as great peril of their liues by the displeasure of their King in giuing it vp, as by the Bullet or Sword in defending the same. For that day before the assault, in the view of our Armie, they burnt a Cloister within the Town, and many other houses adioyning to the Castle, to make it more defensible: whereby it appeared how little opinion themselues had of holding it against vs, had not God (who would not haue vs suddenly made proud) laied that misfortune vpon vs.

The next day the Generall hearing by a prisoner that was brought in, that the *Conde de Andrada* had assembled an Armie of eight thousand at *Puente de Burgos*, sixe miles from thence in the way to *Petance*, which was but the beginning of an Armie: in that there was a greater leauy ready to come thither vnder the *Conde de Altomira*, either in purpose to relieue the *Groine*, or to encampe themselues neere the place of our embarking, there to hinder the same; for to that purpose had the Marquesse of *Seralba*, written to them both the first night of our landing, as the Commissary taken then confessed, or at the least to stop our further entrance into the Country, (for during this time, there were many incursions made of three or foure hundred at a time, who burnt, spoiled, and brought in victualls plentifully) the Generall, I say, hearing of this Armie, had in purpose the next day following to visite them, against whom hee carried but nine Regiments: in the Vantguard were the Regiment of Sir *Roger Williams*, Sir *Edward Norris*, and Colonell *Sidney*: in the Battaile, that of the Generall of Colonell *Lane*, and Colonell *Medkerk*: and in the Reareward, Sir *Henry Norris*, Colonell *Huntley*, and Colonell Brets Regiments; leauing the other fiue Regiments with Generall *Drake*, for the guard of the Cloister and Artillery. About ten of the clocke the next day, being the first of May, halfe a mile from the Campe, *Conde de Andrada* his Armie.

wee discouering the enemy, Sir *Edward Norris*, who commanded the Vantguard in chiefe, appointed his Lieutenant Colonell Captaine *Anthony Wingfield* to command the shot of the same, who diuided them into three troupes; the one he appointed to Captain *Middleton* to beconducted in away on the left hand: another to Captain *Erington* to take the way on the right hand, and the bodie of them (which were Musquetiers) Captaine *Wingfield* tooke himselfe, keeping the direct way of the march. But the way taken by Captaine *Middleton* met a little before with the way held by Captaine *Wingfield*, so as he giuing the first charge vpon the enemy, was in the instant seconded by Captaine *Wingfield*, who beat them from place to place (they hauing very good places of defence, and crosse Walles which they might haue held long) till they betooke them to their Bridge, which is ouer a creeke comming out of the Sea, builded of Stone vpon Arches. On the foot of the further side whereof, lay the Campe of the enemy very strongly entrenched, who with our shot beaten to the further end of the Bridge, Sir *Edward Norris* marching in the point of the Pikes, without stay passed to the Bridge, accompanied with Colonell *Sidney*, Captaine *Hinder*, Captaine *Enlford*, and diuers others, who found the way cleere ouer the same, but through an incredible volley of shot; for that the shot of their Army flanked vpon both sides of the Bridge, the further end whereof was barricaded with Barrells: but they who should haue guarded the same, seeing the proud approach wee made, forsooke the defence of the barricade, where Sir *Edward* entred, and charging the first defendant with his Pike, with very earnestnesse in ouerthrusting, fell, and was grieuously hurt at the sword in the head, but was most honourably relcued by the Generall his brother, accompanied with Colonell *Sadley*, and some other Gentlemen: Captaine *Hinder* also hauing his Caske shot off, had fiue wounds in the head and face at the sword; and Captaine *Enlford* was shot in the left arme at the same encounter: yet were they so thorowly seconded by the Generall, who thrust himselfe so neere to giue encouragement to the attempt (which was of wonderfull difficultie) as their braueſt men that defended that place being ouerthrowne, their whole Army fell presently into rout, of whom our men had the chase three miles in foure sundry waies, which they betooke themselues vnto. There was taken the Standard with the Kings Armes, and borne before the Generall. How many two thousand men (for of so many consisted our Vantguard) might kill in pursuit of foure sundry parties, so many you may imagine fell before vs that day. And to make the number more great, our men hauing giuen ouer the execution, and returning to their Bands, found many hidden in the Vineyards and Hedges, which they dispatched. Also Colonell *Monkton* was sent with his Regiment three miles further to a Cloister, which he burnt and spoiled, wherein he found two hundred more, and put them to the sword. There were slaine in this fight on our side onely Captain *Cooper*, and one priuate Souldier; Captaine *Barton* was also hurt vpon the Bridge in the eye. But had you seene the strong barricades they had made on either side of the Bridge, and how strongly they lay encamped thereabours, you would haue thought it a rare resolution of ours to giue so braue a charge vpon an Armie so strongly lodged. After the fury of the execution, the Generall sent the Vantguard one way, and the battell another, to burne and spoile; so as you might haue seene the Countrey more then three miles compasse on fire. There was found very good store of Munition and victualls in the Campe, some plate and rich apparell, which the better sort left behind, they were so hotly pursued. Our Sailers also landed in an Iland next adioyning to our ships, where they burnt and spoiled all they found. Thus we returned to the *Groine*, bringing small comfort to the enemy within the same, who shot many times at vs as we marched out; but not once in our comming backe againe.

The notable ouerthrow giuen to the *Spaniards* at *Puente de Burgos*.

The next day was spent in shipping our Artillery landed for the battery, and of the rest taken at the *Groine*, which had it beene such as might haue giuen vs any assurance of a better battery, or had there beene no other purpose of our iourney but that, I thinke the Generall would haue spent some more time in the siege of the place.

The two last nights, there were that vndertooke to fire the higher Towne in one place, where the houses were builded vpon the wall by the water side; but they within suspecting as much, made so good defence against vs, as they preuented the same. In our departure there was fire put into euerie house of the low Towne, insomuch as I may iustly say, there was not one house left standing in the base Towne, or the Cloister.

The next day, being the eight of May, wee embarked our Armie without losse of a man, which (had wee not beaten the enemie at *Puente de Burgos*) had beene impossible to haue done.

Earle of *Essex* comes to them.

After we had put from thence, we had the wind so contrarie, as we could not vnder nine daies recouer the *Burlings*; in which passage on the thirteenth day the Earle of *Essex*, and with him M. *Walter Deuereux* his brother (a Gentleman of wonderfull great hope) Sir *Roger Williams*, Colonell Generall of the Footmen, Sir *Philip Butler*, who hath alwaies beene most inward with him, and Sir *Edward Wingfield*, came into the Fleet. The Earle put off in the same wind from *Falmouth*, that wee left *Plimouth* in, where he lay, because he would auoid the importunitie of Messengers that were daily sent for his returne, and some other causes more secret to himselfe, not knowing (as it seemed) what place the Generals purposed to land in, had bin as far as *Cadiz* in *Andaluzia*, and lay vp and downe about the South Cape, where hee tooke some Ships laden with

with Corne, and brought them vnto the Fleet. Also in his returne from thence to meet with our Fleet, he fell with the Ilands of *Bayon*; and on that side of the Riuer which *Cannas* standeth vpon, he, with Sir *Roger Williams*, and those Gentlemen that were with him went on shoare, with some men out of the Ship he was in, whom the enemy that held guard vpon that Coast, would not abide, but fled vp into the Countrey.

The sixteenth day we landed at *Peniche* in *Portugal*, vnder the shot of the Castle, and aboue the waste in the water, more then a mile from the town, wherin many were in peril of drowning, by reason the wind was great, and the Sea went high, which ouerthrew one Boat, wherein fiue and twentie of Captaine *Dolphins* men perished. The enemy being fiue Companies of *Spaniards*, vnder the commandement of *Conde de Fuentes*, sallied out of the town against vs, and in our landing made their approach close by the water side. But the Earle of *Essex*, with Sir *Roger Williams*, and his brother, hauing landed sufficient number to make two troupes, left one to hold the way by the water side, and led the other ouer the Sand-hills; which the enemy seeing, drew theirs likewise further into the Land; not, as we coniectured, to encounter vs, but indeed to make their speedie passage away: notwithstanding they did it in such sort, as being charged by ours which were sent out by the Colonell generall vnder Captaine *Iackson*, they stood the same euen to the push of the Pike: in which charge and at the push, Captaine *Robert Piew* was slaine. The enemy being fled further then we had reason to follow them, all our Companies were drawne to the Town; which being vnfortified in any place, wee found vndefended by any man against vs. And therefore the Generall caused the Castle to bee summoned that night; which being abandoned by him that commanded it, a *Portugall* named *Antonio de Auriel*, being possessed thereof, desired but to be assured that *Don Antonio* was landed, whereupon he would deliuer the same; which he honestly performed. There was taken out of the Castle some hundred Shot and Pikes, which *Don Emanuel* furnished his *Portugalls* withall, and twentie Barrells of Powder: so as possessing both the Town and the Castle, we rested there one day; wherin some Friars and other poore men came vnto their new King, promising in the name of their Countrey next adioyning, that within two dayes hee should haue a good supply of Horse and Foot for his assistance. That day wee remained there, the Generals company of horses were vnshipped.

They land at *Peniche*.

Peniche taken.

The Generalls there fully resolued, that the Armie should march ouer Land to *Lisbon*, vnder the conduct of Generall *Norris*; and that Generall *Drake* should meet him in the Riuer thereof with the Fleet; that there should bee one Company of Foot left in guard of the Castle, and six in the Ships; also that the sicke and hurt should remaine there with prouisions for their cures.

They march towards *Lisbon*.

In this march Captaine *Crisse* the Prouost Marshall caused one who (contrary to the Proclamation published at our arriuall in *Portugall*) had broken vp an house for pillage, to bee hanged, with the cause of his death vpon his breast, in the place where the act was committed: which good example prouidently giuen in the beginning of our march, caused the commandement to be more respectiuely regarded all the iourney after, by them whom feare of punishment doth only hold within compasse. The Campe lodged that night at *Lorinha*: the next day we had intelligence all the way, that the enemy had made head of Horse and Foot against vs at *Torres Vedras*, which wee thought they would haue held: but comming thither the second day of our march, not two houres before our Vantgard came in, they left the Towne and Castle to the possession of *Don Antonio*.

Good discipline.

There began the greatest want we had of victuals, especially of bread, vpon a commandement giuen from the Generall, that no man should spoile the Country, or take any thing from any *Portugall*: which was more respectiuely obserued, then I thinke would haue bin in our owne Countrey, amongst our owne friends and kindred: but the Countrey (contrary to promise) wholly neglected the prouision of victuals for vs, wherby we were driuen for that time into a great scarsity. Which moued the Colonell Generall to call all the Colonells together, and with them to aduise of some better course for our people: who thought it best, first to aduertise the King what necessitie we were in, before we should of our selues alter the first institution of abstinence. The Colonell generall, hauing acquainted the Generall herewith, with his very good allowance thereof, went to the King; who after some expostulations vsed, tooke the more carefull order for our men, and after that our Armie was more plentifully relieued.

Want of bread

The third day we lodged our Armie in three sundry Villages, the one Battalion lying in *Exaraina de los Canalleros*, another in *Exaraina de Obispo*, and the third in *San Sebastian*. Captain *Yorke*, who commanded the Generalls Horse Company, in this march made triall of the valour of the Horsemen of the enemy; who by one of his Corporals charged with eight Horses thorow fortie of them, and himselfe thorow more then two hundred, with some fortie Horses: who would abide him no longer then they could make way from him.

The next day we marched to *Lores*, and had diuers Intelligences that the enemy would tarry vs there: for the Cardinall had made publike promise to them of *Lisbon*, that he would fight with vs in that place, which he might haue done aduantageously; for we had a Bridge to passe ouer in the same place: but before our comming he dislodged, notwithstanding it appeared vnto vs that hee had in purpose to incampe there; for wee found the ground staked out where their trenches

should haue bin made: and their Horsemen with some few Shot shewed themselues vpon an Hill at our comming into that Village; whom Sir *Henry Norris* (whose Regiment had the point of the Vantgard) thought to draw vnto some fight, and therefore marched without sound of Drum, and somewhat faster then ordinary, thereby to get neere them before he were discouered, for hee was shadowed from them by an Hill that was betweene him and them: but before he could draw his Companies any thing neere, they retired.

Generall *Drakes* Regiment that night, for the commoditie of good lodging, drew themselues into a Village, more then one *English* mile from thence, and neere the enemy: who not daring to doe any thing against vs in foure dayes before, tooke that occasion, and in the next morning fell downe vpon that Regiment, crying, *Viua el Rey Don Antonio*, which was a generall salutation thorow all the Countrey as they came: whom our young Souldiers (though it were vpon their guard, and before the watch were discharged) began to entertaine kindly, but hauing got within their guard, they fell to cut their throats: but the alarme being taken inwards, the Officers of the two next Companies, whose Captaines (Captain *Sydnam* and Captain *Young*) were lately dead at the *Groine*, brought downe their Colours and Pikes vpon them in so resolute manner, as they presently draue them to retire with losse: they killed of ours at the first entrance fourteene, and hurt six or seuen.

Some died with drinking water.

The next day we lodged at *Aluelana* within three miles of *Lisbon*, where many of our Souldiers drinking in two places of standing waters by the way were poysoned, and thereon presently dyed. Some doe thinke it came rather by eating of Hony, which they found in the houses plentifully. But whether it were by Water or by Hony, the poore men were poisoned. That night the Earle of *Essex* and Sir *Roger Williams* went out about eleuen of the clocke with 1000. men to lie in *ambuscade* neere the Town, and hauing laied the same very neere, sent some to giue the alarme vnto the enemy: which was well performed by them that had the charge thereof, but the enemy refused to issue after them, so that the Earle returned as soone as it was light without doing any thing, though he had in purpose, and was ready to haue giuen an honourable charge on them.

Earle of *Essex* his attempt.

They come to the suburbs of *Lisbon*.

The 25. of May in the euening we came to the Suburbs of *Lisbon*: at the very entrance whereof Sir *Roger Williams* calling Captaine *Anthony Wingfield* with him, tooke thirtie Shot or thereabouts, and first scowred all the Streets till they came very neere the Towne; where they found none but old folkes and beggars, crying, *Viua el Rey Don Antonio*, and the houses shut vp: for they had carried much of their wealth into the Towne, and had fired some houses by the waterside, full of Corne and other prouisions of victuals, least wee should be benefited thereby, but yet left behind them great riches in many houses. The foure Regiments that had the vantguard that day, which were Colonell *Diuereux*, Sir *Edward Norris*, Colonell *Sidneys*, and Generall *Drakes* (whom I name as they marched): the Colonell generall caused to hold guard in the neerest Streets of the Suburbs: the Battel and the Arrereward stood in Armes all the night in Field neere to *Alcantara*. Before morning Captaine *Wingfield*, by direction from the Colonell generall Sir *Roger Williams*, held guard with Sir *Edward Norris* his Regiment in three places very neere the Towne wall, and so held the same till the other Regiments came in the morning. About midnight they within the Towne burnt all their houses that stood vpon their wall either within or without, least we possessing them, might thereby greatly haue annoyed the Towne.

Houses burnt by the *Portugalls*.

The next morning Sir *Roger Williams* attempted (but not without perill) to take a Church called S. *Antonio*, which ioyned to the wall of the Towne, and would haue been a very euill neighbor to the Towne: but the enemy hauing more easie entry into it then wee, gained it before vs. The rest of that morning was spent in quartering the Battell and Arrereward in the Suburbs called *Bona Vista*, and in placing Musquetiers in houses, to front their Shot vpon the wall, who from the same scowred the great Streets very dangerously.

By this time our men being thorowly weary with our sixe dayes march, and the last nights watch, were desirous of rest; whereof the enemy being aduertised, about one or two of the clocke sallied out of the Town, and made their approach in three seuerall Streets vpon vs, but chiefly in Colonell *Brets* quarter: who (as most of the Armie was) being at rest, with as much speed as he could, drew his men into Armes, and made head against them so thorowly, as himselfe was slain in the place, Captaine *Carsey* shot thorow the thigh, of which hurt hee died within foure dayes after, Captaine *Caire* slaine presently, and Captaine *Case* hurt (but not mortally) who were all of his Regiment. This resistance made as well here, as in other quarters where Colonell *Lane* and Colonell *Medkerk* commanded, put them to a sudden foule retreat; insomuch, as the Earle of *Essex* had the chase of them euen to the gates of the high Town, wherin they left behind them many of their best Commanders: their troupe of Horsemen also came out, but being charged by Captain *Yorke*, withdrew themselues againe. Many of them also left the streets, and betooke them to houses which they found open: for the Sergeant Maior Captain *Wilson* slew in one house with his owne hands three or foure, and caused them that were with him to kill many others. Their losse I can assure you did triple ours, as well in qualitie as in quantitie.

Colonell *Brets* slaine.

Their retrait, and chase by E. *Essex*.

Gen. *Drakes* comming.

During our march to this place, Generall *Drake* with the Whole Fleet was come into *Cascais*, and possessed the Town without any resistance: many of the Inhabitants at their discouery of our Nauie,

Nauie, fled with their baggage into the Mountaines, and left the Towne for any man that would possesse it, till Generall *Drake* sent vnto them by a *Portugall* Pilot which he had on boord, to offer them all peaceable kindnesse, so farre forth as they would accept of their King, and ministers necessaries to the Armie he had brought; which offer they ioyfully imbraced, and presently sent two chiefe men of their Town, to signifie their loyaltie to *Don Antonio*, & their honest affections to our people. Whereupon the Generall landed his Companies not farre from the Cloister called *San Domingo*, but not without perill of the shot of the Castle, which being guarded with sixtie fiue *Spaniards*, held still against him. *Castell* forsaken.

As our Fleet were casting anker when they came first into that Road, there was a small ship of *Brasil* that came from thence, which bare with them, and seemed by striking her sailes, as though she would also haue ancred: but taking her fittest occasion horsed againe, and would haue passed vp the Riuer, but the Generall presently discerning her purpose, sent out a Pinnace or two after her, which forced her in such sort, as she ran her selfe vpon the Rocks: all the men escaped out of her, and the lading (being many chests of Sugar) was made nothing worth, by the Salt water. In his going thither also, he tooke Ships of the Port of *Portugall*, which were sent from thence, with fifteene other from *Pedro Vermendes Xiraes* Sergeant-Maior of the same place, laden with meale and victualls to *Lisbon*: the rest that escaped put into *Setuual*. Ships taken.

The next day it pleased Generall *Norris* to call all the Colonels together, and to aduise with them, whether it were more expedient to carry there to attend the forces of the *Portugall* Horse and Foot, whereof the King had made promise, and to march some conuenient number to *Cascais* to fetch our Artillery and Munition which was all at our ships, sauing that which for the necessity of the seruice was brought along with vs: whereunto, some carried away with the vaine hope of *Don Antonio*, that the most part of the Town stood for vs, held it best to make our abode there, and to send some three thousand of our Artillery: promising to themselues, that the Enemy being well beaten the day before, would make no more sallies: some others (whose vnbeliefe was very strong of any hope from the *Portugalls*) perswaded rather to march wholly away, then to be any longer carried away with the opinion of things, whereof there was so little appearance. The Generall, not willing to leaue any occasion of blot to be laid vpon him for his speedie going from thence, nor to lose any more time by attending the hope of *Don Antonio*, told them, that though the expedition of *Portugall* were not the onely purpose of their iourney, but an aduenture therein (which if it succeeded prosperously might make them sufficiently rich, and wonderfull honourable) and that they had done so much already in triall thereof, as what end soeuer happened could nothing impaire their credits: yet in regard of the Kings last promise, that he should haue that night three thousand armed men of his owne Country, he would not for the taking lodge. The King of *Portugall* (whether carried away with imagination by the aduertisements he receiued from the *Portugalls*, or willing by any promise to bring such an Armie into his Country, thereby to put his fortune once more in triall) assured the Generall, that vpon his first landing there would be a reuolt of his subiects. Consultation.

After two nights laying at *Lisbon*, the King, as you haue heard promised a supply of three thousand Foot, and some Horse: but all his appointments being expired, euen to the hire of a night, all his Horse could not make a Cornet of forte, nor his Foot furnish two Ensignes fully, although they carried three or foure colours: and these were altogether such as thought to inrich themselues by the ruine of their neighbours: for they committed more disorders in euery place where we came by spoile, then any of our owne. *Don Antonio* promises frustrate.

The Generall, as you see, hauing done more then before his comming out of *England* was required by the King, and giuen credite to his many promises, euen to the breach of the last, he desisted not to perswade him to stay yet nine daies longer: in which time hee might haue engaged himselfe further, then with any honor he could come out off againe, by attempting a Towne fortified, wherein were more men armed against vs, then we had to oppugne them withall, our Artillery and Munition being fifteene miles from vs, and our most men declining: for there was the first shew of any great sicknesse among st them. Whereby is seemeth, that one or two Prelates did much abuse him in perswading him to hopes, whereof after two or three daies not any semblance: one like a silly louer, who promiseth himselfe fauour by importuning a cruell mistresse, thought by our long being before his Towne, that in the end taking pitie on him they would let him in. What end the Friers had by following him with such deuotion I know not, but sure I am, the Laitie did respite their homage till they might see which way the victorie might sway; fearing to shew themselues apparantly vnto him, least the *Spaniard* should after our departure (if we preuailed not) call them to account: yet sent they vnderhand messages to him of obedience, thereby to saue their owne, if he became King; but indeed very well contented to see the *Spaniards* and vs trie by blowes who should carry away the Crowne. For they be of so base a mould, as they can very well subiect themselues to any gouernment, where they may liue free from blowes, and haue liberty to become rich, being lothe to indure hazard either of life or goods. For durst they haue put on any minds thoroughly to resolue, they had three wonderfull great occasions offered them during our being there, &c.

They march from *Lisbon.*

The next morning, seeing no performance of promise kept, the Generall gaue order for our marching away; himselfe, the Earle of *Essex*, and Sir *Roger Williams* remaining with the stand that was made in the high street, till the whole Armie was drawne into the Field, and so marched out of the Towne, appointing Captaine *Richard Wingfield*, and Captaine *Anthony Winfield* in the Arrere ward of them with the shot; thinking that the enemy (as it was most likely) would haue issued out vpon our rising; but they were otherwise aduised. When we were come into the Field, euerie Battalion fell into that order which by course appertained vnto them, and so marched that night vnto *Cascais*.

The riches that they might haue gotten at *Lisbon.*

Had wee marched thorow his Countrey as enemies, our Souldiers had beene well supplied in all their wants: but had wee made enemies of the Suburbs of *Lisbon*, wee had beene the richest Armie that euer went out of *England*: for besides the particular wealth of euery house, there were many Ware-houses by the water side full of all sorts of rich Merchandizes.

In our march that day the Gallies which had somewhat, but not much annoyed vs at *Lisbon*, (for that our way lay along the Riuer) attended vs till we were past S. *Iulians*, bestowing many shot amongst vs, but did no harme at all, saue that they strooke off a Gentlemans leg, and killed the Sergeant Maiors Moile vnder him. The Horsemen also followed vs afarre off, and cut off as many sicke men as were not able to hold in march, or we had carriage for.

After we had beene two daies at *Cascais*, wee had intelligence by a Friar, that the enemy was marching strongly towards vs, and then came as farre as S. *Iulian*: which newes was so welcome to the Earle of *Essex* and the Generalls, as they offered euery one of them to giue the Messenger an hundred Crownes if they found them in the place; for the Generall desiring nothing more then to fight with them in field roome, dispatched that night a Messenger with a Trumpet, by whom hee writ a Cartell to the Generall of their Armie, wherein he gaue them the lie, in that it was by them reported that wee dislodged from *Lisbon* in disorder and feare of them (which indeed was most false) for that it was fiue of the clocke in the morning before wee fell into Armes, and then went in such sort, as they had no courage to follow out vpon vs. Also he challenged him therein, to meet him the next morning with his whole Armie, if hee durst attend his comming, and there to try out the iustnesse of their quarrell by battell; by whom also the Earle of *Essex* (who preferring the honour of the cause, which was his Countries, before his owne safetie) sent a particular Cartell, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his qualitie; or if they would not admit of that, six, eight, or ten, or as many as they would appoint, should meet so many of theirs in the head of our battell to trie their fortunes with them, and that they should haue assurance of their returne and honourable intreatie.

Desire of the *English* to fight

Feare of the enemies.

The Generall accordingly made all his Armie readie, by three of the clocke in the morning, and marched euen to the place where they had encamped, but they were dislodged in the night in great disorder, being taken with a sudden feare that we had been come vpon them, as the Generall was the next day certainely informed: so as the Trumpet followed them to *Lisbon*, but could not get other answere to either of his Letters, but threatning to bee hanged, for daring to bring such a message. Howbeit the Generall had caused to be written vpon the backside of their Passport, that if they did offer any violence vnto the Messengers, he would hang the best prisoners he had of theirs: which made them to aduise better of the matter, and to returne them home; but without answere.

Castle of *Cascais* yeelded.

After our Armie came to *Cascais*, and the Castle summoned, the Castellan thereof granted, that vpon fiue or six shot of the Canon he would deliuer the same, but not without sight thereof. The Generall thinking that his distresse within had been such for want of men or victuals, as he could not hold it many dayes, because hee saw it otherwise defensible enough, determined rather to make him yeeld to that necessitie, then to bring the Canon, and therefore onely set a guard vpon the same, least any supply of those things which hee wanted should bee brought vnto them. But hee still standing vpon those conditions, the Generall about two dayes before hee determined to goe to Sea, brought three or foure Peeces of battery against it: vpon the first fire whereof he surrendered, and compounded to goe away with his baggage and Armes; hee had one Canon, two Culuerings, one Basiliske, and three or foure other Field Peeces, threescore and fiue Souldiers, very good store of Munition, and victuals enough in the Castle; insomuch as hee might haue held the same longer then the Generall had in purpose to tarry there. One company of Footmen was put into the guard thereof, till the Artillery was taken out, and our Armie imbarked; which without hauing that fort, we could not without great perill haue done. When we were readie to set sale (one halfe of the Fort being by order from the Generall blowne vp by mine) the company was drawne away.

Sixtie Hulkes brought.

During the time we lay in the Road, our Fleet began the second of Iune, and so continued six dayes after to fetch in some Hulks to the number of threescore, of *Dansik*, *Stetin*, *Rostock*, *Lubeck* and *Hamburgh*, laden with *Spanish* goods, and as it seemed for the Kings prouision, and going for *Lisbon*: their principall lading was Corne, Masts, Cables, Copper, and Waxe: amongst which were some of great burthen wonderfull well builded for sailing, which had no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought they were brought for the Kings prouision, to reinforce

his

his decaied Naue: whereof there was the greater likelihood, in that the owner of the greatest of them which carried two misnes, was knowne to be very inward with the Cardinall, who rather then he would be taken with his ships, committed himselfe vnto his small Boate, wherein he recouered Saint *Sebastians*: into the which our men, that before were in flie-boates, were shipped, and the Flie-boates sent home with an offer of Corne, to the value of their hire. But the winde being good for them for *Rochel*, they chose rather to loose their Corne then the winde, and so departed. The Generall also sent his Horses with them, and from thence shipped them into *England*.

Cardinall *Albert* after married to the *Infanta* and Ruler of the *Spanish* Port of the *Low Countries*.

The third of Iune, Colonell *Deuereux*, and Colonell *Sidney*, being both very sicke, departed for *England*, who in the whole iourney had shewed themselues very forward to all seruices, and in their departure very vnwilling to leaue vs: that day we embarked all our Army, but lay in the road vntill the eight thereof.

The sixt day, the Earle of *Essex*, vpon receit of Letters from her Maiesty, by them that brought in the victuals, presently departed towards *England*, with whom Sir *Roger Williams* was very desirous to goe, but found the Generals very vnwilling he should do so, in that he bare the next place vnto them, and if they should miscarry, was to command the Army. And the same day there came vnto vs two small Barkes, that brought tidings of some other ships come out of *England* with victuals, which were passed vpwards to the Cape; for meeting with whom, the second day after we set saile for that place, in purpose after our meeting with them to goe with the Iles of *Azores*: the second day, which was the ninth, we met with them comming backe againe towards vs, whose prouision little answered our expectation. Notwithstanding we resolued to continue our course for the Ilands.

About this time went he *Merchant Royall*, with three or foure other ships, sent to *Penicha*, to fetch away the companies that were left there; but Captain *Barlow* hauing receiued Letters from the Generals that were fet vpon land, was departed before, not being able by reason of the enemies speedy marching thither, either to bring away the artillery, or all his men, according to the direction those letters gaue him; for he was no sooner gone, then the enemy possessed the Towne and Castle, and shot at our ships as they came into the road.

At this time also was the Ambassadour from the Emperor of *Marocco*, called *Reys Hamet Benessamp*, returned, and with him M. *Gaston*, a Gentleman of good place and desert, who sent from *Don Antonio*, and Captaine *Ogle* from the Generals to the Emperour.

Morocco Embassadour.

The next morning the nine Gallies which were left not fiue daies before out of *Andalusia* for the strengthening of the Riuer of *Lisbon* which being ioyned with the other twelue that were there before, though we lay hard by them at Saint *Iulians*, durst neuer make any attempt against vs) vpon our departure from thence were returning home, and in the morning being a very dead calme, in the drawing themselues, fell in the winde of our fleet, in the vttermost part whereof they assailed one straggling Barke of *Plymouth*, of the which Captaine *Caterley* being Captaine of the land company, with his Lieutenant, the Master, and some of the Mariners, abandoned the ship, and betooke themselues to the ship-boat; wherein one, in which the Master and the Captaine were, was ouerset with the Gallies, and they drowned. There were also two Hulkes straggled far from the fleete of the other ships, which were so calmed, as neither they could get to vs, nor we to them, though all the great ships towed with their Boats to haue relieued them, but could not be recouered; in one of which was Captaine *Minshaw* with his company, who fought with them to the last, yea after his ship was on fire, which whether it was fired by himselfe or by them we could not well discerne, but might easily iudge by his long and good fight, that the enemy could not but sustain much losse; who setting also vpon one other Hulke wherein was but a Lieutenant, and he very sicke, were by the valour of the Lieutenant put off, although they had first beaten her with their artillery, and attempted to board her. And seeing also one other Hulke a league off, a seruice of vs, they make towards her: but finding that she made ready to fight with them, they durst not further attempt her: whereby it seemed, their losse being great in the other fights, they were loath to procure any further.

From this day till the ninetenth of Iune, our direction from the Generall was, that if the winde were Northerly, we should plie for the *Azores*; but if Southerly, for the Iles of *Bayon*. We lay with contrary windes about that place and the Rocke, till the Southerly winde preuailing carried vs to *Bayon*: among whom was Sir *Henry Norris* in the *Ayde*; who had a purpose (if the Admirals had not come in) with some 500. men out of them all to haue landed, and attempted the taking of *Vigo*. The rest of the fleet held with generall *Drake*, who though he were two dayes before put vpon those Ilands, cast off againe to Sea for the *Azores*: but remembring how vnprouided he was for that iourney, and seeing that he had lost company of his great ships, returned for *Bayon*, and came in there that night in the euening, where hee passed vp the Riuer more then a mile aboue *Vigo*.

Bayon.

The next morning wee landed as many as were able to fight, which were not in the whole aboue two thousand men (for in the seuenteene dayes we continued on boord wee had cast many

many of our men ouer-boord) with which number the Colonell generall marched to the Towne of *Vigo*, neere the which when hee approached, he sent Captaine *Anthony Wingfield* with a troupe of shot to enter one side of the same, who found vpon euery streetes end a strong barricade, but altogether abandoned; for hauing entred the Towne, he found but one man therein, but might see them making way before him to *Bayon*. On the other side the Towne entred Generall *Drake* with Captaine *Richard Wingfield*, whose approach on that side (I thinke) made them leaue the places they had so artificially made for defence: there were also certaine ships sent with the Vice-admirall to lye close before the Towne, to beate vpon the same with their artillery.

Vigo taken.

In the afternoone were sent three hundred vnder the conduct of Captaine *Petuin* and Captaine *Henry Powre*, to burne another Village betwixt that and *Bayon*, called *Borsis*, and as much of the Countrie as the day would giue them leaue to doe; which was a very pleasant rich Valley: but they burnt it all, houses and corne, as did others on the other side of the Town, both that and the next day, so as the Countrey was spoiled seuen or eight miles in length. There was found great store of Wine in the Town, but not any thing else: for the other daies warning of the ships that came first in, gaue them a respit to carry all away.

Borsis burned.

The next morning by breake of the day the Colonell generall (who in the absence of the Generals that were on boord their ships, commanded that night on shoare) caused all our Companies to be drawne out of the Towne, and sent in two troupes to put fire in euery house of the same: which done, we imbarked againe. This day there were certaine Mariners which (without any direction) put themselues on shoare, on the contrary side of the Riuer from vs for pillage.

Vigo burned.

The same day the Generals seeing what weake estate our Army was drawne into by sicknes, determined to man and victuall twenty of the best ships for the Ilands of *Azores*, with Generall *Drake*, to see if he could meete with the *Indian* Fleet, and Generall *Norris* to returne home with the rest: And for the shifting of men and victuals accordingly, purposed the next morning to fall downe to the Ilands of *Bayon* againe, and to remaine there that day. But Generall *Drake*, according to their appointment, being vnder sale neuer stroke at the Ilands, but put straight to Sea: whom all the Fleet followed saue three and thirty, which being in the Riuer further then he, and at the entrance of the same, finding the winde and tide too hard against them, were inforced to cast ancre there for that night; amongst whom, by good fortune, was the *Foresight*, and in her Sir *Edward Norris*. And the night following, Generall *Norris* being driuen from the rest of the Fleet by a great storme (for all that day was the greatest storme we had all the time we were out) came againe into the Ilands, but not without great perill, he being forced to turne to a *Spanish* Fisher-man (who was taken two dayes before at Sea) to bring him in.

The next morning he called a counsell of as many as he found there, holding the purpose hee had concluded with Sir *Francis Drake* the day before, and directed all their courses for *England*, tarrying there all that day to water and helpe such with victuall, as were left in wonderfull distresse by hauing the victuals that came last, carried away the day before to Sea.

Their returne to *Plimmouth*.

The next day he set saile, and the tenth day after, (which was the second of July) came into *Plimmouth*, where he found Sir *Francis Drake* and all the Queenes ships, with many of the others but not all; for the Fleete was dispersed into other harbours, some led by a desire of returning from whence they came, and some being possessed of the hulkes, fought other Ports from their Generals eye, where they might make their priuate commoditie of them, as they haue done to their great aduantage. Presently vpon their arriuall there, the Generals dissolued all the armie saue eight companies, which are yet held together, giuing euery Souldier fiue shillings in money, and the armes he bare to make money of, which was more then could by any meanes be due vnto them; for they were not in seruice three moneths, in which time they had their victuals, which no man will value at lesse then halfe their pay, for such is the allowance in her Maiesties ships to her Mariners, so as there remained but ten shillings a moneth to be paid, for which there was not any priuate man but had apparell and furniture to his owne vse, so as euery common Souldier discharged, receiued more in money, victuals, apparell, and furniture, then his pay did amount vnto.

CHAP. XIII.

A briefe and true report of the Honorable Voyage vnto Cadiz, 1596. of the ouerthrow of the Kings Fleete, and of the winning of the Citie, with other accidents, gathered out of METERANVS, Master HACKLVYT * and others.

*M. Hackluit had published the large report of this Voyage written byone emploied therin: out of which I haue taken that which serued our purpose.

AFter that *Callis* had beene taken by Cardinall *Albert*, Archduke of *Austria*, which afterwards by Papall dispensation married the Lady *Isabella Eugenia Clara Infanta*, who yet gouerneth the *Belgians* which acknowledge the *Spaniard*, Queene *Elizabeth* thought it fitter to inuade the *Spaniard* at home, then to expect his forces here. The said Cardinall (and Archduke of *Austria*) had planted his vnexpected sedge before *Callis*, and begun his vnwelcome battery on Wednesday the 17. of April 1596. and the Towne desired truce for foure and twenty houres, which was reiected, whereupon they yeelded themselues presently vpon condition of life and goods saued, and sixe dayes truce to be giuen them, with liberty either to stay in the Citie, or to goe to the Castle; and if the King of *Nauarre* (*Henry* the fourth, the *French* King) did not in that space relieue them, they were to yeelde the Castle. Most of them betooke themselues to the Castle, and left their empty houses to the Conquerours.

The night before the truce expired, they began to shoot at the *Spaniards*, who had now made so fatall preparations, that the next day, Aprill 24. before noone they had beaten downe the wals and entered, the Gouernour of the Towne and diuers others being slaine. Queene *Elizabeth* meane while had prepared aide, and the Souldiers and Ships at *Leigh* in *Essex*, were detained by the windes, which then were Easterly, and instead of carrying the *English* thither, brought hither the terrible thunders of the *Spanish* Ordnance; insomuch, that I haue heard that they shooke the looser glasse out of the windowes in *Dower* and filled the shoares of *Essex* & *Kent* with the hideous reports of *Calis* her vnmoldable ruine. And thus in so short time the Cardinall won that ancient Port, by *Strabo* called *Itium*, by *Ptolomey Gesforiacum* (as *Meteranus* collecteth) which had cost the *English* eleuen moneths siedge, before they, vnder *Edward* the third, tooke it, *An.* 1346. They held it 200. yeers; at which time *Francis* Duke of *Guise*, in the vnhappy daies of Queen *Mary*, and by reason of her vnluckie ioyning with the *Spaniards* in their warres against the *French*, recouered it in a few dayes vnlooked for battery to the *French*, and therewith tooke * not that Towne alone, but the ioy of life also from that vnfortunate Queene; both which seeming disasters were the price of *Englands* faire purchases, both gaine and liberty in the dispersing of that *Spanish* cloud which from the time of the match had houered ouer vs, and of the concomitant Antichristian Papall Mists, which was a smoake from the bottomlesse pit to them which receiued it, and a fire to them which refused it of what degree soeuer: and in that as throwes of a grieuous trauell they brought forth a Virgin, both Truth to the Church, and Queene to the State; the one a fruitfull Mother to the soules, the other to the wealth, honour, domesticke peace, forraine victories, and Nauall glorie of the *English* Nation. This renowned Queene, eight and thirty yeeres after, vnable to alter that decree of the windes which now seemed themselues, and forced *Calis*, to become *Spanish*; would try their windy fidelity in another expedition, and prepared a strong Fleet to inuade the *Spanish* coast: The charge whereof she committed to the Lord *Robert* Earle of *Essex*, and the Lord *Charles Howard* Lord high Admirall of *England*, who came vnto *Plymmouth* (about the beginning of May 1596.) being there accompanied with diuers other noble Peeres, as the Earle of *Sussex*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Warden* Sir *Walter Raleigh*: the Lord *Marshall* Sir *Francis Vere*: the Lord *Burk*, *Don Christopher* yong Prince of *Portugall*, yong *Count Lodowick* of *Nassau*, and the Admirall of the *Hollanders*, Sir *Iohn Vanderford*: besides many other most worthy Knights and Gentlemen of great worth attending vpon this most honorable Action: It pleased them, there to make their abode for the time of that moneth, aswell for the new furnishing and reuictualing of her Maiesties Royall Nauie: as also for the expecting of some other ships, which were to come from diuers places of the Realme, and were as yet wanting.

*Q. Mary said before her death, that if they opened her, they should finde *Calis* in her heart.

Before their departure from *Plymmouth*, it pleased their Lordships to publish in Print, and make knowne to all the world, especially to such as it concerned, and that both in the *Latine*, *French*, *Dutch*, *English*, and *Spanish* tongue, what were the true, iust, and vrgent causes, that at this time prouoked her Maiestie to vndertake the preparing and setting forth of this so great a Nauie, namely the King of *Spaines* preparations against her, who had before whiles hee treated of peace, *Anno* 1588. prepared to inuade her coast, and now also to that purpose daily encreased his Nauie. If therefore any should furnish the *Spaniard* with munition and prouisions, they should expect what force could doe: for all others of whatsoeuer Nation they aduised them to forsake the *Spanish* and *Portugall* Ports, or to ioyne with the *English* for their owne security, they hauing no quarrell in this designe but against the *Spaniard*.

Thus

Thus then, all things being in a very good order and well appointed, the most holy name of our Omnipotent God being most religiously and deuoutly called vpon, and his blessed and sacred Communion being diuers times most reuerently and publikely celebrated: being furnished with one hundred and fiftie good saile of ships, or thereabout: In the name of the most high and euerliuing God: the first day of Iune they embarked themselues, weighed Ancre, and hoysed vp saile, and put to Sea onward their iourney from the Sownds of *Plymmouth*, to shew her Maiesties religious intendments in this exploit. I haue thought good to adde here a Prayer made by her selfe (as was reported) and vsed, as it was fitted, for that designe.

MOst Omnipotent maker and guide of all our worlds masse, that onely searchest and fadomest the bottome of all our hearts conceits, and in them seest the true originals of all our actions intended: thou that by thy foresight doest truely discerne, how no malice of reuenge, nor quittance of iniurie, nor desire of bloudshed, nor greedinesse of lucre hath bred the resolution of our now set out Army, but a heedefull care, and wary watch, that no neglect of foes, nor ouer-suretie of harme might breede either danger to vs, or glory to them: these being the grounds wherewith thou doest ensure the minde, we humbly beseech thee with bended knees, prosper the worke, and with best forewindes guide the iourney, speede the victory, and make the returne the aduancement of thy glory, the triumph of their fame, and surety to the Realme, with the least losse of the English *blood. To these deuout petitions Lord giue thou thy blessed grant.*

The ninth of the same moneth comming something neere to the North Cape, in a manner in the same altitude, or not much differing, which was about 43. degrees, and something more, yet bearing so, as it was impossible to be descried from the land. There it pleased the Lords to call a select Councell, which was alwaies done by hanging out of a Flagge of the Armes of *England*, and shooting off a great warning peece. Of this select or priuie Counsell, were no moe then these: The two Lords Generall, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Warden* Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the Lord Marshall Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Cary* Master of the Ordnance, Sir *Coniers Clifford*, and Sir *Anthony Ashley*, Clarke of the said Counsell. And when it pleased the Lords Generall to call a common Counsell (as oftentimes they did vpon weighty matters best knowne to their honours) then they would cause another kinde of Flag to be hanged out, which was the red Crosse of S. *George*, and was very easie to be discerned from the other that appertained onely to the select Counsell, and so often as this Flag of S. *George* was hanged out, then came all the Masters and Captaines of all the ships, whose opinions were to be demanded, in such matters as appertained vnto the said select Counsell. It was presently concluded, that our course in sailing should forthwith be altered, and that we should beare more into the West, for some purposes to them best knowne.

At that instant many Letters of instructions were addressed and sent to euery particular Master and Captaine of the Ships: What the contents of those Letters of instructions were, it was not as yet knowne vnto any, neither was it held meete to be enquired or knowne of any of vs. But vnder the titles and superscriptions of euery mans particuler Letter their words were endorsed. Open not these Letters on paine of your liues, vnlesse we chance to be scattered by tempest, and in that case open them, and execute the contents thereof: but if by mishap you fall into your enemies hand, then in any case cast them into the Sea, sealed as they are. It should seeme that these Letters did containe in them the principall place and meaning of this entended action, which was hitherto by their deepe foresights kept so secret, as no man to my knowledge either did or could so much as suspect it, more then themselues, who had the onely managing thereof.

All this while, our ships, God be thanked, kept in a most excellent good order, being deuided into fiue squadrons: that is to say, The Earle of *Essex*, the Lord Admirall, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord Warden Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and the Admirall of the *Hollanders*. All which squadrons, albeit they did euery day separate themselues of purpose, by the distance of certaine leagues, as well to looke out for such ships as were happily vnder saile, as also for the better procuring of Sea-roome: yet alwayes commonly either that day, or the next day, toward euening, they came all together, with friendly salutations and gratulations one to another, which they tearme by the name of Hayling: a ceremonie done solemnly, and in very good order, with sound of Trumpets and noise of cheerefull voyces: and in such sort performed as was no small encouragement one to the other, beside a true report of all such accidents as had happened in their squadrons.

Hitherto, as I said, our iourney was most prosperous, and all our ships in very good plight, more then that the *Mary Rose*, by some mischance, either sprang or spent her foreyard, and two dayes after Sir *Robert Crosse* had in a manner the like mischance.

French and *Flemming* take and dismissed.

Now being thus betweene the North Cape, and Cape S. *Vincent*, and yet keeping such a course a loofe, that by no meanes, those from the shoare might be able to descrie vs: The tenth of Iune, a *French* Barke, and a *Flemming* comming from the coast of *Barbaria* were brought in by some of our

our company: but they were both of them very honorably and well vied by the Lords Generall, and so after a few dayes tarrying, were peaceably sent away, after that they had conferred with them about such matters, as was thought good in their honorable wisedomes. The twelfth of the same moneth, Sir *Richard Lewison* Knight, assisted with Sir *Christopher Blunt*, fought with three *Hamburgers*, and in that fight slew two of them, and hurt eleuen, and in the end brought them all three in. *Hamburgers taken.*

The next day after, Sir *Richard Weston* meeting with a *Flemming*, who refused to vaile his foretop, with the like good courage and resolution, attempted to bring him in. The fight continued very hot betweene them, for a good space: in the end, the *Dutch*, wherein the said Sir *Richard* was, had her forebeake strooken off: and hauing spent before in fight the one side of her tire of Ordnance, while she prepared to cast about, and to bestow on him the other side, in the meane time the *Flemming* taking his opportunitie, did get almost halfe a league from him: and so for that time made his escape. And yet the next day after, the said *Flemming* being in a manner got to the very mouth of the River vp to *Lisbon*, was taken, and brought in by Master *Dorrell*, being Captaine of the *Iohn* and *Francis* of *London*.

The 13. 14. and 15. dayes, certaine little straggling Carauels were taken by certaine of the Fleete, and in one of them a yong beggerly Fryer vtterly vnlearned, with a great packet of Letters for *Lisbon*. Leiters taken

The 18. day early in the morning we tooke an *Irishman*, and he came directly from *Cadiz*, hauing beene there but the day before at twelue of the clocke at high noone. This man being examined, told truely that there was now great store of shipping at *Cadiz*, and with them eighteene or nineteene Gallies in a readinesse, and that among those ships there were diuers of the Kings best: and namely, that the *Philip* of *Spaine* was amongst them, but what their intent was, wee could not tell. This man was commanded also to giue his attendance. The 20. of June, being Sunday, wee came before *Cadiz*, very early in the morning, and in all this time as yet, the whole Nauie had not lost either by sickneſſe or by any other manner of waies six men to my knowledge. *Irishmans* intelligence.

Thus then I say, being all in good plight and strong, the 20. of June we came to *Cadiz*, and there very early in the morning presented our selues before the Towne, riding about a league or something lesse, from it. The Sea at that instant went marueilous high, and the winde was exceeding large. Notwithstanding, a Counsell being called, our Lords Generall forthwith attempted with all expedition to land some certaine Companies of their men at the West side of the Towne, by certaine long Boats, light horsemen, Pinnaces, & Barges made for the purpose, but could not compasse it, and in the attempting thereof, they chanced to sinke one of their Barges, with some fourescore good souldiers well appointed in her, and yet by good hap and great care, the men were all saued excepting eight. And therefore they were constrained to put off their landing till another more conuenient time. They arriue at *Cadiz*. Some which professe martiall knowledg blame the not landing the first day, and say the weather serued; but the scruple of sunday and other pretences lost a million of wealth.

That morning very timely, there lighted a very faire Doue vpon the maine yard of the Lord Admirals ship, and there she sat very quietly for the space of three or foure houres. And as at our very first comming to *Cadiz* this chanced; so likewise on the very last day of our departing from the said Towne, another Doue presented her selfe in the selfe same order into the same ships, and presently grew wonderfull tame and familiar to vs all, and did so still keepe vs company, euen till our arriuall here in *England*. Doues lighting

We no sooner presented our selues, but presently a goodly sort of tall *Spanish* Ships came out of the mouth of the Bay of *Cadiz*, the Gallies accompanying them in fit & good order, and so placed as all of them might well succour each other; and therewithall keepe themselues very close to their Towne, the Castle, and the Forts, for their better guard and defence, abiding there still, and expecting our further determination. All that day passed, being very rough and boisterous, and little or nothing could be done, more then that about the euening there passed some friendly and kinde salutations sent one from the other in warlike manner, by discharging certaine great Peeces.

On monday morning being the 21. day, the winde and weather being become moderate and fauourable, betweene fiue and six of the clocke in the morning, our ships in the name of the Almighty God, and in defence of the honour of *England*, without any further delay, with all speed, courage and alacritie, did set vpon the *Spanish* ships, being then vnder saile, and making out of the mouth of the Bay of *Cadiz*, vpon vvard *Puerto de Santa Maria* or *Gratiosa*, being in number 59. tall ships, with 19. or 20. Gallies attending vpon them, for their good order, and reasonable distance as they might still annoy vs, and alwaies relieue themselues interchangeably: hauing likewise the Castle, Forts, and Towne, continually to assist them and theirs, and alwayes ready to play vpon vs and ours. The *Spanish* Fleete.

In most mens opinions it seemed that the enemy had a wonderfull aduantage of vs, all circumstances being well weighed, but especially the straightnesse of the place, and the naturall forme and situation of the Bay it selfe, being rightly considered. For albeit the very Bay it selfe is very large and exceeding beautifull, so that from *Cadiz* to Port S. *Mary*, is some six or seuen *English* miles

miles ouer or there abouts, yet be there many rockes, shelues, sands, and shallowes in it, so that the very channell and place for sea roome, is not aboue two or three miles, yea, and in some places not so much, for the ships of any great burthen to make way in, but that they must either be set on ground, or else constrained to run foule one on another. All this notwithstanding, with great and inuincible courage, the Lords generall presently set vpon them, and sorting out some such conuenient ships, as to their honorable wisedomes seemed fittest for that times seruice, they were driuen to take some other course then before had beene by them entended. Wherefore vpon a graue consultation had by a select counsell, they concluded that the Vice-admirall, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, in the *Non Pareille* for that time, and the Reare Admirall Sir *Walter Raleigh* in the *Warspight*, associated with Sir *Francis Vere* the Lord Marshall in the *Rainbow*, Sir *George Carey* Master of the Ordnance, in the *Mary Rose*, Sir *Robert Southwell* in the *Lyon*; hauing with them some of the Ships of *London*, and some of the *Dutch* squadron of reasonable burthen, should lead the dance, and giue the onset, and that the two most noble Lords generall with some others of their companies, should in their conuenient time and order, second the maine battell. The fight being begun and growne very hot, the Lord generall the Earle of *Essex*, being on Port Saint *Mary* side, vpon a sudden and vnlooked for of others, thrust himselfe among the formost into the maine battell. The other most honorable Lord generall vnderstanding the most noble Earle to be in fight among them, and perceiuing by the Master of his ship, the *Arke royall*, that for lacke of water, it was not possible, that he might put any neerer, without further delay, called presently for his Pinnace, and in the same Pinnace put himselfe, and his honorable son Lord *William Howard*, aboord the *Honor de la mer*, & there remained in the fight till the battell was ended. The fight was very terrible on all sides, and so continued doubtfull till about one or two of the clocke in the afternoone: about which time the *Philip*, whom in very truth, they had all most fancie vnto, began to yeelde and giue ouer, her men that remained aliue shifting for themselues as they were able, and swimming and running ashoare with all the haste that they could possibly, and therewithall, at the very same instant themselues fired their ship, and so left her, and presently thereupon a great Argosie, with anorher mighty great ship, fired themselues in the like manner. Immediatly hereupon, the residue of the ships ran themselues on ground as far from vs as they could, thereby purchased their owne safetie, or rather breathing space for the time. Of them all, two faire ships onely were boorded and taken by our men with most part of their furniture in them, the one called S. *Matthew*, a ship by estimation of some twelue hundred tun, and the other S. *Andrew*, being a ship of not much lesser burthen. The Gallies, seeing this sodaine great victorious ouerthrow, made all the haste they could toward the Bridge called *Puente de Suaço*, and there shrowded themselues in such sort as our ships could not by any meanes possible come nigh them for lacke of water.

The fight betwixt the two Fleetes.

Spanish losse.

Two Apostles forced to preach English.

The *Spanish* ships in all were fifty nine; and as I said, all tall ships, and very richly furnished and well appointed, whereof some of them were bound for the *Indies*, and other fraighted and furnished for *Lisbon*, as themselues affirme: and had we not come that very time that we did, wee had certainly mist of them all.

Of what great wealth and riches these ships were, that I leaue to other mens iudgement and report, but sure I am, that themselues offered two millions and a halfe of ducats for the redemption of the goods and riches that were in them: which offer of theirs, albeit it was accepted of the Lords generall, and should haue beene receiued, yet we were defeated of it, as hereafter shall be more at large declared.

In all this cruell terrible fight, there were not either slaine or hurt by any manner of meanes many aboue the number of 100. of our men; notwithstanding diuers of our ships were many times shot thorow and thorow: yea and some of them no lesse then two and twenty times, as I was enformed by credible report of the Captaines and Masters themselues. I know not of any other hurt done, saue onely that Sir *Robert Southwell*, who alwayes shewed himselfe a most valiant resolute knight in all this action, making a little too much haste with his Pinnace to boord the *Philip*, had there his said Pinnace burnt with the *Philip* at the same instant, and yet by good care and diligence his men were saued. One other mischance hapned thus: One of the *Flemmings* Flie-boats, who had in all the conflict before, carried her selfe very well and valiantly, about ten of the clocke while the fight continued sharpest, chanced by great negligence and misfortune, to be fired and blown vp by his owne powder, who could not haue any fewer in him, then one hundred fighting men by all supposall, and so in the very twinkling of an eye, both ship and men were all cast away, excepting seuen or eight, which by very good fortune, and great care and diligence of some of the other ships were saued.

Flemmish mischance.

Immediately vpon this notable victory, without any further stay in all the world, the Lord generall the Earle of *Essex* put to shore, & landed about 3000. shot and pikemen: of the which number the one halfe was presently dispatched to the bridge *Puente de Suaço*, vnder the conduct of Sir *Christopher Blunt*, Sir *Conyers Clifford*, and Sir *Thomas Gerard*: with the other halfe, being about fifteene hundred, the most noble Earle of *Essex* himselfe, being accompanied with diuers other honorable Lords, namely the Earle of *Sussex*, the Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Burk*, *Count Lodowicke*,

The *English* land.

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uick of *Nassaw*, the Lord Marshall Sir *Francis Vere*, with all expedition possible marched on foote toward the towne of *Cadiz*, which was about three *English* miles march. That time of the day was very hot and faint, and the way was all of dry deepe sliding sand in a manner, and beside that, very vneuen, and by that meanes so tiresome and painfull as might be. Bad way. The enemie hauing reasonable companie both of horse and footemen, stood in a readinesse some good distance without the towne to welcome vs, and to encounter the Lord Generall. But the most famous Earle with his valiant Troopes, rather running indeede in good order, then marching, hastened on them with such vnspeakeable courage and celeritie, as within one houres space and lesse, the horsemen were all discomfited and put to flight, their leader being strooken downe at the very first encounter; whereat the footemen being wonderfully dismaied and astonished at the vnexpected manner of the *Englishmens* kinde of such fierce and resolute fight, retyred themselues with all the speede possible that they could, to recouer themselues into the Towne againe. Which being done by them, with farre swifter legges then manly courage, our men were enforced to scale the wals: which thing in very deede, although it was not without great danger and difficultie to be performed: yet such was the inuincible resolution, and the wonderfull dexteritie of the *English*, that in one halfe houre or thereabout, the enemy was repulsed, and the towne wall possessed, by the noble Earle himselfe, being in all this action, either the very first man, or else in a manner ioined with the first. The *English* enter the town

The Town wals being then possessed, and the *English* Ensigne being there displaied vpon them, with all speede possible they proceeded on to march through the Towne, making still their way with sword and shot so well as they could, being still fought withall at euerie turne. The noble Earle was seconded by the noble Lord Admirall in person, who was accompanied with the noble Lord *Thomas Howard*, the most worthy Gentleman his Sonne (after Lord *Howard*) Sir *Robert Southwell*, Sir *Richard Lewison*, and with diuers other Gentlemen, his Lordships followers of good account: his Colours being aduanced by that valiant resolute Gentleman, Sir *Edward Hobby* Knight. And thus he likewise marching with all possible speede on foote, notwithstanding his L. many yeeres *, the intolerable heate for the time, and the ouertiring tedious deepe sands, with other many impediments: Yet in good time, ioyned himselfe with the Earle and his companies, and giue them the strongest, and best assistance that he could. * I haue bin told by some of great worth then in this action, that they heard the Lord Admirall affirme that he was 68. yeers old, or between that and 70. who yet liueth 1624. crowned with siluer haires and golden raies of glorious acts.

Thus then the two Lords Generall with their companies being ioined together, and proceeding so farre as the market place, there they were hotly encountered, where and at what time, that worthy famous Knight Sir *Iohn Winkfield*, being sore wounded before on the thigh, at the very entring of the Towne, and yet for all that no whit respecting himselfe, being carried away with the care he had to encourage and direct his Company, was with the shot of a Musket in the head most vnfortunately slaine.

And thus before eight of the clocke that night were these two most noble Lords General, Masters of the market place, the forts, and the whole Towne and all, onely the Castle as yet holding out, and from time to time as they could, stil annoying them with seuen battering peeces. By this time night began to grow on, and a kinde of peace or intermission was obtained by them of the Castle: to whom the Lords Generall had signified, that vnlesse before the next day in the morning they would absolutely render themselues, they should looke for no mercie, but should euery one be put to the sword: vpon which message they tooke deliberation that night: but in the morning before breake of day they hanged out their flag of truce, and so without any further composition did yeelde themselues absolutely to their mercie, and deliuered vp the Castle. The Castle deliuered.

And yet notwithstanding all this, in the night time while they had this respite to pause and deliberate about the peacemaking, there were diuers great and sodaine alarms giuen: which did breede some great outrages and disorder in the Towne. At euery which alaram, the two Lords Generall shewed themselues marueilous ready and forward.

These things being done, and this surrender being made, present Proclamation was published, that the fury now being past, all men should surcease from all manner of bloud and cruell dealing, and that there should no kinde of violence or hard vsage be offered to any, either man, woman, or childe, vpon paine of death: permitting the spoyle of so much of the Towne as was by them thought meete, to the common souldiers for some certaine daies. This honorable and mercifull Edict I am sure was streightly and religiously obserued of the *English*: but how well it was kept by the *Dutch*, I will neither affirme, nor yet denie. For I perceiue betweene them and the *Spaniards* there is an implacable hartburning, and therefore as soone as the *Dutch* squadron was espied in the fight, immediately thereupon both they of *Sluil* and Saint *Lucar*, and also some of some other places did not onely arrest all such *Dutch* ships, as dealt with them friendly by the way of trafficke and merchandise, and so confiscated their goods, but also imprisoned the Merchants and owners of the same, and as the report goeth, did intreat many of them with extreame cruelty thereupon.

In the meane while, the very next day, being the two and twentie day of Iune, all the *Spanish* ships which were left on ground in the Bay of *Cadiz*, where the great ouerthrow had beene but the day before, were by the *Spaniards* themselues there set on fire, and so from that time *Spaniards* fire their ships.

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forward they neuer left burning of them, till euery one of them, goods and all, as far as we know were burnt and conſumed: This their doing was much maruelled at of vs. Not long after the ſame time (three dayes as I remember) the gallies that were run on ground, did quit themſelues alſo out of that place, and by the Bridge of the Iland called *Puente de Suaço*, made their way round about the ſame Iland, and ſo by putting themſelues to the maine Sea, eſcaped to a towne called *Rotta*, not farre off, but ſomething vp towards the towne of Saint *Lucars*, and there purchaſed their ſafety by that meanes. Thus was this notable victory, as well by Sea as by Land, both begun and in effect performed, within the compaſſe, in a manner, of foureteene houres: a thing in truth ſo ſtrange and admirable, as in my iudgement will rather be wondred at then beleeued of poſteritie. And if euer any notable exploit in any age was comparable to *Ceſars Veni, Vidi, Vici*, certainly in my poore opinion it was this.

Cadiz deſcribed

The Towne of it ſelfe was a very beautifull towne, and a large, as being the chiefe See of the Biſhop there, and hauing a good Cathedrall Church in it, with a right goodly Abbey, a Nunnery, and an exceeding fine Colledge of the Ieſuites, and was by naturall ſituation, as alſo by very good fortification, very ſtrong, and tenable enough in all mens opinions of the better iudgement. Their building was all of a kinde of hard ſtone, euen from the very foundation to the top, and euery houſe was in a manner a kinde of a Fort or Caſtle, altogether flat-roofed in the top, after the *Turkiſh* manner, ſo that many men together, and that at eaſe, might walke thereon: hauing vpon the houſe top, great heapes of weighty ſtones piled vp in ſuch good order, as they were ready to be throwne downe by euery woman moſt eaſily vpon ſuch as paſſed by, and the ſtreetes for the moſt part ſo exceeding narrow (I think to auoide the intollerable great heat of the Sun) as but two men or three at the moſt together, can in any reaſonable ſort march thorow them, no ſtreete being broader commonly then I ſuppoſe Watling ſtreete in *London* to be. The towne is altogether without glaſſe, excepting the Churches, yet with faire comely windowes, and with faire grates of Iron to them, and haue very large folding leaues of wainſcot, or the like. It hath very few Chimnies in it, or almoſt none at all: it may be ſome one chimney in ſome one or other of the lower out-roomes of leaſt account, ſeruing for ſome neceſſary vſes, either to waſh in, or the like, or elſe, now and then perchance for the dreſſing of a diſh of meate, hauing, as it ſhould ſeeme vnto me, alwayes a greater care and reſpect how to keepe themſelues from all kinde of great heate, the how to prouide for any ſtore of great roſte. It had in it, by report of them that ſhould know beſt it, ſome foure thouſand and moe, of very good able fighting men, and ſixe hundred horſemen at the leaſt. No queſtion but that they were well furniſhed of all things appertaining thereunto eſpecially ſo many good ſhips lying there, and being ſo well ſtored with all manner of munition, ſhot, and powder, as they were.

My Sexton T. *Rowly*, yet liuing, hath often told me that he had the rifling of a Iewellers or Goldſmiths houſe, and in his returne gaue and ſold for toies many Stones (which by his deſcription ſeemed Rubies) of great bignes whereof he had his hatfull, which proued not worth an angel to his ignorant ſimplicity, neuer ordained to be rich.

Of what wealth this towne ſhould be, I am not able to reſolue the asker; but as it ſhould appeare by the great pillage by the common Souldiers, and ſome Marriners too, and by the goodly furnitures, that were defaced by the baſer people, and thereby vtterly loſt and ſpoiled, as not worth the carrying away; and by the ouer great plenty of Wine, Oyle, Almonds, Oliues, Raiſins, Spices, and other ſuch Grocery wares, that by the intemperate diſorder of ſome of the raſher ſort were knockt out, and lay trampled vnder feet, in euery common high way, it ſhould appeare that it was of ſome very mighty great wealth to the firſt owners, though perchance not of any ſuch great commodity to the laſt ſubduers, for that I iudge that the better part was moſt riotouſly and intemperately ſpent and conſumed.

The Wedneſday, Thurſday, and Friday following, the Lords Generall ſpent in counſell about the diſpoſing of all matters, as well touching the towne and priſoners, as alſo concerning all other matters, thought meete of them in their honourable wiſdomes, and in all that meane while did ſhew ſuch honourable bounty and mercy, as is not able to be expreſſed. For not onely the liues of euery one were ſpared, but alſo there was an eſpeciall care had, that all the Religious, as well men as women, ſhould be well and fauourably intreated, whom freely without any manner of ranſome or other moleſtation, they cauſed to be ſafely tranſported ouer to Port Saint *Mary*, a Towne in a manner as faire as *Cadiz*: but at that time, as the caſe did ſtand, certainely knowne to be of no wealth in the world, and it was ſome ſixe or ſeuen miles diſtant ouer againſt *Cadiz*, in a manner as *Paules* is againſt *Southwarke*, on the other ſide of the Bay, in a part of *Andaluzia*, ſubiect to the territorie of the Duke *de Medina Sidonia*. Moreouer, at the ſame inſtant they did appoint that worthy Knight Sir *Amias Preſton*, and ſome others in ſome conuenient Barkes, to tranſport ouer to the ſaid Towne ſafely and in good order, a hundred or moe of the better ſort of ancient gentlewomen, and merchants wiues, who were ſuffered to put vpon themſelues, ſome of them two, yea, ſome three ſuites Apparell, with ſome conuenient quantitie of many Iewels, Chaines, and other ornaments belonging to their eſtate and degree.

Sir Iohn Winkfield buried.

Vpon Saturday, being the ſix and twentieth, Sir *Iohn Winkfield* knight was buried, in honourable and warlike manner, ſo farre forth as the circumſtances of that time and place could permit. At whoſe funerals the Nauie diſcharged a great part of their Ordnance, in ſuch order, as was thought meete and conuenient by the Lords Generals command. The ſeuen and twenty day being Sunday, in the Abbey the diuine Seruice was had, and a learned Sermon was made there by one

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one Master *Hopkins*, the right honourable Earle of *Essex* his Preacher, a man of good learning and graue vtterance, and euen there the same day; something before the Sermon was made, these worthy Gentlemen following were Knighted by the Lord Generall. And here I am to signifie by the way, that two of these were Knighted three or foure daies before, and some three or foure more were Knighted after that time, vpon certaine occasions: but yet I hold it best (and I trust without offence) to recite their names in this place altogether.

June 21. 22

Sir *Samuel Bagnal.*
Sir *Arthur Savages.*
The Earle of *Sussex.*
The Lord *Herbert.*
The Lord *Burke.*
Count Ladowick.
Sir *William Howard.*
Sir *George D'Euereux.*
Sir *Henry Nevel.*
Sir *Edmund Rich.*
Sir *Richard Lewes.*
Sir *Peter Egemont.*
Sir *Anthonie Ashley.*
Sir *Henry Leuland.*
Sir *Richard Lewson.*
Sir *Horatio Vere.*
Sir *Arthur Throckmorton.*
Sir *Miles Corbet.*
Sir *Edward Conway.*
Sir *Oliuer Lambert.*
Sir *Anthony Cooke.*
Sir *Iohn Townesend.*
Sir *Christopher Heydon.*
Sir *Francis Popham.*
Sir *Philip Woodhouse.*
Sir *Alexander Clifford.*
Sir *Maurice Barkley.*
Sir *Charles Blunt.*
Sir *George Gifford.*
Sir *Robert Crosse.*
Sir *Iames Escudemer.*
Sir *Vrian Leigh.*
Sir *Iohn Leigh*, alias *Lee.*
Sir *Richard Wilton.*
Sir *Richard Wainman.*
Sir *Iames Wootton.*
Sir *Richard Ruddal.*
Sir *Robert Mansfield.*
Sir *William Maunson.*
Sir *Iohn Bowler.*
Sir *Edward Baines.*
Sir *Humfrey Drewel.*
Sir *Amias Preston.*
Sir *Robert Remington.*
Sir *Iohn Buck.*
Sir *Iohn Morgan.*
Sir *Iohn Aldridge.*
Sir *Iohn Asshindon.*
Sir *Mathew Browne.*
Sir *Iohn Alton.*
Sir *Thomas Gates.*
Sir *Gilly Merricke.*
Sir *Thomas Smith.*
Sir *William Pooley.*
Sir *Thomas Palmer.*
Sir *Iohn Stafford.*
Sir *Robert Loued.*
Sir *Iohn Gylbert.*
Sir *William Harris.*
Sir *Iohn Gray.*
Don Christ. Prince of *Portugall.*
Sir *Iohn Vanderfoord*, Admirall of the *Hollanders.*
Sir *Robert Dudley.* 8. August.

Being in *Cadiz*, attending vpon my most honorable good Lord, I talked with certaine of the Religious men, such as I found learned, whereof indeede there were some, though not very many; I talked also with the Bishop of *Cusco* there, a graue aged comely man, and being of late chosen to that Bishopricke, he was as then to haue gone to the *Indies*, had not we then taken him prisoner, and so staied his iourney for that time.

It pleased the Lords generall to deale exceeding fauourably with this said Bishop of *Cusco*, for it was their good pleasure to giue him his free passage without any ransome, and therewithall to let him to vnderstand, that they came not to deale with Church-men, or vnarmed men, or with men of peace, weaklings and children, neither was it any part of their meaning to make such a voyage for gold, siluer, or any other their wealth and riches, &c. But that their onely comming was to meet with their dishonorable practises, and manifold iniuries, and to deale with men of war and valour, for the defence of the true honour of *England*, and to let them to vnderstand, that whensoeuer they attempted any base-conceited and dishonorable practise to their soueraigne Queen, their Mistresse, that it should be reuenged to the vttermost, &c.

In this meane space, while the Lords generall continued at *Cadiz*, there came to them certaine poore wretched *Turks*, to the number of eight and thirty, that had bin a long time gally-slaues, and either at the very time of the fight by sea, or else immediately thereupon, taking the opportunity, did then make their escape, and did swim to land; yeelding themselues to the mercy of their most honorable Lordships. It pleased them with all speede to apparell them, and to furnish them with mony, and all other necessaries, and to bestow on them a Barke, and a Pilot, to see them freely and safely conueied into *Barbary*.

The eight and twenty day being Monday, the Lord Admirall came aboord the *Ark* againe, minding there to remaine for a space, as indeede he did, and vpon the aduice of his Phisitian, to deale something in phisicke, for that his Lordship found his body something out of frame. At that time it pleased his Lordship to write certaine letters to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, for the deliuerance of *English* Captiues, who were remaining in the Gallies. For by this time, it was reported, that the said Duke was come downe in person with some power, and that he was either at Port Saint *Mary*, or else at *Rotta*, or thereabout. His Lordship did indite the Letters himselfe, but his pleasure was, they should be turned into Latine by another: and so to be sent (as indeede they were) in the Latine tongue vnto the Duke.

The next day after, being the fourth of Iuly, the Lords generall caused the towne of *Cadiz* to be set on fire, and rased and defaced so much as they could; the faire Cathedrall Church, and the Religious houses onely being spared, and left vnblemished. And with the Towne all such prouision, for shipping, and other things, as were seruiceable for the Realmes vse, and yet were not *Cadiz* fired.

either ſo conuenient for vs to be carried away, as eſteuch as we ſtood no whit at all in neede of, were likewiſe at the ſame inſtant conſumed with fire. And preſently thereupon, their Lordſhips, with as conuenient ſpeede as they could, and the whole army in ſuch order and leiſure, as they thought beſt, came aboord.

Effect of the L. Admirall his letters.

The next day being the firſt of Iuly, the Lords generall with all the army being vnder ſaile, and now making for *England*, and but as yet paſſing the very mouth of the Bay of *Cadiz*, a Galley full of *Engliſh* priſoners, with a flag of truce, met vs from *Rotta*, ſent by the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and ſent as it ſhould ſeeme, one day later then his promiſe: but yet their flag being either not big enough, or not well placed in the Galley, or not well diſcerned of our men, or by what other miſchance I know not; but thus it was: by one of our ſmalleſt ſhips that ſailed formoſt, as ſoone as the ſaid Galley came within Gunſhot, there was a great Peece diſcharged vpon her, and at that inſtant there was one man ſlaine outright, and two other grieuouſly hurt. The error being eſpied and perceiued, our ſhip gaue ouer immediately from any further ſhooting. As ſoone as the Galley came neere vs, my Lord Admirall cauſed a gracious ſalutation to be ſounded with his trumpets, and willed the Captaines forthwith to come aboord his ſhip: which they did, and there he feaſted them with a Banket, as the time and place might ſerue. And then by vnderſtanding of that vnfortunate miſchance that had happened by the ſhot of the ſaid ſhip, he was very ſorry for the ſame, and yet ſuch was the mercifull prouidence of almighty God, that euen in this miſchance alſo, he did hold his holy hand ouer the *Engliſh*, and all the harme that was done did light only vpon the poore *Turke*, and the *Spaniard* himſelfe. When this Lord had well banqueted them, he preſently called for his Barge, and did accompany the ſaid Galley to the Lord Generall the Earle of *Eſſex*, who then did ride with his ſhip a good diſtance off: and there they being in like manner moſt honorably receiued, and intertained, the *Spaniſh* Gentlemen deliuered vp their priſoners the *Engliſh* captiues, of whom ſome had bin there ſix yeeres, ſome eight or ten yeres, and ſome two and twenty yeeres, and vpward, and ſome of them but lately taken in Sir *Francis Drakes* laſt voyage to the *Indies*. The number of the priſoners deliuered were but nine and thirty, and no more, and were brought in, and deliuered by *Don Antonio de Cerolla* and his brother, and by *Don Pedro de Cordoa*, and certaine others.

If any man preſume here ſo farre, as to inquire how it chanced, that the Lord Generall reſted ſo long at *Cadiz*, and went no further; and why Port Saint *Mary*, being ſo faire a Towne, and ſo neere to them, was forborne: and why *Xhores* alias *Xeres*? And why *Rotta*, and the like? And why this or that was done? And why that, or this left vndone? I will not anſwere him with our common *Engliſh* prouerbe, as I might, which is: That one foole may aske more queſtions in one houre, then ten diſcreete men can well anſwere in ſixe dayes. But that graue ancient writer, *Cornelius Tacitus*, hath a wiſe, briefe, pithy, ſaying, and it is this; *Nemo tentauit inquirere in conſilia* Herculis, *ſanctiuſq; ac reuerentius habitum eſt de factis Deorum credere, quam ſcire.*

Alſo vpon my knowledge, the chiefeſt cauſe why Port Saint *Mary*, and the reſt, were leſt vntouched, was this: For that it was moſt certainely known, that they were Townes not worth the ſacking of ſuch a royall company, in which there was no manner of wealth in the world left, more then bare houſes of ſtone, and ſtanding wals, and might well haue ſerued rather as a ſtale, perchance, to haue entrapped, then as a meanes to haue enriched.

And thus much for our iourney to *Cadiz*: for the accidents that hapned by the way, for the winning, ſpoiling, and burning of the ſaid Towne, for the ouerthrow of the *Spaniſh* Fleete there, and for all other by-matters that hapned, as appendances to the ſame, both in the time of our abode there, as alſo at the very laſt houre of our comming from thence. As for our returne home, and our entrance into a part of *Portugall* by the way, with the taking, ſpoiling, and burning of the Towne of *Faraon* there, and marching into the *Spaniſh* confines thereabouts, &c. I minde to leaue it to ſome other, whoſe chance was to be preſent at the action, as my ſelfe was not, and ſhall be of more ſufficient ability to performe it.

Faraon burnt.

Meteranus writeth, that the taking of *Cadiz* had ſo terrified the neighbour townes, that the inhabitants fled out of them; and Saint *Lucar* had beene alſo very eaſily taken, if a few ſhips had aſſaulted it; and that eighteene *Spaniſh* ſhips comming from the *Indies* ignorant of what had happened, were *Engliſh* at vnawares, being very wealthy.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIIII.

The Voyage to the Iles of Azores, *vnder the conduct of the Right Honorable* ROBERT *Earle of* Essex, 1597.

§. 1.

The Relation thereof by the said Earle, and other Commissioners.

THe Generall, hauing by her Maiesties gracious fauour the charge of her Fleete and Armie, set out of *Plimmouth* in Iune 1597. did both promise my selfe and giue hope to her Maiestie, that I should be able to defeate the King of *Spaines* Fleete, commanded by the *Adelantado*, if I met them at Sea, or destroy it in the harbour of *Ferol*, if I found them there; as also to master and take all Fleetes of treasure, or of the East or West *Indies* Fleete, that I should finde vpon the Sea in their way to *Spaine*: and lastly, that I should take in the Iland of *Terçea*, which I held an action of equall importance to the other.

With this confidence I went out, and to these ends: but none of these three being performed, it may be doubted, whether we haue not through weakenesse or negligence failed of successe. For which we make answere, that if our whole carriage be examined, from the first houre to the last, it shall appeare that we haue striuen to attaine to euery one of these with as much obstinate constancie, as any men in the world could doe, and that onely the powerfull hand of God, did binde our hands, and frustrate all our endeuours.

The first for the enterprise of *Ferol*, we went out of *Plimmouth* the third of Iune, and stiered directly for that port, and when most extreame stormes and contrary windes met with vs, we beate it vp till all our Fleete was scattered, and many of our ships in desperate case. And because I the Generall thought my too soone giuing ouer would not onely deprive the Fleete of our principall ship, but absolutly defeate the iourney; I forced my company first to abide the continuall increasing of a most dangerous leake, which I made light of; because I saw that with labour of men I could free the ship as fast as the leake did grow. Secondly, I made them endure the craking of both my maine and fore mast, the one in two places, the other in three; so as we still looked when they should be carried by the boord; which was not enough to make me beare vp, because I knew whensoeuer I should loose them both, I could with sure masts, by Gods fauour, carry the ship home. And I continued so long, that my ships Okam came all out, her seames opened, her deckes and vpper workes gaue way, her very timbers and maine beames with her labouring did teare like lathes; so as we looked hourely when the Orlope would fall, and the Ordnance sinke downe to the keele: then did those few, whom before I had wonne to stand with mee, all protest against me, that if I did not within a minute of an houre beare vp the helme, I did wilfully cast away the ship and whole company.

Crossed with winde and stormes.

Danger of the Admirall ship.

Then onely I suffred my selfe to be ouercome: and when I came to *Plimmouth*, halfe her Maiesties ships, and more then halfe the principall officers by sea and by land were put in before mee for the extremitie their ships were in. And when we were all of vs gathered together againe at *Plimmouth*, and had repaired all the ships but mine owne, which was sent home to *Chatham* to be new builded, then were we kept in by continuall storme and contrary windes, till our victuals (which were at first but for three moneths) were in a manner all spent, and the sickenesse in the Flie boates, that carried the land armie, growne so great, that I had order from her Maiestie to discharge the land forces, all but the thousand old Souldiers, which were drawne out of the *Low Countries*. By which meanes, though we were disabled to land at *Ferol*, to beate the land Armie there, and take in the forces, which was the certaine way to command the *Adelantado's* Fleete; yet I the Generall offered her Maiestie to send in certaine ships of fire; and to second them with the Saint *Matthew* and Saint *Andrew*, and some great Rye-boates, and Merchants ships, with which I would destroy the most of the enemies principall shipping, and seaze all the Queens own *English* built ships at the mouth of the harbour to assure our retreate. By this meanes I should hazard to loose but two great Cartes, which before I had won, and for the aduenturing of these defeate the enemies whole Naue. Which counsell being allowed, though with restraint of mine owne going in with those two ships, and an absolute barre to hazard any other, we went out the second time to put this project in execution.

They put in to *Plimmouth*.

Sickenesse.

Order to discharge land forces.

But againe ere we could recouer the *Spanish* coast, the Saint *Matthew*, by loosing her foremast, was put backe into *England*, and the Saint *Andrew* had lost company, till at one instant within sight of the shoare of the *Groine*, Sir *Walter Ralegh* the Vice-admirall brake his maine yard, which forced him to beare along to the Westward before the winde; and I in this second ship had such a desperate leake sprang, as when we pumped and boled with buckets as much as we could for our

Their setting forth the second time.

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Leake remedies.

owne liues, it grew ſtill vpon vs: and when we ſought by ramming downe peeces of Beefe, and holding linnen cloath wrong together, to ſtop the comming in of the water, it came in notwithſtanding ſo ſtrongly, as it bare downe all, and beate away euery man that ſtood to ſtop it: Then was I faine to lye by the lee, and make my company worke vpon it all night, my maſter Carpenter, the onely skilfull man I had, dying at that very inſtant.

Cape *Finiſterre*

And when by the great mercy of God we had ſtopped it, the winde being eaſterly the Fleete was ſo farre ſhot a head, as I could not recouer the moſt of them till I came to the Cape *Finiſterre*, where holding a Counſell, and miſſing Sir *Walter Raleigh* (who being off at Sea, had no plying ſailes to get vp) miſſing him, I ſay, with thirty ſailes that in the night followed his light, and hearing that the Saint *Matthew*, which was our principall ſhip for the execution of our intended enterpriſe, was returned, and being barred to hazard any other in her place, it was by the whole Counſell of warre concluded, that the enterpriſe of *Ferol* was ouerthrowne, both becauſe, though the winde had ſerued, we wanted the ſhips appointed for that ſeruice, and if wee had had the ſhips, we wanted winde to get into the harbour of *Ferol*; for the winde blew ſtrongly at Eaſt, which would haue bin fully in our teeth as we had plied in. And now wee onely could thinke of the intercepting of the *Indian* Fleete, and defeating of the *Adelantado*: if he had put to Sea. For to take in *Terçera*, our land army being diſcharged, we had no meanes: whereupon wee bare for the height of the *Rocke*; hoping there (becauſe it was our ſecond *Rende-uous* after *Ferol*) to meete with Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Into which height when I came, a meſſage was deliuered mee from Sir *Walter Raleigh*, by one Captaine *Skobbels*, that the *Adelantado* was gone out of *Ferol* with his Fleete to *Terçera*, to waft home the Weſt *Indian* Fleete of treaſure, and that hee would attend mine anſwere off of the *Burlingas*; which meſſage of Sir *Walters* was grounded vpon the report of the Captaine of a ſhip of *Hampton*, which did confidently deliuer it.

Enterpriſe of *Ferol* ouerthrowne.

The *Rocke*.

I the Generall there calling a Counſell, tooke a reſolution, both becauſe wee hoped to meete the *Adelantado* there, and becauſe all our beſt experimented Seamen did aſſure vs that it was the likelieſt courſe to meete with the *Indian* Fleete, to goe for the Ilands of the *Azores*. And I ſent out Pinnaces both to the *Burlinges*, and toward the *South Cape* (which was our third *Rende-uous*, by our firſt appointment) to cauſe Sir *Walter Raleigh* and all others of our Fleete to follow. And being with the Iland of *Terçera*, I looked into the roade of *Braſil*, and ſaw there was no Fleete; whereupon we bare alongſt betwixt Saint *George* and *Gratioſa* for the Iſland of *Flores*, at which we might both water and take in victuals, which in Merchants ſhips her Maieſtie had ſent after vs: and where, if the *Indian* Fleete did come this yeere, they were likeſt to fall. But when we had ſpent at *Flores* ſome ten dayes, in which time Sir *Walter Raleigh* and his company came vnto vs, by a ſmall Pinnace come from the *Indies*, I the Generall was told, that it was doubtfull whether the *Indian* Fleete came from thence or not, and if they did, they would change their vſuall courſe, and come in ſome height more to the Southward, till they were paſt theſe Ilands, where vſually they are attended.

South Cape.

Tercera.

Victuals ſent after them.

False aduiſe of a ſmal Pinnace comming from the *Indies*.

Which newes made vs reſolue in Counſell to goe for *Fayal*, and ſo for Saint *Michael*, and to haue ſome nimble ſhips to lye off and on at Sea, both to the Southward and to the Northward. In our paſſage by ſaile, *Gratioſa*, and *Pico*, we tooke ſuch commodities and refreſhings as thoſe Ilands afforded: and in paſſing from them toward Saint *Michael*, wee were told that a great ſhip was diſcouered off of *Gratioſa*: whereupon I the Generall gaue order to diuide and to direct the Fleete into three places: the one to ſtirre away Eaſt North-eaſt, and to goe along the Northſide of *Terçera*; the other Eaſt South-eaſt, and to goe by the Southſide of the ſaid Iland, and both to meete in the roade of *Braſil*: ſo as if the Carackes, or Weſt *Indian* Fleete ſhould ſtriue to recouer *Terçera*, they ſhould be cut off: And the third part of the Fleete ſhould ply to the Weſtward, which way it was ſaid that the great ſhip ſtood, and ſo to cut it off, if it ſought for the roade of *Fayal*: which if ſhe were kept from, *Terçera* was her onely place ſhe could put into: and one of theſe three wayes ſhe muſt needes ſtand; for the winde being at North North-weſt, ſhee could not goe but one of theſe three courſes.

But as I had giuen this direction, there came to me a ſmall Barke of Lime, whoſe Captaine did confidently aſſure me, that he was the man that did follow the chaſe, and fetched it vp, finding it but a ſmall ſhip of our owne Fleete: which made vs reſolue to continue our former intended courſe for Saint *Michael*. But in this meane time, I the Generall hailing the Captaine of a Pinnace, and willing him to call to the ſhips of my ſquadron to follow my light, and thoſe of the Viceadmirals ſquadron to follow his light to the Weſtward (which direction I did preſently after counter-mand) hee miſheard, and willed ſome ſhips that were next, to ſtand about to the Weſtward: which direction, together with his not hearing of me that, which was ſpoken to countermand it, made foure of her Maieſties ſhips, the *Garland*, the *Marie-roſe*, the *Dread-naught*, and the *Rainebow*, to ſtand off to the Weſt all that night: of which, Sir *William Mounſon* in the *Rainebowe* fell in the night with the Weſt *Indian* Fleete; and it being calme, went off in his Boate to make and haile them: which hee did, and made himſelfe knowne vnto them: and ſtraight rowing to his ſhip, hee ſhot off his Ordnance all night, and carried a light in his maine top: whereupon the other three of her Maieſties ſhips ſtood off with him, but could not fetch

False aduiſe of a ſmal Pinnace comming from the *Indies*.

Note, Miſtaking.

vp

vp the *Spaniards* till they were gotten into *Tercera* Road; before which, after they had striued in vaine to get into them, they plied till my comming, which was three dayes after: for I was hard aboord the Westermost part of Saint *Michaell* before I heard these newes.

The *Indian* Fleet recouer the Rode of *Tercera.*

And then standing about, I the Generall being on head of the Fleet, met in my way with a great Ship of the Gouernour of *Hauana*, and a Frigate of the *Spanish* King, manned with the said Kings Souldiers, and another Frigate of a particular man: which three I fetched out, tooke, and manned for the safe bringing home of the Ship and goods, and fell the next night being Saturday, the of with *Tercera*; where finding the wind strong at Northwest, we plyed with as much saile as euer we could bear to get vp to the road of *Brasil* all that night. Al Sunday, and Sunday night, and till Munday morning wee could not weather the point of *Brasil*: which when wee had done, while I the Generall gathered such of the Fleet as were neere, I sent in a Pinnace of my Lord of *Cumberland*, and foure or fiue of very sufficient Captaines and Masters, to see whether it were possible for vs to get vp where the Ships rode: and they brought me backe word, it was impossible. With which I being not satisfied plied in with mine owne Ships, keeping aboord with mee two or three of the principall Officers, that wee might iudge by the eye, and dispute vpon the place; and when wee were in, wee saw the bottome of the Bay (into which they were towed and warped) lay right in the eye of the wind: so as to lead it in with a sayle it was impossible, and to turne it vp would aske an whole day, if wee had scope, but both wee must vpon either boord come within a quoytes cast off their Forts, and yet our Ships would wend in so narrow a place, wee should haue beene on shoare. Which manifest discouerie; and not the idle Shot of all the Forts and Ships, though they were verie liberall, made mee stand off againe.

Three *Spanish* Ships taken.

And as it was impossible to doe any thing for the present, so when I the Generall called all the Captaines of her Maiesties Ships together, and enquired the estate of their charge, I found that some by the naughtinesse of their Caske and leakage of Beere, had not aboue two dayes, and some not one dayes drinke aboord; and that which most of vs all had did so stinke, as our men dyed and fell sicke continually, and all men protested, that if wee stayed to attend change of windes, and did not instantly seeke a watering place, both men and Ships were absolutely lost. Besides we saw the Galions had beene vnladen, by their shewing their white bellies so much aboue water, and that the Merchants Ships lay all dry on shoare; so as we had abidden the extreamest hazard of her Maiesties troupes and Ships, for the burning of a few dry vnladen Vessells.

Want of prouisions.

Thus were we driuen to beare the second time with Saint *Michael* (our chiefe end being to water, but withall to sacke the Iland if we could land neere the principall Towne) where wee came to an anchor before *Punta Delgada* the chiefe Towne; and forthwith went in a little nimble Boat to discouer the landing places, which we found to be exceeding dangerous. For as about all those Ilands of the *Acores* a Westerly wind bringeth in the hollow mother Sea, so the wind then being West Southerly blew trade, and made both a great Sea gate or wash vpon the shoare, and a dangerous rode. So as besides the apparant likelihood, that our men had been all lost by the ouerturning of our Boats vpon our heads: the losse of our Boates, which could not haue beene in that place auoided, had kept vs from watering, and so had beene the manifest destruction of the whole Fleet. Whereupon, I the Generall, leauing commandement of the great Ships with Sir *Walter Raleigh* (because the Lord *Thomas Howard* desired to land with mee) accompanied with his Lords Ship, and all the other principall Officers and persons of qualitie in the Army, I put my selfe in the smal Ships, and towed the boats at our Sterns to seeke another smal Bay on the other side of the Point to the Eastward, called *Punta de Galera* or *Galy Point*, where there was a Land Fange, and consequently a smoother landing.

Punta delgada in S. *Michael.*

Punta de la Galera.

But we putting off in this manner at eleuen of the clocke at night, I the Generall in a Pinnace of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, called the *Guiana*, wherein all the Officers of the Land Army did accompany me, & the Aduenturers of quality that came out of my Ship in another Pinnace with Captain *Arthur Champernon* came to an anchor in this Bay; but so dangerously as wee were put from our anchor, and had like to haue beene cast away: all the rest of the Fleet being put to leeward very farre. The next morning at the breake of the day, being driuen as low as *Villa Franca*, and there finding a good landing place, wee set our troups on shoare; where wee found (besides many other commodities with which we refreshed our troupes) a better watering place, and a safer rode then any other that was about that Iland. Which, together with the impossibilitie of getting our small Ships and Boats to ply backe againe fiue leagues against the wind, and to meet vs that should haue marched by land, and they seeing of many of the Queens principal ships driuen from their anchors about, and come to *Villa Franca*: These accidents, I say, made vs to resolue to draw all the Fleet to one place, and there to water with all possible diligence.

They land neer *Villa Franca.*

And wee being there saw it was so dangerous for our Ships to ride, the wind growing more Southerly, as on Sunday the fifteenth of October, wee re-imbarked all our men; the Masters of the Ships hauing before protested, that if they were put from their anchors, as hourely they looked to bee, that the Fleet and Land Forces were in danger to be seuered for this whole Winter: So as to haue hazarded her Maiesties honour, and so many gallant men, for that which was

October the fifteenth.

neuer

Their returne.

neuer any of our ends, had beene as vnwiſe as it was vnſafe; and if the counſell of retyring were good, the manner of it was without taxation: for wee imbarked firſt of all our idle perſons, ſecondly our aduenterours, and the old Companies one after another; and when wee had but three hundred and fiftie men on ſhore, the enemy marching in ſight of our Guards, we went out to meet him, and ſtood two houres readie to fight with the whole Forces of the Iland, till at laſt they retired out of ſight. Thus left wee that Iland, the principall Commanders by Land and Sea ſtaying to bring off the laſt man. In this meane time, while the Land Forces were at *Villa Franca*, and the Fleet at *Punta Delgada*, there came into that Road a Carake and a ſmall *Braſil* man. The Carack preſently ran her ſelfe on the Rocks; and after her men had ſaued themſelues, the laſt ſet her on fire with all the goods in her, to auoid her being taken. Which Sir *Walter Raleigh* and thoſe with him could not poſſibly auoid. The *Braſil* man was taken, and the Ship being found leakie, the goods were taken out and put into *Engliſh* Ships.

A Carack ran her ſelfe on the Rocks.

A Ship of *Braſil* taken.

And now wee haue giuen account of all our whole carriage vntill we bare for *England*. If our comming home ſcattering be obiected, wee muſt plead the violence of ſtormes, againſt which no fore directions, nor preſent induſtry can preuaile. Wee muſt conclude with this, That as wee would haue acknowledged that wee had done but our duties, if we had defeated the *Adelantado*, interpreted the Feet of Treaſure, and conquered the Ilands of the *Azores*: So wee hauing failed of nothing that God gaue vs meanes to doe; wee hoped her Maieſtie will thinke our painfull dayes, carefull nights, euill diet, and many hazards deſerue not now to be meaſured by the euent. the like honourable and iuſt conſtruction wee promiſe our ſelues at the hands of all my Lords. As for others, that haue ſet warme at home and deſcant vpon vs, wee know they lacked ſtrength to performe more, and beleeue they lacke courage to aduenture ſo much.

Signed

ESSEX.

Thomas Howard. *Ch:* Mountioy.*
Walter Raleigh. *Fran: Vere.*
Antony Sherley. *Chriſt: Blunt.*

* *Charles.*

§. II.

A larger Relation of the ſaid Iland Voyage, written by Sir ARTHVR GORGES *Knight, collected in the Queenes Ship called the* Waſt Spite, *wherein he was then Captaine; with Marine and Martiall Diſcourſes added according to the Occurrences.*

THeſe Iles of the *Aſores* * are ſituate in the *Atlantike* or Weſterne Ocean, and doe ſtand betweene 37. and 40. degrees, and diſtant from *England* 400. leagues. They are in number nine, namely Saint *Maries*, Saint *Michaels*, The *Tercera*, *Gratioſa*, S. *Georges*, *Pykes*, *Fayal*, *Flores*, and *Cuerno*.

* Of theſe Ilands ſee before *Linſchotens* obſeruations: to which I haue added this Authors deſcription, as containing ſomwhat therein omitted. This booke was written *A.* 1607. and dedicated to that great hope of Great *Britaine*, Prince *Henry*; the Epiſtle to him and the Preface I haue omitted in regard of our long volume. I haue not added a word of mine, but the Title and Marginall Notes; nor defalked any of the Authors (after my wont in others, not to make their writings mine, but mine, the tediouſneſſe in ſo often repetitions by often relators, and the ſuperfluities being ſuch as would deterre the Reader:) The Diſcourſes I haue vſually put in another letter, to diſtinguiſh them from the Hiſtory; the one the Eyes obſeruations, the other the Minds, and both worthy both thine eyes and minds beſt obſeruation. Hee added alſo Notes touching the Naute Royall, which are worthy the noting, but perhaps not to be permitted to euery vulgar and noteleſſe eye. Sometimes *veritas odium parit*; Paines may cauſe paines, and buſie labour may reap the reward of a buſie body. I am loth to buy repentance.

This name of *Aſores* was giuen vnto theſe Ilands by the *Portugues*, of a kind of Hawkes called by them *Aſores* (which wee name *Goſhawkes*, and the Latines *Accipitres*) whereof there did breed great ſtore in thoſe Iles: But *Ortellius* ſets downe this name to bee ſo giuen of the *French* word *Eſſorer*, which ſignifieth, *to dry or wither*, but yeeldeth no reaſon withall for that Etimology. The *Netherlanders* doe call them the *Flemiſh Ilands*, challenging that they were firſt diſcouered by the Merchans of *Bridges*; who found them meerely vn-inhabited, abounding with Woods and Cedar Trees, whether they ſent Colonies to people and manure them. And afterwards in proceſſe of time they yeelded themſelues Subiects to the *Portugues*, who ſince did inhabite and gouerne there, ſo as now with them they are fallen vnder the power of the *Spaniſh* vſurpation.

Amongſt theſe Ilands the *Tercera* is the chiefe, but is ſo called by the *Spaniards*, becauſe it lieth the third Iland diſtant from the Coaſt of *Spaine*. It is plentifull of Fruit and Corne, and hath ſome Vines growing in it. The Inhabitants doe make great benefit and trade of *Oade* to dye Cloth, which growes there in great plentie: The chiefe Towne in that Iland is called *Angra*, and hath thereunto a very ſtrong Fortreſſe, called *Brazill*, and vnder it a Roade for ſhipping to ride, but an Hauen or ſafe Port for all weathers, there is not one amongſt theſe nine Ilands.

The *Pike* is ſo called of a ſharpe Mountaine, riſing ſteeple-wiſe ſome three miles in height and ſix or ſeuen miles in circuit at the foot; faſhioned it is vpward like an Hiue, and the top thereof moſt commonly to be diſcerned within and aboue the clouds. This Mountaine hath in it (by

report)

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report) many great hollow Caues and deepe Vaults, and it is credibly reported, that oftentimes it breathes out flames and sparkes of fire, as doth the Mountaine *Etna*. Also at the bottome of this Mountain, towards the East, there is a great Spring of Fresh water, which is seen many times to issue out flakes and stones of fire with great violence, and of the number and bignesse of the stones that are throwne out by the force and source of this Spring, and what huge workes they make of the multitudes of them, they confidently doe tell strange wonders, which I will neither affirme nor deny, but leaue indifferent to credit as men list.

Fayall is so called of *Faya*, which in the *Portugues* signifieth a Beech Tree, wherewith that Iland is said to abound. But yet I saw there more store of Iuniper and Cedar, then of any other Wood or Timber. For Aire and Soyle, it is as pleasant and fruitfull, as any of the other Ilands, and mai- are some fiue Townes with many pretie Villages: and in this Iland there are yet remaining certaine families of the *Flemish* race. *Gratiosa* is so called of the exceeding fruitfulnesse of the Soyle and pleasant temper of the Ayre. *Flores*, of the abundance of Flowers that grow in it. *Curuo*, of the multitude of Rauens and Crowes breeding therein. And that Iland doth also breed Horses. Saint *Maries*, Saint *Georges*, and Saint *Michaels*, were so called of those Saints names, vpon whose dayes they were first discouered; for such is the custome of many Nauigators, and especially of the *Spaniards* and *Portingues*, so to call those Landes that they first make by the Saints day and name wherein they are discouered. And these three Ilands for temper and fruitfulnesse are sutteable with the others: But Saint *Michael* is the greatest of them all, *Tercera* the strongest, and Saint *Maries* the neerest to the Coast of *Spaine*.

Fayall.

Gratiosa.
Flores.
Curuo.
S. *Maries, &c.*

But now as wee come neerer to our intended purpose; for the better vnderstanding thereof, I thinke it very necessary and pertinent some what to speake of the chiefe Commanders, as well by Sea as by Land, and also of the number of our Ships and Souldiers, together with the proiect and designe of that iourney then vndertaken for the seruice of her late Maiestie, and the Honour of our Nation.

It is therefore to be vnderstood, that *Robert Deuereux*, late Earle of *Essex*, Master of the Horse and Ordnance, and Knight of the Garter: First commanded in chiefe, as well Admirall of the Naule by Sea, as Generall of the Armie by Land. His Vice-Admirall was the Lord *Thomas Howard* Knight of the same Order, and second Sonne to the last *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, a Noble man much honoured and beloued, and of great experience in Sea seruice. His Reare-Admirall was Sir *Walter Raleigh* Knight, Captaine of her Maiesties Guard, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and Lieftenant of *Cornwall*. For the Land seruice, his Leiftenant Generall was Sir *Charles Blunt*, Lord *Mountioy*, Knight of the Garter, Gouernour of *Portsmouth*, and a man in high fauour with her late Maiestie. His Marshall of the Field was Sir *Francis Vere* Knight, a great Souldier, and Coronell Generall of the *English* Forces in the *Low Countries*. The Master of the Ordnance, Sir *George Carew* Knight, Leiftenant of the Ordnance of the Kingdome of *England*. His Sergeant Maior, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* Knight, Gouernour of the Forts of *Plimouth*. The Coronell Generall of the Foot Sir *Christopher Blunt* Knight: The Treasurer of the Armie Sir *Hugh Beeston* Knight, one of her Maiesties Receiuers Generall in the Principalities of *Wales*; with all other Officers designed to places requisite that were needful by Land or Sea, now too long to rehearse. And yet of all the Noblemen I will as neere as I can record their names particularly; but craue pardon if I faile in the precedencie of their places.

Commanders names, and chiefe officers.

The Earles of *Essex*, *Rutland*, and *Southampton*, the Lord *Howard*, the Lord *Audley*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Mountioy*, the Lord *Rich*, and the Lord *Cromwell*. But the particular names of all the Land Captains that had charge I could neuer come to the knowledge of, much lesse can I marshall them orderly in this discourse. And therefore I will passe to the number of the Ships in generall, and therein name some particulars of the chiefe and principall Vessells of the Royall Naule, with their Captaines.

Noblemen imployed in this seruice.

The whole Naule (which was diuided into three Squadrons, *viz.* The Admirall his Squadron; The Vice-Admirall his Squadron, and the Reare-Admirall his Squadron) consisted of 120. sayle, or thereabout; whereof fiftie were good men of Warre and gallant Ships, the rest Victuallers, and Ships of Transportation. Of her Maiesties owne Ships the number was eighteene or nineteene, and these were their names. The *Merhonour* Admirall, whereof Sir *Robert Mansfield* was Captaine: The *Due Repulse* Vice-Admirall, whereof Master *Middleton* was Captaine: The *Wast Spite* Reare-Admirall, whereof my selfe was Captaine: The *Garland* the Earle of *Southampton* commanded: The *Defiance* wherein the Lord *Mountioy* was shipped, had for Captaine Sir *Amias Preston*: The Saint *Mathew* to Sir *George Carew*, Master of the Ordnance: The *Mary Rose* to Sir *Francis Vere* Marshall, whose Captaine was M. *Iohn Winter*: The *Dread-nought* Sir *William Brooke* was Captaine of: The *Nonparelle* Sir *Richard Lusson* was Captaine of: The *Bonauenture* Sir *William Harney* was Captaine of: The *Antelope* Sir *Thomas Vauisor* was Captain of: The *Rainbow* Sir *William Mounson* was Captaine of: The *Swiftsure* Sir *Gilly Merick* was Captain of: The *Golden Lion* was sent after for a supply. The *Hope*, whereof was Captain The *Foresight*, whereof Sir *Carew Reignall* was Captaine: The Saint *Andrew*, whereof Master *Marcellus Throckmorton* was Captain: The *Tramontana*, whereof young Master *Fenner* was Captain: The

The Naule consisting of three Squadrons and 120. saile.
The Queenes ships and their Captaines.

The *Moone*, whereof Sir *Edward Michelborne* was Captaine. Besides that there were some other of her Maiesties small Pinnaces that attended the Fleet.

The rest of the Fleete

The residue of the Fleet aforenamed consisted of the best shipping of *London*, and other Port-Townes of the Kingdome, with sundry stout Vessells belonging to some Lords and Gentlemen that were Aduenturers in this Voyage. There were also added to this Nauie tenne sayle of goodly men of Warre, sent from the States of the *Low-Countries* to attend her Maiesties Fleet in this seruice, vnder the conduct of one *Mounsier de Duueincerde*, well manned and furnished.

Ten *Hollanders*

Land-Armie

The Land Army (besides Saylers that might be afforded and spared vpon occasion of landing) consisted of six thousand able men well appointed, with ten Peeces of Artillery for the Field and Battery, with all necessary Vtensils fit for them. The proportion of victuals was for fiue moneths at large allowance, & double apparell both for Souldiers and Mariners. In this Armie there went Knights, Captaines, and Gentlemen, voluntaries fiue hundred at the least, as gallant personages, and as bravely furnished, as euer the eye of men did behold. The list of whose names I did seriously inquire after, thereby to doe them right, but could by no meanes compasse it.

Fiue hundred Voluntaries gallantly furnished.

The end and purpose of this great Preparation was, to the taking in vse of most of those Ilands and especially of the winning of the Tercera it selfe, the which was reputed to haue beene attempted by vs, while the other Ilands and Holds of importance, and in some of them to haue placed strong Garrisons, if it had pleased God to haue prospered the iourney with happie successe. But in the very beginning with long contrarie winds, and extremitie of foule weather, the maine plot and ground of this enterprise was hindred and maimed, as hereafter more at large shall be related in his due place. But this intended iourney for the surprising and holding of the Tercera alone, if it had taken effect (without any further respect to the other Ilands, then onely to haue sacked them and raced those Fortresses they haue) had beene a seruice of great consequence for vs, and as preiudiciall to the King of Spaine, as any action that was euer vndertaken against him, since the reuolt of the Low-Countries. The which to set downe in particular, would require more ample discourse, then either my leasure, or my memory can suddenly afford. But what great vse and benefit both the Portugues did, and the Spaniards doe make of these Ilands is in daily experience. And as for that here allegation, how difficult and inconuenient it would bee for vs to hold a peece so farre off: men of iudgement in their owne iudgements would easily answere. For as well it might be demanded, how the Forts are held in the East Indies by the poore Portugues against mightie Nations, and yet so farre remote from Christendome: And how Rhodes and Cyprus were heretofore long kept in despite of the Turke in his very beesome. And how the Spaniards of late haue kept certaine places in Britaine, and Amyens, and Calleis in Picardie, maugre the force of France, and neuer quited them but by composition: And God knowes how long Don Iohn D'Laguita would haue kept Kinsale and Beare Castle, if those had bin places halfe so terrible, as those of the Tercera: or but the fourth part so remote from vs, as the Tercera is from Spaine. Vndoubtedly their industry and patience is far beyond ours, both in getting and holding maisters of more difficultie. But vaine it is to set a price of the Beares skin before hee be slaine: although I am verily perswaded, that the contrary winds only left vs both that, and all the King of Spaine his treasure that came that yeere to the Tercera. For the iourney was carried with as great secrecie, expedition, and Royall preparation, as euer was any those many yeeres, and they on the contrary as slenderly prouided, and little doubting any such attempt. When all things were thus ordered, and wee furnished of our necessaries after some few daies abode in *Sandwich* for the meeting, mustering, and imbarking of our Land Army, about the fiue and twentieth of Iune, in the yeere 1597. we set saile from the *Downes*, and within three dayes with skant winds recouered *Portland* Rhode, where we ancored and staied some six or seuen dayes, taking in men and victualls at *Waymouth*, and thence we made for *Plimouth*, where wee were to take in our fresh water, much of our prouisions, and most of our Mariners; besides that this place was appointed the very randeuous for the knitting vp and dispatch of this Voyage: whether in a day and a nights sayle wee came, but with very extreme foule weather. Insomuch that euen in the entrance of the very Harbour, many of our Ships falling foule one of another were sorely distressed. The Lord *Mountioy* his Ship the *Defiance*, had her Beake head stricken cleane off; and the Saint *Mathew* (being a *Spanish* Ship of great charge, very leeward and drawing much water) had like in the tempest to haue runne her selfe vpon the Rocks, had not her Captaine Sir *George Carew* Master of the Ordnance, beene very resolute and carefull in that extremitie, when a great part of his Souldiers and Saylers would haue abandoned her, and betaken themselues to their Ship-boats, to shun the iminent perill that threatned them: which he staied to the preseruation of the Ship and the company. Moreouer a Flee-boat of our Traine, who had in her fortie Last of Powder was likewise bulged, and all the store had beene vtterly lost, had not the Master of the Ordnance with like care and diligence bestirred himselfe to saue all that hee might, who with the aid of many Ship-boats, as the Flee-boat was sinking, saued the greatest part of her lading. Yet notwithstanding seuenteen Lasts of Powder was vtterly spoiled with the Salt-water, as I heard the Master of the Ordnance himselfe affirme.

Intent for Tercera.

Portland.

Plimouth.

Thus with great difficultie wee arriued at *Plimouth*, where within six or seuen daies our whole Army and Nauie met, and withall the shipping of the *Low-Countries* came to vs. And soone after hauing watered and taken in all our prouisions and Marines, and mustered our men, we imbarked our

our Army, and set sayle about the ninth of Iuly, and for two dayes space were accompanied with a faire leading North-easterly wind. In which time we receiued a ship-board all our directions throughout the Nauie, with such orders and instructions as are vsually set downe by an Admirall, and a Counsell of Warre, together with the places of meeting from time to time vpon any occasions of separations by stormes, by fight, by giuing chase, or any other accidents. *This order of deliuering directions when a Fleet is a Sea-board, and not before, is an vse grounded vpon many good reasons: as to auoid the reuealing of secret plots, and the preuention of sudden execution. As also to shun the discouraging of diuers that doe often expose themselues and their aduentures to Sea actions, either for loue to the Commanders, or out of hope of Purchase, or, for many other respects, which perhaps they would not doe if they knew indeed either the danger, or the true ends of some preparations. And this secret manner of proceeding hath bin often vsed by* Philip *the late king of* Spain, *in diuers great expeditions, who hath beene so precise and seuere therein, as that oftentimes the Admiralls of his Fleet themselues haue not knowne their instructions, nor beene suffered to open them, vntill they haue beene thirtie or fortie leagues on their way.* Wee now being in this faire course, some sixtie leagues onwards our iourney with our whole Fleet together, there suddenly arose a fierce and tempestuous storme full in our teeths, continuing for foure dayes with so great violence, as that now euery one was inforced rather to looke to his owne safetie, and with a low saile to serue the Seas, then to beat it vp against the stormy winds to keepe together, or to follow the directions for the places of meeting. And here some began to taste the inconuenience and perill of high Cargued Ships drawing little water, and ouercharged with mightie Ordnance in a furious high wrought Sea: And now also others found and felt the mischiefe of weake built Vessells, and of rotten Tackle. For this extreamitie of weather was so great, as that wee were all one after another forced backe againe, some into *Plimouth*, and diuers into other Harbours on that Coast, so extreamely shaken and beaten, as that the Admirall was in danger to haue foundred in the Sea, hauing many leaks broken out vpon him, and his mid-ship beame shiuered in sunder. And yet (as wee vnderstood after) some three or foure of the formost of our Fleet (whereof the Earle of *Southampton* in the *Garland* was said to be one) did recouer sight of the North-Cape, but yet forced to returne againe to *Plimouth*. And many of our Gentlemen and Knights, with this boysterous and bitter entertainment on the Seas, returned extreame weake and lay dangerously sicke long after: Insomuch that some of them dyed thereof at *Plimouth*, and were there honourably buried by the Generall. Some also were so much weakened and distempered, as that they were not able to recouer strength to put to the Seas againe, as Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* our Sergeant Maior, in whose place our Generall did appoint Sir *Anthony Sherly*; and Sir *Carew Reignalls* Captaine of the *Foresight*, so seuerely weakned with Seas sickneſſe, as that his charge was deliuered ouer to Sir *Alexander Ratcliffe*, a very forward and gallant young Gentleman, who (not long after) was slaine in the Warres of *Ireland*, with Sir *Conniers Clifford* Gouernour of *Connaugh*. And amongst others in the beginning of this bitter storme, our Treasurer Sir *Hugh Biston* was also so extreamely afflicted with Sea sickneſſe, and in so great hazard of life, as that out of the *Waſt ſpite* (wherein he was shipped) he was imbarked into a Caruell of our traine to returne for *England*, seeing his weake body vnable to vndergoe the resolution of his mind. And I thinke this losing of our Treasurer in the beginning, was an ominous presage of the losse of the infinite Treasures, which afterward so vnluckily past by and escaped vs.

Set saile.

Instructions for the voyage and instructions touching instructions.

Storme.

Perill of high cargued & of weake ships.

Returne to *Plimouth*.

Great sickneſſe

Sir *A. Sherly* placed in roome of Sir *F. Gorges*.

Sir *Alexander Ratcliffe*.

The Treasurer his ominous departure.

Wee being thus with contrary winds, and extreamitie of weather beaten backe into seuerall Hauens, and yet at last meeting at *Plimouth* (except some few Ships of transportation, that were driuen vpon the Coasts of *France*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*, with some of our Bands of Souldiers) we fell to repairing of our Ships, and to amend those inperfections which the Seas and stormes had discouered. But withall were inforced to abate a great part of the first proportion of our Armie, as well through the defects of the Admirall his Ships, and others, as also for the waste and expence which wee had made of our drinke and victuals by the leaking of the Caske, and by the abundance of Salt-water, which was taken in during the storme, to the wetting and spoyling of many of our prouisions. Besides that, much of our beare aboard those Victuallers that followed our Fleet with diuers other prouisions, was very vile and vnsauoury of it selfe, by the great abuse of the Victuallers and *London* Brewers, as well for the careleſſe brewing, as for the vnseasonable stinking Caske which they deliuer, a fault much vsed among them, and too much tolerated, considering the infinite rate and gaines they make of selling *Thames* water, beyond all good order and proportion. But as God would, at that instant when wee had discharged our Ships of that vnseruiceable poisonous drinke, there came very happily into *Plimouth* for a supply, a tall prize laden with *Spaniſh Canary* Wines, which was distributed amongst the Fleet to make Beuerage. And in this sort vsing all industry and diligence for the setting aflote of our storme-beaten Nauie, wee so fitted our selues againe within eight or ten dayes, as that wee were readie for a new fortune. But yet this violent and dangerous tempest had so cooled and battered the courages of a great many of our young Gentlemen (who seeing that the boysterous winds and merciſſe Seas, had neither affinitie with *London* delicacie, nor Court brauery) as that discharging their high Plumes, and imbroydered Cassocks, they secretly retired themselues home, forgetting either to bid their friends farewell, or to take leaue of their Generall. *And here by the way, a little to digreſſe.*

Brewers faults

A Prize.

Stormy Winds and Seas agree not with delicacy & brauery

I thinke

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Aduice for Gallants.

I thinke it not amisse iustly to reprehend and taxe our Nation, for their vnproper and vaine manner of going to the Warres, and especially those that had neuer seene seruice. For bee hee poore or rich when hee first prepares to goe to serue, hee will take more care, and be at more cost to prouide himselfe of a roysting Feather, and a clynckant Coat, then to bee furnished either of fit Armes, or of necessary clothing to keepe out wet and cold: whereby they come both to the Sea and Field seruice, rather like Maskers then Souldiers, as men apter to bring spoyles for the Enemy, then to conquer or win honour from him. And yet at the last, the wanting of their needfull habiliments in times of extreamitie, doth make them truly to finde their owne errour and superfluous vanitie in those idle and fruitlesse toyes: whereof I could wish a reformation, as well for the bettering of our seruice, as also for abating such needlesse expences. Such were the garish troupes and gilded Armies of Darius, *abounding in pompe and delicacy: whose millions of effeminate* Persians *were euer dispersed and defeated by handfulls of the poore and hardie* Macedonians. *So were the steele edged Souldiers of that renowned* Hannibal, *metamorphosed into Cowardise and Sloth, after they had once relished the pride and delicacies of* Capua, *for their conquests euer after declined. So was also that famous* M. Anthonius *ouerthrowne and vanquished, when he left the strict Martiall discipline of his owne victorious Country, and fashioned his Forces according to the brauery and luxury of* Egypt, *to obserue the humour of* Cleopatra, *who had vtterly corrupted and weakned the courage both of him and his legions, with vanities, excesse and idlenesse. And such in our dayes were the glorious glistring* French *troupes led by the Duke of* Ioyeuse, *being for the most part compounded of the gallant Courtiers and dancing Minions of* Henry *the Third* French *King of that name, but beaten and ouerthrowne at the Battell of* Couttras, *by the valiant King of* Navarr, *and an handfull of his poore* Hugonotes *(as they then termed them.) Farre otherwise was the vsage and manner of those worthy* Romans, *that by their wisdome and valour made themselues famous, and Lords ouer the World, whose glorious examples wee doe more willingly read then follow. They going a warfare departed* Rome *in obedience and strictnesse of Martiall discipline, in sobrietie of diet and attire, fitted with Armes, like men that knew that Iron and Steele were maistring mettalls ouer Gold and Siluer, and hauing atchieued and performed their enterprises, returned then home in triumph, in glory, and in pride, shining in the spoyles and riches of their vanquished Enemies, and adorned with as much sumptuousnesse as they could get, brauing therein their conquered Foes, and setting to the shew of the world the fruits of their Valour and Trauailes. Whereas wee for the most part contrariwise going out brauely, and returning home againe beggarly, leaue no other testimony nor records of our Enterprises and Victories, either to the liuing or to posteritie, then the Merchants bookes wherein we are deep plunged, euen to the morgage or sale of our Inheritance, to conuert the true honor of Souldery into effeminate pompe and delicacy.* But now to the matter: We hauing in this Fort repaired and supplied the defects of our weather beaten Nauie, onely attended the fauour of the winds; wherein it seemed the heauens were vtter enemies to our designes. For during the space of an whole moneth together (after wee were againe readie) the weather stood flat opposite to our course, insomuch that wee were not able to worke our selues out of the Harbour. And in this consumption of Time we lost the best season of the yeere for our purpose, and also greatly decayed our victualls and prouisions; besides the number of our Souldiers and Mariners that daily diminished. And about this time the Lord *Rich* finding himselfe (as many others did) altogether vnable to indure the inconueniences of the Seas in a long and toilesome voyage, tooke his leaue of our Generall, and gaue ouer the iourney. In this extreamitie of contrary windes and crosse fortunes (against which the policie and power of man could not preuaile) our Generall, with the aduice of his counsell resolued vpon some other course, and to fashion his enterprises according to opportunitie, and the proportion of the meanes that remained. And thereupon casting the greatest part of his Land Armie, hee onely retained one thousand of the best Souldiers (as was thought) most of them being Companies brought out of the *Low-Countries*: And also at that time hee discharged diuers of the smaller Ships, and many of the Victuallers, taking out of them such prouisions and store as remained to supply that which was spent, and to lengthen out the time for those lesser numbers that were to be imployed. And whilest these things were thus altering and ordering, and committed to the care and charge of discreet Officers: Our Admirall himselfe, with his Reare-Admirall resolued to ride post to the Court, to receiue further directions or approbation in that he intended for her Maiestie, and the Lords of the Councell. Leauing the charge both of the Nauie and Souldiers in his absence, with the Lord *Thomas Howard* his Vice-Admirall, and the Lord *Mountioy* his Leiftenant Generall by Land whom hee authorised, together with the Counsell of Warre, to marshall those affaires as occasion required. *Here by it may be easily coniectured what it is for men to vndertake Sea-actions, that haue not great meanes to follow the same, with prouisions and allowance of superfluitie to meet with lets and misaduentures, and not to depend on the bare ordinary prouisions of a set proportion. For by this great crosse of ours, wee may well take knowledge how vncertaine and difficult it is to set out and prepare a Sea Army, except it bee on the purse and defraies of a Prince, able and willing to supply the expences and hinderances of such waste and accidents, as doe many times happen by want of windes when all things else are in readinesse, wherein oftentimes the ouerslipping, and not taking of six houres aduantage of winde when it hath serued, hath ouerthrowne a Voyage. And it hath to my knowledge so fallen out, that some Ships that haue taken a present gale of a day, by the benefit thereof haue performed their Voyage, and returning againe into the Harbour, finding others of their*

Note.

Still crossed.

Lord *Rich* departeth.

Land Army cashed.

Sea-actions require a Princes purse.

Small time great losse.

their consorts bound for the same place, and ready at the same time, still sticking fast at ancor; by leesing the same opportunitie.

In this absence of our Generall at the Court, there fell out such extreame stormy weather, as that it greatly troubled and puzled our Ships, both in *Plimouth* Road, and in the Cat Water, insomuch that many of their ancors came home, and a Ship of the Reare-Admiralls, of three hundred Tunnes, called the *Roe-buck*, draue a ground and bulged her selfe, and so became vnserviceable for that iourney; although much paines and care was taken of all hands, and specially by our Vice-Admirall himselfe in his owne person; to haue preserued her. During all this time of our abode in *Plimouth*, (which was some six or seuen weekes) we neither found eyther want or dearth of any manner of victualls, either in the Towne, where our Mariners were daily resident, or in the Country, where the Land Army was quartered; not yet that extreame manner of inhansing the prices of all things vsed in *London*, and in other places of the Realme, vpon the extraordinary assembling of any such great troupes. And withall it is strange to see, how happily that poore corner of *England*, doth often receiue and sustaine so many Armies and Fleets, as doe there many times meet, without any of those inconueniences or alterations, that vpon the like occasion are found, in many other more rich and fruitfull parts of the Kingdome.

Harmes by stormes.

Good order for prouisions at *Plimouth*.

Our Generall (as is aforesaid) hauing spent now sixe or seuen dayes in that iourney to the Court, returned with a resolution to continue the voyage to the Seas, and there (as intelligence fell out) to follow the best courses in spending the rest of the Summer, and the remainder of his victualls; all sorts being very sorry, that so great preparations should haue vtterly quailed without effecting, or attempting something of worth. Wee therefore now propoled to our selues, that by tarrying out till the last of October, (for the which time we were victualled after the Land Army was discharged) wee might range the Coast of *Spaine*, and so doe seruice in some of the Kings shipping, or else lying in the height betweene the *Rocke* and the South Cape, wee might intercept some *Indian* Fleet or Carrackes, either outwards or homewards bound; or at the least wee might meete and fight with the *Adelantado*, who was then saide to bee preparing of a Fleet, and ready to put to the Seas. Besides there was a brute giuen out, that our Generall meant to attempt the *Groyne* or *Ferrall*, and there to distresse some of the Kings shipping that lay in the Harbour. *But whatsoeuer pretences and speeches were giuen out for that matter; both our Generall, and the wisest of his Counsell of Warre, did well enough knowe, that the* Groyne *or* Ferrall *were then no morsells fit for our mouthes, our Forces being so abated, and those places so well warned and prouided for, by our long delayes and impediments, besides there was no likelihood, that wee would euer ingage so many of her Maiesties best Ships, within the circuit and mercy of those Harboure, vpon so great disaduantage and hazard, as they must haue aduentured in doing any good on any of them, as they were then furnished. But wee daily see that it is the manner and fashion of great Estates and Commanders in the Warre, to giue out and pretend many things, that indeed they intend not, as well to make their names the more famous and terrible, as also many times to amaze the world with false Alarums, thereby either to hold their true purposes the more secret, or at least to giue them the better speed and passage, by diuerting the Enemyes. A custome neither new nor vsuall: and therefore not repeated as any extraordinary obseruation.*

Pretences.

In this sorte all things being ordered and repaired, and our Generall returned with full Commission and resolution to proceed: his Lordship in stead of the *Merehonour* (which was so weakened and disabled, as that shee could not goe forth againe this iourney) shipped himselfe in the *Dewrepulse*, which was Vice-Admirall, and our Vice-Admirall tooke vnto himselfe the *Lyon*, in liew of the other. And on Wednesday, being the seuenteenth of August, 1597. a little before sunne setting, wee wayed our Ancors, and set sayle, but with much labour got out of *Plimouth* Road, being forced to vse our Tow-boates, to set vs cleere of the Harbour, the winde being somewhat slacke and scant. Notwithstanding, afterwards a sea-boord, wee finding the weather more fauourable, held our course for the North Cape, and the three and twentieth of August, wee fell athwart the Bay of *Alchasher*, and at last bare full in with it. The which course, the Master of our Ship (called *Broadebent*) much disliked, thinking it very inconuenient and perillous for so great a Fleet, so wilfully to be imbayed vpon an Enemies Coast, but yet followed the Generalls course.

Bay of *Alchasher*.

The foure and twentieth of the same moneth, being *Bartholmew* day, wee met a foule storme in that Bay, most extreamly violent for the time, but lasted not aboue fiue or sixe houres. In which storme the S. *Matthew*, whereof Sir *George Carew*, Master of the Ordnance, was Captaine two houres before day falling into an head Sea, hauing her Spright-sayle out, brake ouer-boord her Bolt-spright, and Fore-mast close to the Partners, which for the Ships safetie was cut from her side; In the Fore-top foure Mariners were drowned, keeping their watch there, and the fall of the Masts broke two Ancors, and carried the third into the Sea, vpon which disaster (according to the manner of the Sea) some Ordnance was discharged, and many Lanternes hanged vpon the shrowdes, to giue notice of her distresse in the night. But after day light, the *Garland* (whereof the Earle of *Southampton* was Captaine) drew neere to her succour, who beholding

S. *Matthew* distressed.

with griefe, the miserable estate that this Ship was in, and likely to bee worse, for that her Mayne Mast, with the Ships rowling had loosened it selfe in the Partners, and in danger to breake in the step (which if it had done, it would presently haue sunke her.) The Earle, though hee was not able to take all the men out of her, into his owne Ship, being in number aboue seuen hundred persons, yet hee was desirous and carefull to preserue as many as hee might. And to that end sent his Pinnace to Sir *George Carew*, praying him, and as many as hee would select of his Company to come vnto him: which noble offer of his Lordship, the Master of the Ordnance (as hee had reason) thankfully receiued: but hauing a more tender care of the losse of his Honour, then of the hazard of his life, would not forsake the Ship, but made election rather, to run the fortune of the rest of his company, then to prouide for the particular safetie of himselfe, and some other Captaines, and Gentleman of good qualitie, whereof hee had store. This answere, being returned, the Earle was yet vnsatisfied, and being desirous to saue as many as his Ship could well receiue, and especially those of the better sort, sent his Pinnace to the Saint *Matthew* againe, perswading them not wilfully to lose themselues. But the Captaine perseuered in his former resolution: and when some gallant men of his company would gladly haue taken the Earles offer, and haue left their consorts to their fortune, Sir *George Carew* would in no wise suffer a man to depart, because it should bee no discomfort to the rest, but openly protested, that both hee, they, and the Ship, would altogether runne on fortune. Whereupon the Earle, seeing that his staying longer with the Saint *Matthew*, could in no sort giue her men reliefe, and fearing by staying too long, to be farre ingaged in the Bay of *Alchasber*, and to loose his Admirall, followed the Fleet.

Sir *George Carews* resolution.

These brane resolutions haue beene also vsed heretofore oftentimes, by such as haue commanded in the Royall Ships, and sometimes by the Admiralls themselues. And it is well knowne to many Sea-men liuing at this day, that Edward, *Earle of* Lincolne, *High Admirall of* England, *a valiant man, and worthy Gentleman, in the time of Queene* Elizabeth, *being in seruice on the Narrow Seas, with her Royall Navie, chanced in a tempest to fall with his Ship athwart a sand, whereby shee was in great danger to bee bulged and lost; whereupon the Captaine and Master of the Ship, perswaded him in that extreamitie and danger, to take the benefit of his Pinnace, and saue himselfe aboard the next of the Fleet. But the Earle, according to his honourable mind, openly vowed and protested, that no danger should cause him to leaue his company in distresse, that for his loue had followed him to the Seas: Besides, said hee, I honour the Queene my Mistresse so much, to bring her word that I haue saued my selfe, and lost her Ship: and therefore let vs do our best to saue altogether; for at this banquet wee will all drinke of one cup. Wherein, as hee gaue himselfe great glory and reputation, so it seemed, that fortune fauoured his vertue and courage; for in the end, with diligence and labour beyond all hope, the Ship came safe off. These extreamities and hazards on the Sea, bring to my minde an accident worthy the relating, and a piece of seruice not vnprofitable for Sea-men in like cases to bee obserued; and this it is. In the Queenes raigne, about the time that the Pope and the King of* Spaine, *sent forces into* Ireland *to ayd the Earle of* Desmond, *who then rebelled in* Munster, *there was sent to the Seas a Fleet of her Maiesties Ships, whereof Sir* Iohn Parrot *was Admirall, in the* Reuenge, *and Sir* William Gorges, *my Father, in the* Dread-naught *Vice-Admirall; who when they had performed their seruice on the Coast of* Ireland, *and other places, in their returne homewards, the Vice-Admirall chanced to take an* English *Pirate, whose name was* Deriuall, *a very valiant and skilfull Mariner. This* Deriuall, *the Admirall tooke aboord his owne Ship, and kept him prisoner in the* Bilbowes. *But so it fortuned, that a great storme arising in the Narrow Seas, the Fleet was scattered, and Sir* Iohn Parrats *Shippe runne vpon a Sand, where, a good time shee did dangerously beate, hauing stricken all his Sayles, and with euery Billow was like to bee bulged. And in this desperate extremitie they saw no other way left, but how they might with Boates, and Rafts saue the men, and forsake the Shippe; some being of one opinion, and some of another, as hope or despaire led them. This* Deriuall *being then prisoner in the* Bilbowes, *sent word to the Admirall, that hee knew well the lying of that Land, and would direct them a way how to saue the Ship and all the company, if hee would promise him on his Faith, and Honour, to get his Pardon when hee came home in recompence thereof. The Admirall willingly accepted the proffer, and ingaged his Faith for the performance of his demand, and taking him out of the* Bilbowes, *bad him bestir himselfe. Whereunto* Deriuall *answered, In hope you will saue my life, according to your Word and Faith giuen, I will (by Gods helpe) saue all yours: but if I thought otherwise, I had rather here drowne with so good company, then bee hanged at home alone. The Admirall bidde him not doubt it, but follow his businesse. Whereupon* Deriuall *presently commanded the Master and Mariners, to hoyse vp all their Sayles they could make, to the very Batt-end, which was cleane contrary to that they had done before, (for fearing the mighty winds, they had stroke all their sayles, and so lay thumping on the Sands) but now the strong gale hauing filled all their sayles, still as the billow rose, it drane the Ship forwards, and so in foure or fiue shoues, being driuen with the violence of the windes and the waues, with his stirrages he cut cleane through and athwart the Sand, and floated into the Sea. This was a desperate remedie for a desperate danger; for if hee had not vsed the benefit of her sayles, and carried her*

Ed. E. of Lincolne High Admirall.

Audaces fortuna iuuat.

Sir *Iohn Parrot.* Sir *W. Gorges.*

Deriuall a Pirat, better Mariner then man.

Dire nodo dira remedia.

her athwart (the Ship being a strong built vessell) shee would still haue layen tumbling on the Sand, and at last broken her selfe. Notwithstanding this good seruice done by Deriuall, *when hee came home, his reward was an halter, his offence being remembred, and his desert forgotten: and yet the Admirall did his best to saue him according to his promise. But surely (in my poore opinion) in such cases a State should doe well, for examples sake, and for incouragement of others, to take notice of such extraordinary seruices, and to remember that vertue deserues no lesse to bee cherished, then vice to be chastised, and that to whom a State committeth the trust or confidence of a Generalls or Admiralls place, it should also allow him the honor, to make good his word for any thing, that concernes the aduancement of the seruice, wherewith hee is put in trust.*

Deriuall hanged against promise.

Aduice.

But I will returne againe to Sir *George Carew*, whom we left tottering in his wrekt Ship, and in a great storme, for I haue occasion here to stand somewhat vpon the Relation of his hard aduentures after his disaster, because I haue heard it by many that were with him in the Ship, often, and at large discoursed of; and himselfe being a principall Officer in the Action, shipt in a vessell of great charge, it cannot bee reputed as a digression, or impertinent from the matter, for small is the reward of those that so resolutely engage, and expose their liues for the seruice of their Prince and Countrey, if they should not bee allowed the comfort of honourable memory. After the departure of the Earle of *Southampton* from the S. *Mathew*, as aforesaid, many Counsells in this distressed Ship were held for the cutting of her Mayne Mast ouer-board, which with rowling was growne at last to be so loose, as that it was continually feared that it would breake in the Stop, and when the Carpenters were ready to begin that worke, the storme ceased, and the Seas began to calme, wherein finding comfort, they made of a spare top Mast a Iury Fore-mast, and the Pinnace sayle serued for a Fore-sayle. In this pittifull estate the Ship still running before the winde, which shee could not otherwise doe by reason of her small Fore-sayle, within foure dayes after by the goodnesse of God, came safely to an anchor at the Ile of Saint *Martreines* in *France*, where Sir *George Carew* made all the meanes hee might to get a new Mast, whereby hee might follow the Fleet. But vpon all that Coast hee could not prouide himselfe of any to fit so great a Gallyon. And therefore of necessitie hauing setled his Mayne-mast, he returned for *England*, and within few dayes arriued in the Hauen of *Portsmouth*.

Story of the S. *Mathew*.

S. *Mathew* brought home

Hee thus hauing brought the Saint *Mathew* (beyond all hope) safe within a good Harbour, not any thing disamayd with past perills, presently dispatched Captain *Francis Slingsby* in post to the Court, to aduertise the Lords of her Maiesties Councell, of the misfortunes which had befalne him, and therewithall humbly desired that he might be permitted to take her Maiesties ship called the *Aduenture*, which was then in that Harbour, and in her to follow the Fleet, which being granted he shipped himselfe in her, and according to the instructions (which were deliuered to euery Captaine of the Fleet) hee sought for the Admirall at the *Greyne*, which was the first *Randeuous* set downe in the instructions aforesaid, from thence hee made to the *Rocke*, and not finding the Fleet at either of these places, he sailed to the Cape Saint *Foucent*, where it was resolued by the Lord Admirall and Councell of the Warre to stand off and on, and to attend the coming home of the West *Indies* Fleet. There hee had intelligence by a small man of Warre of *Plimouth*, that the Generall with the whole Fleet was at the Ilands of the *Asores*, whereunto he directeth his course. And when hee was (as hee esteemed) within one hundred leagues of the *Tercera*, he had intelligence by another small man of Warre, in the which a man of Sir *William Brookes* was Captaine, that followed the Fleet for purchase, that the Lord Generall in his opinion was at that time vpon the Coast of *England*, for hee had left the Ilands fourteene daies before the *Aduenture*, and he did meet; vpon which intelligence he changed his course for *England*. And not farre from *Vshent* in the night, hee fell into the middest of a great *Spanish* Fleet, which had bin with the *Adelantado* vpon the Coast of *England*, & then homeward bound, but the night being stormy, he escaped that perill, and yet not without great danger. For one of the *Spanish* Gallions which was supposed to bee the Admirall (for shee carried a mightie Lanthorne in her Poope) passed so neere to the *Aduenture*, that their Mayne-yards in the end were foule one of the other, so as they hardly auoyded their stemming of their Ships, which in all likelihood must haue sunke one, or both. With this storme the *Aduenture* was forced into *Ireland*, into *Corke* Hauen in *Munster*, where hee repaired his Ship of certaine leakes shee had, and also mended her Mayne Mast, which was strangely shiuered with a whirlewind. And then putting to Sea againe for *England*, a little before day, in a storme the Ship was driuen vpon the lee shoare within *Beachy* in *Sussex*; and not being able to double that head-land, in the endeauouring whereof all the Sayles, being by violence of weather rent from the yards, to auoid running vpon the Rockes, they came to an anchor, euery Billow ouerwashing the Ships head, that neither by pumping, nor lading out of the water, they were able to free her: and the men in her so tired with labour, as no hope of safetie was left. The last remedy was to cut all the Masts and Tackle ouer-boord, which lightened the Ship, and by that meanes shee was preserued. After thirtie houres of this extreame perill, the storme ceased, and so by Gods fauour with a Iury Mast, which was made of the Boat Mast, and the Boat Sayle, hauing no Mast nor anchor left but one, he arriued,

C. *Fr. Slingsby*.

Sir *George Carews* aduentures in the *Aduenture*.

Spanish Fleet.

Corke Hauen.

Danger by storme.

ued vpon *Allhallonday* in the *Downes*, beyond all expectation of the Maſters and Mariners, who made no other reckoning then to be loſt.

S. *Andrew.* And theſe were the accidents that ſeparated Sir *George Carew* from the Fleet, in the huge ſtormes on *Bartholmew* day, in the Bay of *Alchaſher*, as aforeſaid. In which ſtorme the Saint *Andrew* at that time ſpent her mayne top Maſt, and loſt vs for three or foure dayes, but all the reſt of the Fleet, (except our Ships, which carried the *Low-Country* Souldiers) kept together in the Bay. And ſo many as came to vs after at the *Rocke*, were beaten alſo from the Admirall in that Bay, and ſo were many other Ships, which found vs after at the *Rocke*, to the number of thirty and odde ſayle. Whereupon a rumour was afterward raiſed, that the Reare-Admirall was gone away with thirty ſayle from the Fleet, to the ouerthrow of the intended ſeruice. Our Admirall ſtill bare in with the Land, & the moſt part of the Fleet followed the ſame courſe. The next day we made the high Land of *Portugall*, and within ſome three houres after, Cape *Prior*, where our Admirall with diuers other of the Fleet, did beare in ſo cloſe aboord the ſhore, as that all the Country ouer began to kindle fires: *The which manner of diſcouering our ſelues (as I do remember) was much noted by diuers good Souldiers, as well by Sea, as Land: for indeed it was reputed no great policie, nor diſcretion in vs, to run in ſo cloſe aboard the ſhoare, if we had any ſecret or ſudden exploit to performe on that Coaſt, as it was pretended. For that Brauado of ours, did but giue them more warning to prouide for themſelues, and to preuent vs. And I haue obſerued that thoſe brauing humours, haue of late yeeres been the hindrance, and loſſe of many good fortunes, as well in Sir* Francis Drake *his two laſt Voyages to the* Indies, *and Sir* Iohn Norris *in his to* Lisbon, *by ſtaying at the* Groyne, *as alſo in others, &c.*

Courſe of the Fleet.

Brauados often vnſeaſonable.

Towards the euening, we put roome againe from the Coaſt, and beat vp and downe in the Bay to free vs from thence, expecting a wind wherewith to double the North Cape, which, within two or three dayes wee had, and ſo paſſed along within ten leagues of the Coaſt by *Ferrall*, the *Groyne*, and Cape *Bealim*, and ſo we cathered the North Cape. And as the Fleet together was paſſing along towards the South, almoſt as farre as the Iles of *Bayon*, our Ship (the *Waſtſpite*) being then a middeſt them all, on the ſeuen and twentieth of Auguſt, broke her mayne Yard in ſunder in the very middeſt by the Parrell. Whereupon we preſently diſcharged a Peece of Ordnance, and made our misfortune knowne to our Admirall, who himſelfe ſpake with vs, and alſo at that time had a great leake broken out vpon his owne Ship. And there by his order and permiſſion we were willed to repaire our mayne Yard the beſt wee could, and vntill it were finiſhed in that birth to goe on with our Fore-ſayle towardes the Rocke before the winde, whiles hee with the Fleet would [illegible] in towardes the Coaſt, and ſo, wee there to ply vp and downe about the height of the Rocke; vntill his Lordſhip came vnto vs, or during the dayes limited in the generall inſtructions, and thence to paſſe onwards to the South Cape, and there to remaine according to the ſaid directions. And yet wee did not for two dayes after depart, though to our great diſeaſe; for wee wallowed in the trough of the Sea, and rowled ſo extreamely, as that wee had like to haue loſt our mayne Maſt alſo. After this order giuen, wee preſently tooke aduice the beſt wee could, and ſet our hands together for the repayring and finiſhing of our mayne Yard, being broken in the Parrell, a very euill place to amend: wherein that night wee could doe little good, more then to free the Sayles and Tackle from it. Notwithſtanding the very next morning the Admirall ſent a commandement to vs, that wee ſhould preſently attend him with all ſpeed, for that hee meant to put in with the Land: The which wee were altogether vnable to performe, our mayne Yard being in ſunder, and impoſſible it was ſo ſuddenly in one night to repayre it, and without it, wee were not able to worke vpon a wind, (as all Mariners know) hauing but our Fore-ſayle and Mizen, and the winde almoſt of the Land, ſo as it had beene but an idle labour, for the more we ſtriued, the faſter wee fell off. Beſides, if wee could haue layd the Land with that ſayle, it had beene a madneſſe to put our ſelues vpon the Enemies Coaſt in that eſtate, for if the wind had then changed to the Weſt, we wanting all our mayne Sayles, muſt haue yeelded or periſhed. So as in regard of this neceſſitie, we did for two daies, as aforeſaid ply vp and down, vntill wee had repaired our Yard, and fitted our ſayles vnto it, being now fiue foot ſhorter then it was before.

Waſtſpite diſtreſſed.

S. *W. Brooke.* Whileſt wee were thus diſtreſſed on our Enemies Coaſt, Sir *William Brooke*, Captaine of the *Dread-nought* came vnto vs and tarried with vs, out of his owne charitie and friendly diſpoſition, for there were no directions (that wee heard of) giuen to any to accompany vs in that diſtreſſe. Onely the Vice-Admirall (of his owne noble care) very kindly and honourably hayled vs, and offered what comfort and helpe hee could giue vs; ſome others afterwards did the like. But we hauing yeelded due thankes to the Vice-Admirall for ſuch his noble care and curteſie deſired no more company, but wiſhed all others of our Squadron to repaire vnto the Admirall, contenting our ſelues with Sir *William Brooke* in the *Dread-naught*, and two or three other ſmall men of our owne Squadron, which of their owne accord followed vs. Neither did we in all this time intreat the company of any one Ship more to ſtay with vs, albeit the contrary was very falſly ſuggeſted and reported in a ſtrange manner of phraſe, which was, that the Reare-Admirall vpon the breaking of his Mayne-yard, willed all his Squadron and thoſe that loued him to keepe him company,

Vice-Admirals care.

Rumors.

company, and not to follow the Admirall. But as this was a monstrous vntruth, raised out of malice to the Reare-Admirall, thereby to incegle the Admirall against him; so the authors were afterwards ashamed of their impudent slander, when the truth was made manifest at our meeting againe with the Admirall and the Fleet at the Ilands of *Asores*.

As soone as wee had mended our Maine-yard, wee bare in with the Coast, making all the inquiry that we could for our Admirall and the Fleet, but could not haue any intelligence of them. Whereupon casting many coniectures, wee sent a small Man into the Iles of *Bayon*; but could learne no newes of him there. Then wee thought verily that hee would hold on his course for the South-Cape, according to the generall instructions, we well knowing that hee could not then put in for *Ferrall* or the *Groine* (as was afterward colourably suggested) the wind being flat against him, and our whole Fleet hauing ouer-shot it neere twentie leagues before that our Yard was broken; and therefore it was rather a pretence to seeme desirous to vndertake it, then that there was any possibilitie to performe it. For besides that wee had ouershot it, and the wind contrary, so as we could not recouer it again, both those Ships were wanting which were chiefly designed to bee aduentured in that seruice, namely the Saint *Andrew* and the Saint *Mathew*, two huge Gallions of the King of *Spaines*, that were but the yeere before taken at the sacke of *Cales*, and onely saued of fortie or fiftie saile that were then beaten and burnt to ashes. Vpon these reasons wee shaped our course for the Rocke, plying vp and downe in that height for a few dayes. In which time wee gaue chase to diuers *Spanish* ships which wee beate into *Cast-keyes*, and caused some of them to runne on ground, wee being so neere *Cast-keyes* as that we could number diuers tall ships that road there vnder the Fort. Here wee hourely expected our Admirall, being the very appointed place for a Randeuous to all the Fleet, and would gladly haue met with him being of our selues but a weake force to lye on that Coast, if the *Spanish Armado* had beene abroad, as wee were to suspect it was, or in a readinesse at the least. And therefore it was fouly falsified or mistaken of those that gaue it out, and carryed the newes into *England*, that wee had of purpose left and lost our Admirall to range the Coast alone at our pleasures. For being no stronger then wee were, and lying as wee did in the height that was appointed by the generall instructions to the whole Fleet, it was not to be imagined in any sense or reason, that wee desired to leaue or lose the Fleet vpon the breaking of our Maine-yard so neere the Coast of *Spaine*, and the *Adelantadoes* Forces then bruted to bee abroad. But indeed our Reare-Admirall commanded all our Squadron to follow the Generall, because he pretended to aduenture vpon the *Groine*. Yet we hoped, and so hee promised, that either hee would come off to vs againe where wee lay, or find vs without faile at the *Rocke*, but did neither: for there were three places of our *Randeuous* appointed, if any separation happened. The first at the North Cape, and failing there, then at the *Rocke*, and failing there, then at the South Cape. Now when all such ships as were sundred by tempest in the Bay of *Alcasher*, failed of their Admiral at the North Cape, they then sought him at the *Rock*, where they found the Reare-admiral, who held them altogether, and brought them to the Generall at the Ilands; else had they all returned home, after they had missed of some Admirall to command them at the third and last place of meeting: for none of our Fleet went so farre to the Southward.

S. *Mathew* and S. *Andrew* taken at *Cadiz*.

Whilest wee thus stayed about the *Rocke*, the Caruells of *Lisbone*, and of the parts thereabouts, would daily come swarming about vs like Butter-flyes, so neere, as that we might cast a stone into some of them, and yet could wee neuer catch any one of them, so yare and nimble they are. But if wee would haue bestowed any musket or great shot on such bables, wee might peraduenture haue killed some of their men, or sunke some of them; which wee forbare in hope to draw them to vs oftner, and then if any calme had happened, we might haue taken them with our Boats, and by them gotten some Intelligence. At the same time also there came to the *Rocke* neere thirtie saile of ships of our owne Victuallers and Transporters, amongst whom was Captain *Sidney*, Captaine *White*, Captain *Berry*, and others, some of whom wee tooke into vs out of their owne weake ships; who hauing lost the Generall in the Bay of *Alcasher*, in the storme aforesaid, sought him first at the North Cape; and missing him there, came to the *Rocke*, according to the generall instructions, and they by chance finding the Reare-Admirall at the *Rocke*, were held together till wee either found or heard from the Generall. After we had thus plied vp and downe about the height of the *Rocke*, and yet determined at last to haue passed on for the South Cape, there came athwart vs a small Barke of *England*, with whom wee communed, inquiring what newes in the South parts where they had beene. They told vs, that they had lately met a Man of Warre bound for *England*, that had taken an *Indian* man, naming the Captaine, who (as they said) informed them for certaine that the *Atlantado* was gone for the Ilands, to weft home the *Indian* Fleet. *This report seemed to carry with it good likelihood of truth, for we heard before that the* Atlantado *was preparing to the Seas, and also were certain, that both the King of* Spaine *his Treasure, and other* Indian *Fleets were to come home that yeere. Besides, we did not suspect that one of our owne Country would be so lewd, or durst presume to informe her Maiesties Naues, with a meere false coyned suggestion, as indeed this was found to be afterward. For such a dishonest treacherous part may sometimes turne to a great inconuenience, in diuerting a whole Fleet by a false intelligence, and is a point better fitting a*

False intelligence by an *English*man.

Traitor then a true man, and well deserueth seuere and publike punishment for an example to all other. For although sea-faring men will now and then (as doe Poets and Painters) take liberty to fable, yet it is no good iesting nor dalying with Princes affaires in that sort, and therefore if I could call to mind the Captaine or Masters name, surely I would doe them the curtesie now to remember them.

Hereupon our Reare-Admirall thinking it very requisite, and his dutie to informe our Admirall of this aduertisement as soone as might bee, ernestly required the same Man to ply vp towards the North-Cape, all alongst the Coast as well as he could, (because it lay in his way homewards bound) to find out our Fleet, & to informe our Admiral of this Intelligence. But he answered in the hearing of all the company, that the Captaine that had taken this *Indian* Prize, had already sent the Admirall a Letter to the same effect. Yet the Reare-Admirall for the more suretie (doubting that a Letter might miscarry, or that no such Letter might bee sent, being but an excuse of this Man to put off the trouble of seeking out our Fleet, being a matter of great importance) commanded one of his small Men (that at that time followed vs) to deliuer the same aduertisement to our Admirall, as hee had receiued it by word of mouth; and to vse all diligence to seeke him, and the Fleet, and to deliuer the report truly in manner as it was related, and withall to signifie vnto his Lordship, that wee there attended him in that height according to the directions, and so would obserue all places and times appointed, and that in such sort his Lordship should be sure to heare of vs, vpon any occasion to wait on him. This message, and Messenger could sufficiently witnesse, that we had no intent nor desire to abandon the Fleet, or to sequester our selues, being at the place set downe in the generall instructions. This small Man that had this message in charge to deliuer to his Lordship, the next day (by good hap) found out the Fleet, and vpon deliuery of this newes, within two dayes after, our Reare-Admirall receiued two seuerall Letters to one effect from the Admirall one after another. First somewhat taxing him for not writing, then for his absence, and withal requiring him presently to follow him to the Ilands, whether he said he would (by Gods helpe) hasten to find the *Adelantado*, not doubting but to giue his Mistresse a better account of that seruice, then the *Adelantado* should yeeld his Master: so, or much to that effect the Letters went, for I my selfe read them (with the Reare-Admirall his permission) and therefore can truly report their contents.

Letters from the Admirall.

Vpon this suddaine and strict message, we presently altered our determination from going to the South-Cape, to hast to the Ilands, and therfore we presently gaue notice to Sir *William Brooke* and the rest of our consorts, of our Admirall his Letters, and what way he meant to take, and so instantly without any further delay, we shaped our course for the Ilands. But in this passage of ours towards the Ilands, as wee had a franke wind, so met wee with other lets. For our Maine-yard began againe to cracke, insomuch that wee were inforced to strengthen it with more fishing. And as commonly misfortunes neuer come alone, so in the necke of this trouble, our Mayn-mast began to shrinke also, springing great flawes in diuers places, in so much that at last we greatly doubted with euery high blast of wind, that it would haue beene blowne ouer-boord. This sudden disaster much troubled vs, and the more, to thinke what vnequall constructions would bee made thereof. Wee acquainted all the rest of our consorts with this late befallne mischiefe, and desired Sir *William Brooke* in the *Dread-naught* to carry the light for all the company, seeing that our ship was so defectiue that we must needs stay to see if we could make the Mast seruiceable, but would vse all our best means to come speedily after, desiring him, and all the rest to hast to our Admiral, and to signifie our misfortunes, and withal to make the more speed, for that if the *Adelantado* were at the Ilands, our Admirals Forces would be wel helped by their companies, & so for a few hours, we and our consorts parted, only we retained two little small Men with vs for our better comfort. Yet notwithstanding this order and direction giuen, so great were our desires to go on, & our labor such, as that the same night wee had new fished our crased Maine-mast with a spare Maine top Mast that lay by vs, and then so plied our sayles as that the next day towards the euening, wee ouertooke Sir *William Brooke* againe, and the rest of our consorts hasting towards the Ilands as was directed. And on the eight of September, in the yeere 1597. being Thursday, wee made the Ile called the *Tercera*, and weathered it to the North-west; where we met with an *English* Merchant that came from Saint *Michaels*, and had layen trading about those Ilands some six weekes together, but could not tell vs any newes of our Admirall and the Fleet, albeit they were passed by but two dayes before. *Which shewes how easie a matter it is for shipping to passe by amongst those Ilands vnseene, and how difficult it is to find out such Ships among those Ilands, as would shelter themselues from men of Warre, and cannot not to bee met withall, seeing that so great a Fleet could passe by vnseene or vnheard of, by one that came iust from the Ilands, at the same time that our Generall came thither. And therefore it is a necessary obseruation for all such men of Warre, as would meet or intercept any shipping, that doth touch at those Ilands, or do come from thence, to keep in the maine sea, and so to attend their comming forth, and not to puzzle themselues with running in amongst those Ilands to seeke for purchase, except they haue others of their consorts lying in the Sea at the receite, if they chance to slip by, which is easily done.* This Merchant informed vs of certaine West *Indian* men, and two Carracks, that a month before had touched there, bound for *Spaine*. And by this Merchant wee wrote into *England* how affaires went. In passing thus onwards we discouered Saint *Georges* Ilands, and there we

They shape their course for the Ilands.

New distresses.

Sep. 8. They make *Tercera*.

Note for the Ilands.

dispatched

diſpatched two of our ſmall men, with charge to ſearch about the Iſlands for our Fleete, and to enforme our Admirall, that we were going for *Flores*, and *Cuernos*, in hope to meete him there, withall willing thoſe ſmall men to come thither vnto vs. And yet I remember many in our Ship were doubtfull, and laid great wagers, that our Fleet was not yet come to the Iſlands, for that this Merchant could make no report thereof.

Whileſt we were before Saint *Georges*, we were very much becalmed for a day or two, and the weather extreamely hot, inſomuch as the winde could not beare the ſailes from the maſtes, but were faine to hull in the Sea, to our great diſcontentment, that before had vſed ſuch great diligence and haſte to meete with our Admirall, and the reſt of the Fleete. Notwithſtanding the winde began againe to be fauourable, and ſo ſetting forwards, the next of the Ilands that we made, were *Gratioſa*, *Pyke*, and *Fayall*. *And as we ranged by* Gratioſa, *on the tenth of September, about twelue a clocke at night, we ſaw a large and perfect Rainbow by the Moone light, in the bigneſſe and forme of all other Rainbowes, but in colour much differing, for it was more whitiſh, but chiefly inclining to the colour of the flame of fire. This made vs expect ſome extraordinary tempeſtuous weather, but indeede it fell out afterward to be very calme and hot. This Rainbow by the Moone-light I doe the rather take occaſion to note; for that I remember that* Plinie *in his naturall Hiſtory of the world, ſpeaking of Meteors, denieth any Rainbow to be ſeene, but oppoſite to the Sunne, and neuer in the night ſeaſon: and yet (ſaith he)* Ariſtotle *reporteth for a rarity, that in his time there was a Rainbow ſeene by night, but withall affirmeth, that it could not be but at the full of the Moone. But in theſe parts they are very ordinary, as well when the Moone is not at the full, as otherwiſe, which maketh me to thinke, that theſe Iland were neuer knowne to the* Greekes, *nor to the* Romans, *nor that theſe former ages did truely conceiue or know many things, that in theſe latter times haue bin diſcouered. For although* Salomon *ſaith that nothing is new vnder the Sunne (which no doubt is moſt true, for all things haue had their being ſince the firſt Creation) yet all things haue not bin knowne in all places, and to all men alike. But as the long liues of men in the firſt ages (no doubt made their knowledge the greater by the benefit of long obſeruation: ſo againe, we in theſe latter dayes, by the tradition of their knowledge, left vnto vs, and alſo by the diſcouery of theſe things, which time hath reuealed, haue found out many ſecrets to them vnknowne. But to returne.*

Rainbowe by Moonlight differing in color from thoſe of the Sunne.

The ſame night by the light of the Moone (which was then almoſt fallen with the Horiſon) we might eſpie certaine ſailes paſſing towards the Eaſtwards of *Gratioſa*; whereupon we gaue order that a couple of our ſmall men ſhould follow, and giue them chaſe, as we in the *Waſtſpight* likewiſe did, and hung out two lights to cauſe Sir *William Brooke* in the *Dread-naught*, and the reſt of our conſorts, to hold the ſame courſe with vs, but wee were followed by none of them, which when we perceiued, and the Moone-light being now by the earth ſo ſhaddowed from vs, as that we could hold no longer ſight of theſe ſailes (which had thruſt themſelues in amongſt the Iſlands) we caſt about, and held on our former courſe. But by this chaſing, for this little time (euen as we ſuſpected) we loſt the *Dread-naught*, and moſt of our conſorts, and neuer ſaw them after, vntill we met them with our Admirall, and the reſt of our Fleete at *Flores*; whither with ſcant windes we came, on the foureteenth of September, and then diſcouered all our Fleete. But at the firſt making of them, we ſtood ſomewhat doubtfull, whether it was our owne, or the *Spaniſh Armado*, they being as farre from vs, as we were able to ken out of our maine top, and therefore we did ſtill ſtriue to keepe into the weather, in approaching neere vnto them, vntill at laſt, we perfectly made them to be *Engliſh* bottomes. As ſoone as we were come within two leagues of them, the Seas being very calme, our Reare-admirall, my ſelfe, and ſome other Gentlemen of our ſhip, went aboord our Generall in a Barge, and dined with him, who ſeemed to be the ioyfulleſt man liuing for our arriuall, proteſting, that he neuer beleeued that we would leaue him, although diuers perſwaded him the contrary; and acknowledged that hee was ſorry for a Letter which he had written by Maſter *Robert Knolles* into *England* againſt vs, promiſing preſently to make a diſpatch of purpoſe, contrary to the former: hauing alſo found ſoone after by examination, that not any one of theſe thirtie and odde ſailes of victuallers, and tranſporters, which came now with vs, were drawne from him by the Reare-admirall, but that they all came to the *Rocke*, to ſeeke the Generall, and there by chance found vs, who drew them to the Iſlands, much againſt their deſires, being moſt of them in great diſtreſſe. Afterwards wee enquired aboord our Generall, what had paſſed with them ſince we departed, vpon the breaking of our maine yard, before the Iſles of *Bayon*; and we learned that in all this time, they had done nothing but ranged the Seas, to ſeeke the *Adelantado*, and were come to the Iſlands but three daies before vs, where the Gouernours of the Iſlands of *Flores* and *Cuernos*, came to our Generall.

They come to the Fleet.

Entertainment by the General

The Inhabitants of which two Iſlands ſeemed to be but a wretched needie kinde of people, and yet as crafty, as baſe, and bare. Theſe very ſubmiſſly humbled themſelues vnto our Generall, bringing with them Fruites, Hens, and other freſh victuall, imploring fauour, and mercie at his hands, and that he would vouchſafe to giue them his ſafeguard vnder his hand, to protect them from the ſpoile, and inuaſion of our men: alledging for themſelues that they were an harmeleſſe poore people, that gaue offence to none, but dwelt in Iſlands that yeelded comfort and releefe oftentimes, to all Sea-faring men in their long Voyages, betweene the *Indies* and *Chriſtendome*, and

Inhabitants of *Flores* & *Cuernos*

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and were anciently subiects to the *Portugals*, friends to our Nation, and nothing guiltie of the Hostilitie betweene vs, and the *Spaniards*, who (as they said) did vsurpe, and tyrannize both ouer the *Portugals* and them. Our Generall heard, and entertained them, with great curtesie, and told them that he came not to afflict poore men, but was sent by the Queene his Mistris, to chastise the intollerable pride and insolencie of the *Spanish*, whose *Indian* Gold and riches, were imploied onely to the oppression, and disturbance of diuers *Christian* States and Princes; and these Ilands being the chiefe places of retrait and refreshing for his Fleetes, that passed betweene *Europe* and the *Indies*, were great meanes, and helpes, to further their boundlesse ambition, and tyrannie, with other discourse to that effect. And so inquiring of them very precisely, the times, and seasons that the *Indian* Fleetes, both inward, and outward bound, held in passing by those Ilands; in conclusion gaue them diuers gifts, and his Protection in wrighting vnder his hand and seale from the violence of our Forces, which was very respectiuely obserued, euen to the value of an Hen, which no man durst take without paying for. Such was the moderation and bountie of this noble Gentleman our Generall, indued with many good gifts, though at the last he failed in the vse of them.

Earle of *Essex* his answer and behauiour to the Ilanders.

After we had bin aboord our Generall, and dined with him, he acquainted our reare Admirall with the many coniectures, and surmises of our absence, and withall named vnto him some of those men that had taxed him secretly with strange reports, and yet pretended to loue him, which he protested (as aforesaid) he neuer beleeued, but thereby the better obserued some mens scandalous, and cankered dispositions. In this sort did our Generall receiue and welcome our reare Admirall, with the greatest kindenesse, and inward familiaritie that might be, and all the Gentlemen of his Companie with honorable curtesie, to the great dislike and hart-burning of some that much enuied that liking, which of his owne disposition, our Generall did beare vnto him: For albeit the Earle had many doubts and iealousies buzd into his eares against the other, yet I haue often obserued, that both in his greatest actions of seruice, and in his times of chiefest recreations, he would euer accept of his counsell and company, before many others that thought themselues more in his fauour. And as touching the Aduertisement that was sent into *England*, from the Isles of *Bayon*, by Master *Robert Knolles*, in a Pinnace called the *Guiana*, concerning vs, that were forsaken, and left alone vpon the breaking of our Maine yard: whereupon was pretended that many great exploits should haue bin performed vpon the coast of *Spaine*, if wee had not fallen from them (as was vntruely suggested and reported) his Lordship promised the reare Admirall then, to send another aduertisement, how we were all met againe, and had bin formerly seuered by misfortunes onely, and not by any wilfull default in the reare Admirall, as was doubted. And that Aduertisement sent formerly by Master *Knolles*, we well knew proceeded not out of any particular malice of the Generall to vs, but onely to take that as a fit excuse to free himselfe from the enterprises of *Ferall*, or the *Groine*, which he had promised her Maiestie to vndertake, but saw it impossible to performe, by reason of the former crosses, and our long stay in *Plimmouth*; and therefore was glad to take the opportunity of any colour to satisfie her Maiestie, and to discharge himselfe of that burthen, which we did all perceiue, and therefore did striue the lesse the publish our Apologies, or to contest with a man of his place and credit, which (though in a right) had bin but bootelesse, and meere folly; and therefore we left him to his best excuse, and our apparant innocencie. *And for the more plaine manifesting of the Message, I haue thought it not amisse, here to insert the true copie of the Instructions* verbatim, *that our Generall sent by Master* Robert Knolles *into* England, *vpon these accidents before the Isles of* Bayon.

Earle of *Essex* his respect to Sir *W. Ralegh*.

That we weighing Ancor and setting saile from the sound of Plimmouth, *the seuenteenth of this moneth of August, hauing sometimes calmes, but for the most part, Westerly and Northeasterly windes, we fell on thursday, the fine and twenty of this moneth with the Land, which is to the Eastward of the Cape* Ortingall, *which land we made in the morning about ten of the clocke, and stood in with the shoare, till three in the afternoone. Then finding the winde scant to ply to the Southward, I stood all night into the Sea, and the next morning in againe to the Land. By which boords, by reason of the head-sea, and the bare winde, we got nothing. On Friday night I stood off againe to the Sea, and about midnight the winde comming all Northerly, we got a good slant, to lye all along the coast: on Saturday in the morning, I discouered the Saint* Andrew, *whom we had lost sight of two or three dayes before. I bare with her, and had no sooner got her vp, but Sir* Walter Rawleigh *shot off a peece, and gaue vs warning of his being in distresse. I presently bare with him, and found that he had broken his maine yard. Whereupon I willed him to keepe along the coast that birth that he was, till he got in the height of the North Cape, and my selfe hauing a desperate leake broke out as euer ship swam withall, which I was faine to lye by the lee, and seele, to stop it, which how it held vs, you can report: and (God be thanked) that night we ouercame it, and stopped it. The next morning we all came to Cape* Finister, *saue the Saint* Matthew, *who vpon breaking of her fore masse went home: and the* Wastspight *with whom the* Dreadnaught *went without stop to the* South Cape. *This is all that is hapned to me. If her Maiestie aske you, why there was no attempt vpon the Fleete at* Teral, *you may say, I neither had the Saint* Matthew, *which was the principall ship for that execution, nor the Saint* Andrew, *till mine owne ship was almost sunke, and I not able to make saile, till Sir* Walter Rawleigh *with his owne ship the* Dreadnaught, *and very neere twenty saile were gone*

gone. Wee are now gone to lye for the Indian *Fleete, for by* Spaniards *wee haue taken, wee finde the* Adelantado *is not put to Sea this yeere. Of our successe, her Maiestie shall from time to time be aduertised: you shall acquaint Master Secretarie with this instruction; and beare to him, and all our friends you must excuse our haste.*

We being thus met all at *Flores*, desired our Generall to giue vs, and our consorts leaue, to water there before we departed thence, as his Lordship and the rest had done before, which he yeelded vnto, and very nobly lent vs his owne long Boate, for our better speede, willing vs there to water, whilest he with the rest of the Fleete, did ply vp and downe to looke out for the *Adelantado*, or any *Indian* Fleete, that being the very fit place, and season for them. Hereupon whilest our men and Mariners were prouiding to water, our Reare-admirall, with Sir *William Brooke*, my selfe, and diuers other Gentlemen went ashoare, to stretch our legs in the Ile of *Flores*, and to refresh our selues with such victuals as we could there get for our monie. And at our first landing there, we met with the Lord *Gray*, Sir *Gylly Merricke*, and other Gentlemen, and wee altogether walked a mile or two into the Countrie, and there dined in a little Village, where the bare-legged Gouernour caused such things to be brought vnto vs, for our monie, as the Island afforded In other sort we tooke nothing, which was very faire wars.

This Island seemes to be somewhat mountainous, yet hauing very good store of Fruits, Wheat, and other Corne. Their Corne they doe all keepe in large hollow vaults within the earth, hauing no other way nor entrance into them, but by a round hole in the top of the vault, onely so big as a man may creepe into it, and when it is closed vp with a planke, and ouerstrewed with earth is very hard to be found out by strangers, for the which purpose they are so made, and much like the Caues in *Gascoyne*, and *Languedocke*, and such as are mentioned by *Cæsar* to be vsed in *Affricke*. This Island lies more subiect to the inuasion of Sea-faring men, then any of the rest; for there all traders of the *Indies* doe vsually water, and refresh themselues. But here I must not forget to relate, that before we had our leaue to water, or were departed from the Generall, a Counsell was called, and holden, for the taking in of some of the Islands, and an orderly course set downe for the same; which was in this sort concluded on: The Admirall, and Reare-admirall to vndertake *Fayall*; the Lord *Thomas Howard* Vice-admirall, and the Marshall *Vere*, to vndertake *Gratiosa*; The Lord *Mountioye*, Lieutenant Generall, and Sir *Christopher Blunt* Coronell Generall of the Foote to Saint *Michaels*: and the *Netherland* Squadron, was quartered to *Pike*, where the greatest store of Wines doe grow, and therefore would not be taken in ill part of them, as we presumed. The reason why we resolued to master and waste all these Islands was, because it was determined by the Generall to attempt the *Tercera* it selfe: which enterprise was put off, because the Reare-admirall, and with him twenty or thirty saile were wanting. But being now (contrary to all expectation, and to many mens hopes) arriued, this resolution receiued a second life; but it was first thought necessary to take from them, and to helpe our selues, with all the victuals and other commodities that those Islands could afoord: For the performance of which with the more speede, we diuided our selues into foure Companies, as before written: *But surely the fortune of those poore wretches was lamentable, that fell into the* Flemmings *hands; for I thinke no people on the earth, can vse lesse mercy, or greater insolencies then they doe, in all the places that they master, which are subiect to the* Spanish *Gouernment: and yet I must say truely for them, that the* Spaniards *against whom vsed such tyrannie, and outrage in their iurisdictions ouer that industrious people, as hath well merited their irreconcileable malice, and wrball hath cost the* Spanish *King many millions of Ducates, besides the life of many a proud* Castilian, *since the Execution of the Counts* Egmount *and* Horne. *And it is very admirable to see what heart and courage those* Netherlanders *are now growne vnto, and how powerfully three or foure little Prouinces, doe resist the forces of that mightie King, that keepes* Millaine, Naples, *and* Sicill *in great bondage; in despight of all the* Italians, *who doe thinke themselues for valour, and for policie the Mirrours of the Earth, and yet bow their neckes to the* Spanish *yoake.*

A Counsell for taking in the Ilands.

Hollanders and Spaniards enmitie implacable.

After this consultation for taking in of the Islands, as aforesaid, and leaue giuen vnto vs, and our consorts to water with all the speede we could, at *Flores*, we hauing prepared our Caske, and all things in a readinesse to bring our fresh water aboord, about midnight, being the sixteenth of September, there came vnto vs from our Generall, Captaine *Arthur Champernowne*, with this message; That my Lord Generall was borne vp for *Fyall*, and ment presently to take it in, and therefore willed vs with all speede to follow him instantly, and though wee could not ouertake him, yet at least to finde him there so soone as we could, and the same word was likewise deliuered to Sir *William Brooke*, and the rest, that lay there to water. And further, our Generall lent vs word, that we should supply all our wants of water, and fresh victuals at *Fayall*. *And this night as we rode at ancor before* Flores, *we saw another Rainebow, by the Moone light, as before, and after the same manner, which (contrary to* Plinies *report of* Aristotels *opinion) was seene, though not at a full Moone, for the other was so seene some seuen dayes before, in the which space, there could not be two full Moones.* Vpon this Message brought by Captaine *Champernowne* we forbare watering, and hasted all we could, to weigh our anchors, and to follow our Generall. And therefore gaue a warning peece or two, to our Consorts before wee departed, and afterwards pack'd on all

Rainbow by the Moone.

the

the sailes we could make to follow our Generall, whom we could not ouertake, nor finde.

Fayall. The next morning we made *Fayall*, and entred the roade, and there missed of him also, contrary to our hopes, and to our great discontent. Whereat we could not but greatly maruell, because when he sent for vs, he was six leagues neerer it, then we were, and besides, set saile towards it sixe or eight houres before vs. Being arriued in the roade, wee beheld before our eyes a very fine Towne, pleasantly seated alongst the shoare side: from whence presently vpon the sight of our entrance into the roade, they began to packe away with bag, and baggage all they could, with carriages of Horses and Carts, Women, Children, Friers, and Nunnes, and so continued in transporting all vp into the Countrey for two dayes together. There was besides a strong Fort at one end of the Town, and another on the top of a very high Mountain, neere adioyning, by nature very vnaccessible, and steepe, and artificially fenced with Flanckers, Rampiers, and Ditch, and in it six Peeces of great Artillerie, mounted vpon carriages, and two hundred *Spaniards* in garrison, beside others of the Iland. These made certaine shot at our Ships as they anchored in the roade, but did not much harme, and set vp a great red Auncient for vs to gaze at: Besides, there were presently sent six Companies with their Colours, to intrench themselues vpon the shoare side, to impeach our landing: Hereupon our Reare Admirall in his Barge, accompanied with my selfe onely and Captaine *Morgan*, rowed close aboord the high Fort, and all alongst the shoare side, towards the Towne, to see what fit place there was to make a discent against our Generals comming. From whence we were saluted with diuers musket shot, that missed vs but narrowly by good fortune, for we vndiscreetly had with vs neither Targets, nor Armors, but wished for them when it was to late. *And therefore as well by that experience, as also by others in the same iourney,*

Vnarmed rashnesse. *that I saw at our landing vpon a fortified trench, I saw it to be but an idle and vnseruiceable bravery, for men that are to doe seruice, to expose their vnarmed bodies and limbs, to the mercy of a Musket, or the push of a Pike: whereby they can neither with that abilitie, nor resolution, prosecute that they haue in hand, nor yet so well preserue themselues as they ought to doe, for the bettering of their attempts. Besides, out of a Christian regard, they should not desperately cast away themselues, or carelesly spill their owne blood, and the liues of many others, by such brauing, and foolish examples. This night as we roade in the Harbour, there swomme aboord vs from the Towne two* Portugals, *that discouered vnto vs many things, greatly encouraging vs to this exploit. And of this we may bouldly take knowledge, that the* Portugals,

Spaniards hated by the Portugals. *and Inhabitants of those Ilands, doe infinitely hate, and malice the* Spaniards, *and their Gouernment, and would (no doubt) free themselues thereof gladly, if they were sure to fall vnder any other Gouernment that were able to protect them from the* Spaniards. *And therefore if any powerfull Monarch, or State did attempt it, they should not be troubled as with a Conquest, for all the Inhabitants would soone be perswaded to reuolt, and take part with the inuaders, for the aduancing of that businesse.*

While we thus expected our Generall in vaine (to our no little maruell) that thought he had bin there before vs, according to Captaine *Champernownes* report (the winde being as good then for him as for vs) our Reare Admirall called a counsell of many Captaines, and Officers (that were come thither by order) to consult of the taking of the Towne, if our Generall came not, thinking it a great shame and pittie to let slip so faire a pray, so neere at hand, without attempting it in time, before they had carried all away. Besides a great scorne and disgrace wee should doe our selues, to enterprise nothing vpon them that had begun the warres, shooting first at vs as we roade at ancor, and then after their bringing downe to the water side so many Auncients, did proudly as it were inuite vs to assaile them, if we durst, hauing withall, hung out a red Flagge of defiance, from the top of the high Fort. The hope of the wealth of this good Towne, and the ransoming of Houses and Prisoners, together with those brauadoes which they shewed, did so set on fire all our Mariners and Souldiers, as that they began to mutine, and raile on the Reare Admirall, and at all the Commanders there, taxing them for these delaies, as not daring to attempt the taking thereof: Besides, they were the more eagerly set vpon the spoile, and gaining of this Towne, and Fort, for that they saw no great likelihood of benefit by this Voyage, but what was gotten ashoare in the Islands. In conclusion, albeit we heard no newes of our Generall in two dayes more expectation, yet at the counsell of Captaines which our Reare Admirall had assembled, some of them varied much from the common desire, and would by no meanes assent to the landing, without my Lord Generall his knowledge. And of this opinion was Sir *Guilly Mericke*, Sir *Nicholas Parker*, and some other Captaines: Our Reare Admirall, with Sir *William Brooke*, my selfe, Sir *William Harney*, and other Gentlemen, and Commanders of our Reare Admirall his Squadron (called to this consultation) were of a contrary opinion, iudging that my Lord Generall would repute vs but Idlers, and Cowards, to lye so long, before so good a Towne, with so many Ships and men, and to doe nothing in his absence, seeing them hourely before our eyes, so fast to carry, and packe away their goods and wealth. And this was also the common opinion and bruite, as well of the multitude, as of the *Low Countrie* Captaines. But yet the violent and earnest perswasions of Sir *Guille Morricke*, did so preuaile with vs, vrging our obedience and duetie to our Generall, as that we staied from the Enterprise at that time, and expected our Generals comming one day longer, especially for that they perswaded vs, if his Lordship came not the next day, then themselues would also land with vs.

Which

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Which when we had alſo expected in vain, and the winde changing ſomewhat vnfit for that Roade, our Reare Admirall, and diuers of his Squadron, and many other of the Ships following him, wered, and coaſted about the point, to the North-weſt ſide of the Iſland, ſome foure miles further from the Towne then we were before, and there let fall our ancors, being then a better Roade then the firſt, as the winde was changed. But Sir *Guille Merricke* with ſome fiue or ſixe Ships of his conſorts, ſtaied ſtill in the firſt Roade, and would not budge. When we had in this ſort changed our Roade, and being now the fourth day of our arriuall before *Fayall* (which was not aboue a daies ſailing from the place, from whence our Generall ſent for vs, wee might ſee before vs, a very fine and pleaſant Countrie, full of little Villages, and fruitfull fields: and therefore we much deſired to refreſh our ſelues aland there with victuals, and water, as our Generall had promiſed we ſhould doe, when we came to *Fayall*, and as diuers others had done before vs at *Flores*; and as we had then, but that we were called away to *Fayall* by Captaine *Champernownes* ſodaine meſſage from the Generall, as was aforeſaid. And in truth we were in great want of freſh water, which we had not renued ſince our ſetting out from *Plimouth*. All theſe occaſions conſidered, and we being now retired from the Towne and Forts, we all reſolued that wee might without offence, with a few of our owne men, goe aſhoare, and refreſh our ſelues, and ſeeke for water: whereupon we manned a Barge, a long Boate, and a Pinnace with threeſcore Muskets, and forty Pikes, rather to guard our ſelues in our landing, and watering with diſcretion, then expecting any encounter or reſiſtance, from the Towne or Forts, on the other ſide of the Iſland. But our men were no ſooner placed in our Boates, and all things ordered, and we ready to put off from the Ships ſide, but we might diſcouer ſixe Auncients of foote, and ſome doſen Horſemen comming on a ſpeedy march from the Towne and Forts, directly towards the place where wee were to make our diſcent; for from one ſide of the high Fort on the Mountaine, they might alſo ouerlooke vs, where our ſhips roade, and diſcouer all our preparation.

When we had a while aduiſed of this new Brauado, that they went about, and ſaw them ſtill to come on faſter, with ſo many ſtrong companies of men (or at the leaſt the bodies of men furniſhed with womens hearts) and had made ſuch haſte, as that they poſſeſſed themſelues of the Trenches and Flankers, where we were to land, and there had placed their Companies, and Collors, attending our approach, as they made ſhew, by waiuing their Swords, and diſplaying their Auncients in great brauery (for doubtleſſe they thought we feard to land in their faces, becauſe we lay ſo long before the Town, and neuer attempted any thing, and were ſo ſhrunke aſide off; after they had prouoked vs ſo with great ſhot, and many other affronts) we ſeeing that prrportion of an hundred men (prouided onely to guard our watering) to be too few to aſſault, and win a landing vpon ſo many, in a place of ſo great diſaduantage, and yet diſdaining to goe backe, or make any ſhew of feare; our Reare Admirall in his Barge rowed to Sir *William Brookes* Ship, and to Sir *William Harueyes*, and deſired them, and ſome other Sea Captaines, to accompany him in landing, with ſuch men as conueniently they could furniſh: For (ſaid he) ſeeing theſe *Spaniards* and *Portugali* are ſo gallant to ſeeke and follow vs, and to keepe vs from watering, wee will try our fortunes with them, and either win our landing, or gaine a beating.

Sir *William Brooke*, Sir *William Harney*, and ſome others, very willingly aſſented, and preſently there were made ready with ſhot, and Pike one hundred and ſixtie men more in Boates. And after this our Reare Admirall rowing by Captaine *Bret*, *Sidney*, *White*, *Berry*, and other Captaines of the *Low Countrie* Souldiers, that were there abrood in other Ships, they all cried out to take them and their companies with them, aſſuring him, that if he aduentured to land with Mariners, and with his owne attendants, without ſome Companies of Land Souldiers, hee would receiue a diſgrace. He anſwered, that he durſt not take any of my Lord Generall his company of the *Low Countries*, no knowing in what ſeruice he ment to vſe them; but he was reſolued with the Gentlemen, and company of his owne Squadron, firſt to make a diſcent, and then to call them, and ſend Boates for them, if he proceeded any further, and that neither my Lord Generall, nor any of his traine, ſhould haue cauſe to be aſhamed of vs, for vndertaking that in the face of our Enemies, which we durſt not follow, and performe. And therefore told thoſe Captaines, that hee would firſt attempt to win a landing, and then after if they could but ſecond him aſhoare with two hundred men more, hee would vndertake to lodge them that night in the Towne, and the next night after in the Forts. Theſe Captaines were all glad of the newes, and promiſed to come after vs, if we would ſend our Boates for them; for moſt of their Ships had loſt their Boates with foule weather.

This order and direction being giuen, we haſted as faſt as our Oares could ply without the company of any *Low Countrie* Souldiers (being as I ſaid two hundred and ſixty ſtrong, and the enemy more then the double as many) to the landing place which was firſt guarded with a mighty ledge of Rockes, ſome forty paces long into the Sea, and afterwards trenched, and flanked with earth and ſtone, and onely a narrow lane betweene two wals left for our Entrance. But withall, we cauſed ſome of our Pinnaces that carried Ordnance, to lye as cloſe to the ſhoare as they could, to flanke and beate vpon them in their trenches a little before, and iuſt as wee made our approach; which we found to good purpoſe, and as well performed, eſpecially by one Captaine

Hard place to land in.

Helpe by Pinnaces.

taine *Banker*, in a fine Flee Boate of the *Flemmish* Squadron. But if there had bin but one hundred *Low Countrie Spaniards* at that defence, it had coſt many of our liues, & yet perhaps haue miſſed our purpoſe too: For a ſmall company with any reſolution, might haue made good that place, againſt a farre greater force then ours were at that time. But as we made onwards with our Boates, the ſhot plaied ſo thicke vpon vs, as that in truth the Mariners would ſcarce come forwards, hauing the leſſer liking to the buſineſſe, the neerer they came to it. And in like ſort did I ſee ſome there ſtagger, and ſtand blanke, that before made great ſhewes, and would gladly be taken for valiant Leaders: and ſome of theſe, our Reare Admirall did not ſpare to call vpon openly, and rebuke aloud with diſgracefull words, ſeeing their baſeneſſe.

Baſeneſſe of ſome.

And withall finding a generall amazement amongſt the Mariners, and as it were a flay amongſt all the Boates, well perceiuing that this manner of houering, was both more diſgracefull, and alſo more vnſafe, lying ſo open to the enemies ſhot (which through feare and amazement the Mariners, and Rowers, neither obſerued nor vnderſtood) with a loud voice commanded his Watermen to rowe in full vpon the Rockes, and bad as many as were not afraid, to follow him: Hereupon ſome Boates ran in with vs, and out of them there landed Maſter *Garret* a Pentioner, now Earle of *Kildare*, a Noble and valiant Gentleman; Sir *William Brooke*, Sir *William Harney*, Sir *Iohn Scot*, Maſter *Duke Brooke*, Captaine *Henry Thinne*, Captaine *White*, Maſter *Thomas Ramsey*, Maſter *Walter Chute*, Captaine *Arthur Radford*, Maſter *Henry Allen*, Captaine *William Morgan*, Maſter *Charles Mackart*, and diuers other Gentlemen, whoſe names I would not omit, if I could call them all to minde, And ſo clambring ouer the rockes, and wading through the water, we paſſed pell mell, with Swords, Shot, and Pikes vpon the narrow Entrance. Whereupon thoſe that were at the defence, after ſome little reſiſtance, began to ſhrinke, and then ſeeing vs to come faſter on vpon them, ſuddenly retiring, caſt away their weapons, turned their backes, and fled, and the like did the reſt in the higher Trenches, and quickly recouered the hils, and the woods, being a people very ſwift, and nimble of foote; for we could take none of them, but ſuch as after yeelded vnto vs. And as for their Auncients, we could not recouer one, for the Horſemen that they had, carried them cleane away. And in this ſort we gained both our landing, and our Enemies Trenches. In which attempt ſome few men were drowned, and ſlaine, diuers hurt, and two long Boates bulged, and loſt. And after that we ſaw all things cleare, we aſſembled our Troopes together, and refreſhed our ſelues, with ſuch comfort, as we had there, which done, we ſent backe our Boates for thoſe *Low Countrie* Captaines afterward; who vpon their arriuall congratulated our good ſucceſſe, in taking ſo ſtrong a peece of ground, fortified, and guarded with ſo many men. When theſe Captaines were come vnto vs, we then tooke our ſelues to be a prettie Armie, being then in ſtrength to the number of foure hundred and ſixtie well armed, and appointed: whereof there were of Captaines and Gentlemen of good ſort thirty, or forty which gaue great life to the buſineſſe.

Sir *W. R.* his reſolution.

They land.

Flight of the enemy.

More actiue feete then hands.

And hauing done ſo much already, we then thought it the beſt way to goe through with the matter, and to prepare the Towne in a readineſſe for our Generall, and to make our ſelues Burgeſſes thereof in the meane ſeaſon, and therefore our Reare Admirall appointed Captaine *Bret* to vſe the Office of Sergeant Maior, and gaue direction to the other Captaines to aduance their Colours, and to call their Companies together, in a readineſſe, and ſo putting our Troopes in order, we marched directly toward the Towne, where by the way, diuers of theſe ſame very *Spaniards*, and *Portugals*, that a little before ſo braued vs, came and rendred themſelues in great humility, with white Napkins on the end of ſtickes, all whom, wee receiued, and well intreated, vſing ſome for Guides, and ſome for our Carriages, and others to fetch vs in freſh Victuals, and Fruites. *And it is worth the noting, to ſee the farre differing humors, vpon the change of Fortunes, in theſe* Spaniards, *and* Portugals. *For where they conquer or command, no people are ſo proud, and inſolent, and when they are once maſtered, and ſubdued, no Nation of the world ſo baſe, or fuller of ſeruile crouching, and obſeruance, as though on a ſodaine Nature had framed them in a new mould, ſo ſoone in an inſtant will they fall from ſouereaigntie to ſlauery. And ſurely (at home) they are in generall but a baggage people, timorous, and very vnwarlike. As we haue well experienced by ſeuerall inuaſions; whereof one Army was conducted by Sir* Iohn Norris, *and Sir* Francis Drake *to* Lisbona, *and the other by the Earle of* Eſſex, *and the Lord Admirall* Howard *to* Cadis, *without any reſiſtance, encounter in the field, or ſhow of aſſayling our forces by battaile, all the while we ſtaied there. But afterwards with a little hardening, and hartening in the Warres, wee ſee them prone very braue, and valiant Souldiers.*

Spaniards and *Portugals* yeeld themſelues.

Spaniards and *Portugall* ſcholers of Fortun extreame in extremes.

And are not other Nations ſo? *Vſus promptos facit.*

This Towne was ſome foure miles from this landing place, and all the Country in which wee marched very champion, with pretty little riſing hils, and all the fields ouer full of Mellons, Potatoes, and other Fruites. Betweene vs, and the Towne, was this high Fort, whereof I ſpake before, and that other Fort at the end of the Towne: By theſe two we were reſolued to paſſe, the better thereby to diſcouer and obſerue their ſtrength, and ſituation: although there was another way that led to the Towne, ſome two miles further about, which we tooke not. But our reſolution was the next morning to goe in hand with theſe Forts, which now we could not performe, the day being too far ſpent, and our men already ouerwearied with the laſt worke, together

ther with a long march, and extreame hot weather, besides want of victuals. And therefore for that night we ment onely, either by faire or foule meanes to possesse our selues of the Towne, and there to lodge, and so to content our selues, as hauing performed already, a sufficient daies worke. But in our march, as we approached neere the high Fort (by which of necessitie we were now to passe) they did very fiercely beate on vs both with great and small shot, hurting diuers, and killing some of our people. Amongst others I saw a very strange accident happen to Captaine *William Morgan*, by whom my selfe at that time stood, when from the Fort he receiued vpon a round buckle of his girdle, iust in the forepart, a Musket shot, that bruised all his belly blacke, in a round spot, and battered the Bullet flat at his feete, but did him no other hurt. Hee was in his doublet and hose without any Armour, or Target, for the which a little before I found fault with him, and his answere to me was, that his fleth was of the Musket proofe, as indeede it after proued, with the helpe of a buckle of a *Spanish* girdle, and good fortune besides, which in the common opinion fauoureth the valiant.

Strange accident of a shot.

In this approaching towards the Fort, our Reare Admiral accompanied with diuers other Gentlemen of the best sort, to the number of forty, in the head of all the Troopes, with his leading staffe, and no other Armour then his Collar (a brauery in a chiefe Commander not to be commended) led on the Company with soft march, full in the face of the Fort, descending downe a little hill, whilest with their great Ordnance, and Musketeir, we were very shrewdly pelted. But he, with this little Vaunteguard was no sooner past, and entred vnder the couert of their trenches, and barricadoes, that were at the foote of this steepe hill, but the maine body of our little Armie, that a while marched in good order, began presently to breake their rankes, and from marching fell to flat running in straggling manner, so soone as euer they began to finde themselues within the mercy of the Musket shot, and so continued in this disorderly, and timorous course, vntill they were vpon our heeles, vnder the wals, and trenches, almost as soone as we, that were in manner of a Vaunteguard come some twelue score before them in a steady slow march. *Our Reare Admirall, and we all cried out on them for this shamefull disorder, and taxed Captaine* Bret, *and Captaine* Berry, *with other of the Captaines for it, and of them demanded, if these were the men, that should haue done vs such stead in our landing, to saue vs from dishonour, or if this be the manner of their old* Low Country *Troopes, to shew such base cowardise, at the first sight of the Enemie, and for Musket shot so farre off from a Fort. The fault was not surely in these Captaines, for they were well knowne, and shewed themselues to be honest and resolute men, and did their best to stay this disorder. But their answere was this, that these companies, that did so beastlike behaue themselues, were in deede men taken out of* Flushing, *and* Brill, *the Cautionary Towns, and raw Souldiers that euer liued in a safe Garrison, & seldome or neuer had seene enemie, or incountered with shot in the field. And therefore for these kinde of* Low Countrie *Souldiers, they said, we should neuer finde them, but as base and backward fellowes, as the other Regiments that had followed the Campes were ready and valiant. And as it seemed to vs then, and as since I haue heard diuers confirme, their answere was true, and grounded vpon reason and Experience. And therefore it is not amisse to take good notice of such as onely serue to take pay, to walke rounds, and guard ports in Garrison Townes, for in the field they will most commonly be missing, or at least (if present) doe little hurt for conscience sake.*

Reare Admirall taxed.

Disorder.

Difference twixt Campe and Garrison Souldiers.

We being thus come vnto the foote of the high Fort, and vnder couert of the Trenches, and wals, which they had abandoned, retiring themselues into their fortifications, and strengths on the top of the Hill; our Reare Admirall commanded Captaine *Bret* to appoint a Sergeant or two, with some few shot, to goe proue and discouer the way towards the Towne, and take safe in hand with them one of our *Portugall* guides, for the more assurance, and for the better instructions for conducting the Troopes, because he was informed by the Guides, that the way in diuers places lay very open, and dangerous to the shot of the high Fort, as well as to the Fort at the Townes end. And the worse, by reason of low wals made of loose stones, on either side of the wayes, which the great Artillery, and Musketeir would beate vpon, and scatter amongst vs, and so indeede afterwards in the march we found it true. Captaine *Bret* answered, that although it had pleased our Reare Admirall to appoint him to another Office, yet, if he would expresly command him, he would also suruey this passage himselfe. But it was not thought fit at that time to want the Sergeant Maior amongst such raw, and disorderly troopes; and therefore he was againe willed to appoint a Lieutenant, and a Sergeant or two, to goe about that businesse, in manner as was aforesaid. But vpon this order so giuen, Captaine *Bret* made report, that hee found the Sergeants and Lieutenants very vnwilling to vndertake this discouery, making the passage very difficult, by reason that they saw them from the hill top, to beate so dangerously with their great Artillery vpon vs, and the loose wals, & also to ply vs so fast with their Musketeir, the which they might better doe on that way. And therefore the Troopes were very desirous, to haue passed by with some speede, and not in any orderly march, and strength, which indeede had bin a very foule, and also an hazardous course. For as we were credibly informed, the Island was able to make a thousand men furnished with weapons, and wee were perswaded (or at least to suspect) that they would gather the body of their most strength, for the defense of their best Towne, towards the which we were now marching.

Our Reare Admirall seeing all men to make such scrupulositie of this businesse, when Captaine *Bret* had related vnto him the backwardnesse of these *Low Countrie* Garrison Souldiers, thereunto answered, that he would not offer that to any, which he would himselfe refuse to vndertake, if neede required; although it were not the dutie and office of the chiefe Commander, to vndergoe so ordinary a seruice, but a thing duely appertaining to the inferior Officers, & Souldiers: Notwithstanding (said he) though I could inforce others to doe it, they shall well perceiue, that I my selfe will doe that which they dare not performe; whereof I am ashamed in their behalfe, and how our Generall, and we all are abused, in the opinion of these *Low Countrie* Souldiers. And therefore called for his Curates and Caske, and said, that he would both goe view the way for them, which they had made so nice of, and also the passages, and ascents vnto the hill top, and as well as hee could take view of the strength, and fortifications thereof, for our better directions against the next morning that we should attempt it. Captaine *Berrie* thereupon very willingly offered himselfe to hoe, and did earnestly desire me to diuert our Reare Admirall from vndertaking it. And I thereupon did openly disswade him that commanded in chiefe, from putting his owne person to those inferiour Offices of hazard, fitter for a Lieutenant or a Sergeant, then himselfe to performe, knowing, that all the direction, as well of those troopes, as also of a whole Squadron of the Naure, did at that time onely rest vpon him, in the absence of the Admirall, & Vice Admirall. Notwithstanding he was obstinate therein, as well in scorne to them that had refused, as also indeede out of a desire, to be the better informed of the strength, and fortification of the high Fort. Wherein when I saw him resolued, I told him that I would out of the loue of a kinsman, in particular, and also out of an honest regard, take such part as he did, from whom I had receiued many kinde fauours, and accompany him, but not out of any great desire I had to goe about a peece of worke, that consisted of much danger, and little honour in the performance. Hee thanked mee for mine offer, but yet wished me not to goe, if it were against my minde; notwithstanding I accompanied him, and so did some eight or ten more of our seruants and followers. But I say truely, and so afterwards it was much spoken of, that there was not any one more of quality, that did accompany him in that businesse.

Reare Admirals valour.

In this sort, and in this number did he himselfe goe to discouer the passage, and also was carefull and diligent to obserue and search out the strengths and ascents to the hill. In which doing, we were shrewdly troubled with the great Artillery, which did beat vpon the old wals, alongst the which we were to passe, and therewithall much indangered and harmed vs. For besides some that were hurt, two of our traine had their heads stricken cleane from their shoulders; my selfe was then shot through the left leg with a Musket bullet, but missed the bones being but a flesh-wound, but the bullet did burne both my silke stocking and buskin, as if it had bin singed with an hot Iron. I was then hard by the Reare Admirall, who also was shot through the breeches & doublet sleeues in two or three places. And still they plied vs so fast with small shot, as that (I well remember) he wished me to put of a large red scarfe, which I then wore, being (as hee said) a very faire marke for them. But I was not willing to do the *Spaniards* so much honor at that time, albeit I could haue wished it had not bin on me, & therefore told the Reare Admirall again, that his white scarfe was as eminent as my red, and therefore I now would follow his example. *But yet in my poore opinion I see no great honor, nor discretion in these nice ceremonies, but when men go to seruice, they may with reputation, either put on, or put off all habiliments, for their most aduantage and securitie, and especially in going to discouer, which best may be performed, when themselues are least discouered. And this puts me in minde of a report which I heard many yeares since of* Monsieur La: Noe, *that famous* French *Captain, and one* Bussey de Amboys, *a gallant* French *Gentleman. These two being with Monsieur the* French *Kings brother, some 24. yeers since, at the siege of* Bines *in the* Low Countries, *were to informe themselues of a stanker, or some Ranelin that was to be beaten with Artillery.* La Noue *was the Marshall of* Monsieurs *Campe, and* Bussye *his great fauourite, & Lieutenant Generall (as I take it)* Bussey *would needes before* Monsieur *in a brauery, inuite* La Noue *to vndertake with him the discouery of that place, which* La Noue *out of his better iudgment, and experience in the Warres, thought not so fit a peece of seruice for their places, but rather to be preferred to some priuate Captaines of valour, and iudgement, that would very couertly goe about it. But such was* Busseyes *forward heate, and iollitie to the businesse, as that* La Noue, *who was inferiour to none in true valour, disdained to refuse that, which the other still vrged, and made so light of. And being stirred by* Busseyes *daring brauery, he fell to the businesse, and led* Bussey *such a dance in his hose and doubled vnarmed to the discouery, and so slily carried him on still with a sober discourse, further and further into the very mouth of the Cannon and Musket shot, with a soft steady pace, as that* Bussey *began to finde and dislike their entertainment, seeing the imminent danger that they still ranne into. And thereupon suddenly asked* La Noue, *what he meant so farre openly to ingage himselfe, and on so slow a pace: whereto* La Noue *answered, that hee did so, to make* Bussey *know, that* La Noue *had a heart as well to execute, as a tongue to giue counsell when neede required. But at last, they both falling into the true reckoning of their follies; the one, for vrging a valiant old Souldier, and the other for assenting to the vaine-glorious humour of youthly inconsiderate courage, came off very quietly both togather, hauing had their fits of discouering. And yet these* Simullates (*as the Latines name them*) *haue euer in all ages raigned.* Cæsar *in his* Commentaries

Dangerous discouery.

Scarfe-brauery perillous.

Discouery best left discouered

makes

makes an especiall obseruation of two of his Captaines for the like: The one was called Titus Pulfio, *and the other* Lucius Varenus, *and it happened in his Warres of* France, *in the wintering Campe of* Quintus Cicero, *one of his Lieutenants being furiously assaulted by the* Gauls, *but most resolutely defended. The manner hee describeth excellently, and large, in his* Commentaries, *to which I referre you.*

And now to our purpose, by this time, we had reasonably to our satisfaction, made a sufficient discouery, both of the way for our Troopes to passe, and also of the ascents to the high Fort on the Mountaine. And then there came vnto vs Captaine *Berry*, and one Master *Henry Allen*, and others; who finding me hurt, very kindely bemoned my harme, and I in requitall of their curtesie, as much lamented the want of all their good companies at that banquet; vpon the comming of these vnto vs, we sent backe two of our men to Captain *Bret* (Sergeant Maior for that time) to be his Guides, and to will him presently to march on with his Troopes towards the Towne after vs, and that we would stay for them, because we then looked to be fought withall, or at the least, to haue some little sally, or bickering out of the Fort at the Towns end, which we must needes passe by, before we could come to the Town. This was a very fine fortification all of stone worke, with curtaine, flankers, and ditch, very artificially cast: but presently vpon our approach they abandoned it, and in our passing by we entred into it, and found that they had newly forsaken the place. The like did they afterwards from the Towne, and were all fled vp into the Countrie, and into the Mountaines, sauing those two hundred that were garrisoned in the high Fort. The Towne was emptied, and left very bare of all things, but of such wares as could not suddenly be remoued: which was Wine, Salt, and Corne, whereof they left a little store for our refreshing. The rest of our Troopes by this time were now come on very neere to the Towne, but there were some fiue and twentie of them shot, and some seuen or eight slaine in the passage.

Fortification forsaken. Towne abandoned.

And in this manner we did afterwards enter the Town very peaceably; which was a pleasant place, built all of Stone, and couered with Tile; and full of fine Gardens, Orchards, and Wels of delicate waters, with faire Streets, and one very faire Church, and also a Nunnery, and a Fryerie. It is in bignesse about the proportion of *Plymouth*, or *Yarmouth*, but seated much like *Douer* Town. This Island is of late yeeres become very watchfull, and the people more growne to the vse of fit armes, and haue for their defence erected this new fortification, on the high hill, with a Garrison of two hundred *Spaniards* in it. For not long before, it had bin very gallantly surprised, and (as I thinke) sacked, and ransomed, by the right Honorable *George Clifford* Earle of *Comberland* (a noble Gentleman) that had often exposed both his purse, and his person, to his great honour and experience in those Seafaring Aduentures. And presently vpon our entrance we made Barricadoes, placed good Guards in diuers parts, and a strong *Corps de Guard* in the Market place. For the town being vnwalled, we were to suspect, that if we lay there open, and carelesly refreshing our selues, and our souldiers scattered abroad in seeking for victuals, we might easily be surprised without good order, and directions giuen, before we fell to our repast, or rest. But this order being first performed, then were others at better liberty to search safely for bootie. Therefore Proclamation was made, that vpon paine of death none should straggle twenty score without the Towne, and that not without the knowledge and leaue of an Officer, and then to goe vpon their guard with fit weapon, and company. Hauing now refreshed and reposed our selues all night without any trouble, more then two false alarmes, that were giuen vpon the sight of diuers of the inhabitants that approached towards the Towne, to view the manner of our dealings with their buildings (which proued nothing, but mistrust of the worst) for which, all things were well prouided to withstand the enemy) the next morning being the 22. of September, euen with the day breake, we might see our Generall with his Fleete at hand, bearing in with all sailes towards the Roade of *Fayall*, who all this while had bin beating vp and down the Seas, looking about for the *Adelantado*, and other Aduentures. Vpon his arriuall, our intent for attempting the high Fort was frustrated, and all our proceedings in *Fayall* were by Sir *Guillie Merricke* at large related, vnto our Generall, and so aggrauated, and wrested into an euill sense, by him, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, Sir *Anthony Sherly*, and others, by putting my Lord in the head, that these parts were plaied by the Reare Admirall onely to steale honor, & reputation from him, and to set his owne forwardnesse to the view of the world; which intimation of theirs, was an exception that they know our Generall was very apt of his owne disposition to take hold of, being a man that did affect nothing in the world so much as Fame, and to be reputed matchlesse for magnanimitie, and vndertaking, and could hardly indure any that should obscure his glory in that kinde, though otherwise he fauoured them neuer so much. *And that this is true, those that vnderstand his humour best, cannot iustly deny. The which (I protest) I doe not speake, either out of any neglect of one that is dead, or to picke a thanke of any that liues, but simply out of a resolution to write an vnpartiall truth, or else to be silent. For those spirits that base flattery, or seruile feare doth transport in fashioning their Histories, are of all others to be reputed the vnworthiest, and most pernicious in a well-pallicied Common wealth. For wee see that those Heathens, which haue written the stories of* Cyrus Pyrrhus, Alexander, Haniball, Scipio, Cæsar, *and of all other those great Kings, & renowned Heroes, do as well taxe them for their vices, as glorifie them for their vertues: For, who liues without fault? And so sincerly & boldly do they follow the truth in their writings, as that*

They enter the Towne. Towne described.

Earle of *Cumberland*. See *sup. l. 6. c. 1.*

Their order for safety and booty.

The Generall comming.

Sir *Guilly Mericks* vnharitable officiousnesse.

Earle of *Essex* his ambition of honour.

they are therby freed from malice, or revenge, because they are free from all partialitie; or if any spleen arise, yet it is secret; for the prosecution of such sinceritie, is reputed meere impietie in all sorts, and flat Tyrannie in Princes. And to conclude, this impotent humor of indureing rivalsty, and other mens praises, is very incident to men in high places, especially if they be of great courage, or tickled with Ambition.

It was be ides aileadged, that the presumption and scorne, to land such Forces without his Lordships leaue, was not to be passed ouer without seuere punishment, and a Marshall Court fit to be called, to censure the offence and breach of order, and discipline, with many other as bitter arguments, and deuises, as their wits could compasse, to aggrauate the Generals wrath against all that were in this Action, and especially the Reare Admirall. Against whom, they spared not so farre to inueigh, as that they gaue it out, that he was well worthy to loose his head for his labour. And so had they inueighed the Generall against vs all, as that all the forenoone was spent in reprehending and displacing all the Land Captaines, and Officers that accompanied the Reare Admirall in that Action, who being sent for to answere before the Generall aboord his ship, was before the Messenger came for him, gone in his Barge to see the Generall, and to guide him to the Land, not so much as suspecting that any thing had bin ill taken for that matter, but rather looking for great thankes at the Generall his hands. But so soone as he entred the Generals ship, he found all mens countenances estranged, as he passed through them. And when he was entred into the Generals cabbin, after a faint welcome, the Generall began to challenge him of breach of order and Articles: To whom the Reare Admirall answered, that he knew not of any such breach: my Lord replied, that there was an article that none should land any of the Troopes without the Generals presence, or his order. The Reare Admirall desired the Generall to giue him leaue to defend himselfe by those Lawes, which himselfe as well as others had deuised, and his Lordship with the Counsell of warre had authorised, and that then his Lordship should finde, that he had not committed any Errour at all. *For* (saith he) *there is an Article, that no Captaine of any ship, nor Captaine of any Company, if he be seuered from the Fleete, shall land any where without direction, from the Generall, or some other principall Commander, vpon paine of death, &c. But I take my selfe (said he) to be a principall Commander, vnder your Lordship, and therefore not subiect to that Article, nor vnder the power of the law Marshall, because a successiue commander of the whole Fleete in her Maiesties Letters Patents, your Lordship, and my Lord* Thomas Howard *failing. And besides your Lordship agreed that I should land at this Island, with your Lordship, whom I haue attended these foure dayes, and finding that your Lordship came not, being in your way thitherwards halfe a dozen leagues before, I waied anchor, I could not but thinke, that you thought me strong inough to take this Island, and that your Lordship was gone, with some of the rest to some of the other Islands. And staied so long from landing at Sir* Guillie Merrickes *intreatie, as I heard mine owne company, euen at my backe, murmur, and say, that I durst not aduenture it. And to tell your Lordship a plaine truth, my intent at first was onely to water, vntill I saw them follow me in that brauing manner, which with our reputations wee could not then shun, and gine ouer, being already in our Boates for that purpose. For if I had intended the taking of the Towne, I would neuer haue retired so farre off from our first Roade, that lay right before it.*

This dispute held some halfe houre, and then the Generall went ashoare, and rested himselfe in the Reare Admirals lodging, being well enough satisfied at that time. In so much as the Reare Admirall desired my Lord to sup there, and that if his Lordship ment to call the matter further in question, he would claime no priuiledge nor fauour thereby, but answer it in the morning. To which Sir *Christopher Blunt* (taking my Lords answere from him) said, that he thought my Lord would not sup at all. But the Reare Admirall finding Sir *Christopher Blunts* disposition, told him, that when he inuited him he might disable his owne appetite, but if my Lord pleased to stay, he would be very glad of his presence. In this meane while my Lord *Thomas Howard* very nobly, and kindely taking care, that no wrong, nor disgrace might be offered to the Reare Admirall by any deuise, or practise of his Enemies, dealt with the Generall to finde how hee stood resolued, and the next morning assured the Reare Admiral, that my Lord sought nothing but a due acknowledgement of an offence, alleadging that the rest would thinke him a very weake and tame Commander, if he should receiue no manner of satisfaction. The Reare Admirall hoping that hee had done nothing vniustifiable, and well assured, that he was successiuely in the Commission, for the whole commandement of the Fleete (and therefore not subiect to any corporall danger) as also because he assured himselfe of the Vice Admirall his honorable loue, and sincere dealing, came againe in the morning to visite the Generall. Otherwise (remembring the little trust that men ought to repose in reconciled enemies, and the strong malice borne him by others in greatest fauour with my Lord) had ment to haue put himselfe into his owne Squadron, and so to haue defended himselfe, or left my Lord. But my Lord *Thomas Howard*, perswading him to goe, and satisfie the Generall (vpon whose word onely he made that aduenture, after he had giuen him his honour, with great kindnesse, and resolution, that he would make himselfe a party, if any wrong or violence were offered, contrary to the Generals promise vnto him; he did as the Vice Admirall aduised him. And so all things after a little dispute came to a quiet end and conclusion.

And within a day or two after, the Generall accompanied with the Vice Admirall, and other Lords, and Commanders dined aboord our ship, where he was exceedingly intertained, and contented.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* commeth aboord the Generall.

Accusation.

His answere.

Lord T. *Howard* (now Earle of *Suffolke*) his Christian and friendly mediation.

The Generall pacified.

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tented. Onely this I omitted that when the Generall committed Captaine *Bret*, *Berry*, and *Sydney*, The Reare Admirall deſired that thoſe Gentlemen might receiue no hard meaſure in his cauſe, for whatſoeuer his Lordſhip doth conceiue to haue bin miſdone, hee muſt take it wholly on himſelfe to anſwere, being at that time the Chiefe and Commander. This I haue ſet downe in manner as I heard it, then from men of good ſort, not being preſent thereat my ſelfe, nor at that time able to waite on the Generall, by reaſon of the ſhot through my legge, which I had receiued but the day before, in this thankleſſe ſeruice.

Thus was the whole day ſpent in reprehending and diſciplining vs for our paines. And yet notwithſtanding, theſe aggrauators, and chiefe Inſtigators of our Generall, vouchſafed to take the benefit of our reproued Trauailes, in lodging, and refreſhing themſelues in this good Towne, both this night, and three or foure dayes after. But in the ſame day that our Generall arriued, about one of the clocke after midnight, all the *Portugals*, and *Spaniards* in the high Fort, with their bagge and baggage, abandoned the place, leauing behinde them ſix peeces of great Artillery mounted. For when they ſaw the whole Fleete together, and ſo many gallant Troopes land with our Generall, their hearts fainted, and ſo they fled into the Countrie, and woddy Mountaines adioining. Then in the morning when it was too late (although as yet wee knew not ſo much) direction was giuen to certaine troopes, and companies, to guard all the foot of the high Fort, to ſtop, and ſtay them from ſtealing from thence, that were already gone, for it was giuen out, that if they did not preſently ſurrender it, the place ſhould be aſſailed.

High Fort abandoned.

But when newes was brought that they had abandoned the Fort, and carried all away, then was there much deſcanting of the foule ouerſight, ſo to ſuffer the Birds to eſcape out of the Cage, that might haue bin ſo ſurely kept, if we had not beſtowed more labour in diſciplining and correcting our owne pretended faults for landing, then diſcretion or diligence in proſecuting the Enemy, whom we had at an aduantage. For preſently vpon their arriuall, they did nothing but examine and diſcipline our offence. Whereas if they had gone in hand with the Fort, and caſt a carefull eye thereunto, we had not loſt the ranſoming of ſo many *Spaniſh* priſoners, nor the benefit of the ſpoyle which they had carried out of the Towne, for ſafty to that place. And at this groſſe errour there was much muttering. But now diuers of the land officers (to colour and excuſe their owne default) laid this blame alſo on *vs*, alleadging that we ſhould haue left a good guard vpon the Fort, if we had done like men of warre, vpon our firſt landing, and then all had bin ſure. And although this excuſe paſſed at firſt for ſome paiment, for the common and more ignorant ſort, yet all men of iudgement could eaſily perceiue, how impoſſible a matter it was for vs out of foure hundred and ſixtie to ſpare ſo many, as ſhould ſufficiently guard two hundred ſouldiers, from ſallying out of ſuch a Fort, and yet proceede with the recouering of the other Fort, and Towne that was before vs. For the defence of both which, the Iſland was able and had in readineſſe (as our ſpies and guides aſſured vs) aboue one thouſand able men well furniſhed, vpon whom we were to haue a vigilant eye, and to keepe a conuenient ſtrength after we had once poſſeſſed the Towne. But after the Generall was come, this might eaſily haue bin performed, or if he had not come, they had not fled ſo ſuddainly, and the ſame morning, wee our ſelues had attempted the Fort, and made no doubt to carry it. But then with the preſence of our Generall, vpon his arriuall, all our determinations, and authorities were concluded.

Enuie ſpieth more in pretended, then in profeſſed enemies, and is alway worſt to it ſelfe, though bad to all.

Afterwards when our men entred this Fort, which the *Spaniards* had abandoned, there they found diuers peeces of Artillery, and an *Engliſh* Gentleman whoſe name was *Hart*, and a *Flemming* with both their throates cut. Then were there certaine companies ſent abroad the Country, to trace thoſe *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, and to make waſte of all that lay in their way. But of the Garriſon they could neuer recouer one man. Now after three or foure dayes the anger and diſlikes of our Generall towards vs, were well pacified, and vpon further conſideration and conference with the Reare Admirall of his doings, hee grew againe into very kinde tearmes with him, and at his ſuite releaſed and reſtored all the diſgraced Captaines that landed, and were in this ſeruice, and ſo hauing taken all the benefit, and refreſhing of this Towne, and Iſland that we could come by, our time being ſo ſhort, on the foureteenth of September we were all commanded to goe aboord. And ſo for a farewell, and for the funerals of our loſt men, and thoſe two that were ſo diſpitefully murthered in the high Fort, the Towne was brauely ſet on fire, and all the Ordnance of the Towne, and Forts brought away with vs. And I am perſwaded that if the warres had not bin by chance ſo begun before by vs, vpon that Iſland by their owne ſeeking, and fooliſh brauery, and afterwards aggrauated by their cruelty in murthering ſo deſpitefully two of our company in the high Fort, *Fayall* had eſcaped as ſcotfree as did *Cuerno*, *Flores*, *Gratioſa*, Saint *Michaels*, or any of the other. For ſurely they were all at our mercy, the Fort of *Tercera* onely excepted. But in all theſe Actions I obſerued, and well ſaw, that our Generall in his true diſpoſition, affected rather to be renowned for bounty, clemency, and valour, then for the glory of a dreadfull Conquerour. All this while the *Flemmings* were playing their parts in the Iſle of *Pike*, which was about a league from *Fayall*; where I leaue them ranſacking the Wines, and burning all that was within their power.

Hart and another left with throates cut.

Towne fired.

Reward of cruelty is cruelty.

The ſix and twentieth of September we made towards *Gratioſa*, where wee caſt ancor, and

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Graciosa submitteth it selfe.

presently whilest we roade before it, there came aboord our Generall, the chiefe men of the Iland submitting themselues, and craving mercy of our Generall, alleadging (as they of *Flores* had done) that the inhabitants thereof were *Portugals*, and friends, and naturall Enemies to the *Spaniards*, though they wanted meanes and force to show it, being held vnder them by strong hand. To this Iland our Generall shewed his accustomed mercy, and required of them some prouisions of Wine, Fruites, and fresh victuals, for the relieuing of the Fleete; but of any other composition we heard not, although it was supposed they did, or might haue yeelded a better ransome: but this was very willingly sent by the inhabitants vnto vs. Here some of the Commanders went aboord the Generall, and besought him to goe aland, and somewhat better to survey this Iland, and for one day to let his Fleete ancor in that Roade, which his Lordship shewed great willingnesse vnto. But the Master of the Generals Ship, whose name was *Grome* (a dull and vnluckie fellow) was vtterly against that counsell, and alleadged that the yeere was farre spent, and the place of anchoring there not good for the ground tackle, protesting that it would be dangerous for the whole Fleete, and put it in hazard, and therefore very earnestly perswaded and vrged the leauing of that Roade; which aduise of his, our Generall then followed, to our great losse, and hinderance, as afterwards it fell out. But *Grome* the Master must pardon mee to say in mine opinion, that it was an vndiscreete aduise, so to diuert our Fleete in such haste from that Iland, considering the long aboade he made afterwards before Saint *Michaels*, and at *Villa Franca*, to lesse purpose in as ill Roades as this, and later in the yeere. Hereupon wee wayed, leauing *Gratiosa* vpon Saint *Michaels* Eue, and made for Saint *Michaels* Iland, and on Saint *Michaels* day, early in the morning, we made that land, and bare in with the shoare. And as wee came very neere vnto it, two of the Sterne-most Ships of our Fleete, shot off twice or thrice, and bare vp with all sailes they could packe on, towards the Admirals ship.

Grome taxed.

Saint *Michael.*

Newes of the *Indian* Fleet.

These brought newes of the *Indian* Fleete then by them discouered, comming directly from the Roade of *Gratiosa*, that the Generall had so vnwillingly left but the Euening before, by the vnluckie aduice of *Grome* the Master of his ship. Vpon the Intelligence giuen by these two ships, our Admirall shot off a peece, and presently cast about, and therewithall, wee in the other ships perceiued casting vp of Hats, and great shootes aboord the Admirall, for ioy of this newes. And the like afterwards was done in the Vice-Admirals ship, and so passed throughout all the Fleete.

Three *Spanish* ships taken.

Within some few houres after, we incountered, and tooke three *Spanish* ships, comming from the *Hauana*, the greatest of them being about foure hundred tunnes, and esteemed to be a very rich ship, as well for the lading, as for the passengers that were in her. To this *Spaniard*, our ship called the *Wastspight* being neerest, gaue Chase, and caused her to stricke, and yeelde: but yet my Lord Generall hasting after, would suffer none but his owne Boate to goe aboord her, being full of good prisoners, and pillage besides her lading, which was Cochynella, and other such rich Wares. This ship and the other two that were in her company, being very good prises also, made to the Generall a relation of forty sailes of *Indian* men, whereof some eight were fraughted with the Kings Treasure, that did disenbarge with them from the *Hauana*, bound for *Spaine*. And as we after heard, the *Garland*, the *Rainebow*, the *Dreadnaught*, the *Marigold*, and others, fell amongst sixteene saile of the richest of this *Indian* Fleete, whereof they foundred one, and whilest they were busie in seeking to take the spoile of her (as it was credibly reported) all the rest did escape, and recouer *Tercera*. But of this I speake as the generall voice went, and not vpon other assurance, for they were then separated from vs, and the rest of the Fleete; *And therefore I must adde this conclusion, to desire that I may of the vnderstanding sort be pardoned, if in these relations I cannot truely, nor at large write the accidents, and courses of all their ships in particular, being no eye witnesse thereof, nor possibly could so be. For to doe that in a land army, or in a battaile is very hard, and much more in a Sea Voyage consisting of so many ships sometimes separated.*

Vpon intelligence of this escaping, and passing by so vnluckily of these *Indian* Ships, we were all much perplexed. For by that chance, and by our vnfortunate hast from *Gratiosa*, but the very night before, wee saw that Euen, the wrath of destiny denied to make vs so happy, as to bee masters of so great a fortune, as then had fallen into our laps, if wee had not still followed all those counsells that fell out to the worst. Notwithstanding, with all the speed wee could make, we instantly followed after them to *Tercera*, where they were entred some sixe houres before vs, and had moored their Ships fast vnder the Towne and Fort, being one of the strongest pieres of all *Europe*. There wee might aloofe behold them safe within the Road; which was a great Inlet inuironed with a high Land, in manner of *Peninsula*; so as the Shippes lay vnder the command of two strong Fortifications, a place neither fit nor possible for our Ships to follow them, except we had meant, that they should haue there stuck fast for comming out againe. Now was there a generall counsell called aboord the Admirall, what course to take heerein, and many great aduentures proposed and offered to bee attempted, by some Coronels and Captaines, with Boates and Pinnaces for the landing of men, to force those places, but all in vaine, and altogether vnseasonable. For whereas they, with one thousand fiue hundred men, offered to take both the Iland and Forts, some others of the chiefest Sea-Commanders (in their iudgements, well knowing the great difficultie to Land men, and Munitions on so disaduantagious a place, and in so euill a season of the

Indian Fleete pursued to *Tercera.*

The Peere described.

A Counsell.

yeere:

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yeere; besides the great strength of the Fortifications, so well furnished at that time by this new arriuall) were vtterly against it, as a matter friuolous, and of more apparant danger to our selues, then to the Enemy, and for it yeelded sundry reasons. All which these Coronels seemed to account light of, and would needs in great brauery, still vrge the vndertaking of it, if they might haue but the proportion of one thousand fiue hundred men, before spoken of; which the General himselfe seemed greatly to allow, and insist vpon, and therefore of necessitie to be yeelded vnto by the inferiour Commanders.

But our Vice-Admirall, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, finding indeed the marke whereat some of our great Captaines shot, to wit, that it would haue serued their turnes to haue vaunted, that if the Vice-Admirall, and Reare-Admirall had beene willing to this enterprise, and not crossed it by counter counsells, the *Spanish* Fleet and Treasure (by mastering the Ilands of *Tercera*) might haue been recouered, his Lordship resolued either to tie them to their pretended resolutions, or to make them see, that they could not serue themselues of him, by any such fineneſse & pretence. And therefore told the general plainly, that if indeed he would so willingly haue it attempted, himselfe, and the Reare-Admirall for their parts would be forward and readie to aduenture as farre as any others. And moreouer, the better to inable the action, said, that they would vndertake to find him three thousand strong and able men, to spare out of the Fleet, and yet leaue the Nauie sufficiently manned. And therefore (said they) if your Lordship see no other reasons to let or hinder this offered attempt, there shal be no want of so many men as we speake of, which is double the number that was demanded. But vpon this constant offer, the matter was againe debated, and grew somewhat colder, being better digested. So as in conclusion it was deemed inconuenient, and impossible to be effected, as our Forces and helpes, and theirs at that time stood, and the time of the yeere so farre spent, and the winds and the Seas growne so tempestuous for landing in Boats. But if this offer had not bin made, then, the relinquishing of these glorious motions, and attempts, had bin laid vpon the backwardneſse and diſſwations of the Sea-men, which was well enough perceiued, and therefore accordingly answered.

Digression touching rash onsets and *brauados*. Sir *R. Greenuile* his story you haue before, which perhaps may somwhat better excuse him.

These vnseasonable offers, and Brauadoes, *puts me in mind of the like inconsiderate vnfortunate action of Sir* R. Greenfield *in the* Reuenge, *who being Vice-Admirall to the same Lord* Thomas Howard *Admirall in a iourney to these Ilands in certaine of the Queenes Ships, they fortuned to meet with a great Fleet of the King of* Spaines, *neere to the Ile of* Flores, *consisting of so many huge and mighty Gallions, as was no way fit for them to vndertake, being in number and force three times as strong as ours was. And therefore fitter to be warily dealt withall, then rashly aduentured vpon. Wherefore the Admirall (out of the due consideration and indgement of the office, and place hee held, as also for that at his returne home, hee was to giue a strict account of the charge committed vnto him) thought it fit to keepe still aloofe, and in the weather of this powerfull Nauie, and so to fight with them at his best aduantage, off, and on, as occasion serued, or else to free himselfe from them if need required: For his Ships being more nimble, yare, and swift, then the* Spaniards, *it had bin a grosse errour to haue thrust himselfe wilfully in amongst them, and so to giue them the aduantage of boording, being high and mighty built Ships, throughly manned and full of shot, and the manner of fight, by boording most aduantageous for those huge Gallions. Besides being, as they were all men of Warre, and thrice as many as the* English, *and no other benefit to bee got by boording them, but blowes, and the hazard of battaile, which is vncertaine victory; it behooued him aduisedly to carry himselfe, and rather to follow the heedy steps of a* Fabius Maximus, *then the headie fury of a* Terentius Varro. *But his Vice-Admirall, being indeed a man very wilfull, and violent in his courses, could in no wise be perswaded to follow his Admirall, and his consorts. But thrusting himselfe rashly in amongst the* Spaniards, *those mighty Vessels being a Sea-boord, and some of them getting into the weather of him, so becalmed all his sayles, as that hee could not vse the benefit of working vpon a wind to his best aduantage, nor free himselfe of them when hee would, but was clapt aboord by two or three of them; where to redeeme his errour, seeing hee had brought himselfe so vndiscreetly into a desperate worke, he very resolutely fought, and made long resistance, to the great annoyance and losse of the Assaylants. But in the end, being shaken and beaten to sitters with their great Ordnance, and oppressed with the multitude of them, comming in fresh vpon him, was by mayne force mastered, and yet disdaining to yeeld, for that hee had receiued his deaths wound in the fight, sought by all meanes to haue blowne vp his Ship, by setting fire on his owne Powder roome, and therewithall to haue destroyed as many of the* Spaniards *as lay aboord him; but by the care of his Captaine (whose name was* Laughorne) *was withstood and preuented. A right antient* Roman *resolution, but somewhat too much varying from the true Christian Religion; to draw a violent and sudden death on so many soules, for the better grazing of his particular errour. And in this sort by his owne wilfulneſse, brought he one of the Royall Nauie, into the power and possession of the* Spaniards, *which during all the Warres, neuer before nor after they could obtaine. And a faire grace of God it was, that his fond example had not inticed more of them, at the same time to the like folly and ruine. Now the best that hee could hope for, was after the exchanging of some great shot with them, to haue come of againe if hee could. A brauery to small purpose, for to subdue them, was not in the power of all the* English, *if they had beene as many more in all likelihood and reason. Vpon which grounds wise Commanders ought to build their resolutions, before they put themselues to the hazard of battaile. Besides, in truth it was a very insolent and disorderly part, for a Vice-Admirall, being a man of his yeeres and*

Roman examples.

Reuenge, the only Ship of the Nauy Royall, possessed by the *Spaniards* and dearly bought.

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and experience, so wilfully without cause, against all discretion to vary from his Admirals course, and from the opinion of all his Consorts, onely to bid himselfe voluntarily to so foolish and bitter a banquet, wherein hee could be but lost. And hard would it be for Generalls, and Chiefe Commanders to fulfill their Instructions, or satisfie that which is expected at their hands, if they should be drawne on, or ingage themselues, by the vaine example of euery one that is carryed with a headdy humour, to follow his owne wilfull conceit. For so was that noble Paulus Æmilius, *and the* Roman *Armie with him lost, at the Battaile of* Cannas, *in being constrained to second the foolish bravery of* Varro, *his rash Colleague. And in the like* Rich. D. of Yorke *vnadvised desperate sort, did that valiant Duke of* Yorke, Richard Plantagenet, *Father to* Edward *the Fourth, wilfully cast away himselfe, when with fiue thousand men onely, contrary to the perswasions and counsell of all his friends, out of the pride of his bravery, hee would needs sally out of his Castle of* Sandall, *and give battaile to the Queenes Army, that was twenty thousand strong: whereby his weake forces were quickely defeated, at* Wakefield, *and himselfe slaine, with his young sonne the Earle of* Rutland. *It is said to bee the dutie of a great Captaine, to seeke victory with as little losse to himselfe, as may bee, and more military discipline shewed in making a faire and safe retrait, then in giuing a furious and desperate charge.* Sir Io. Norris. *The experience whereof was well seene, in that gallant Souldier Sir* Iohn Norris, *who wan as much Honour and Fame, by that brave, and well ordered retrait which hee made before* Gaunt, *as in any one piece of seruice that euer hee did. We had also fresh in our memories, a Sea experiment of the very like tragicall successe of Sir* Richard Greenfield, *in the like rash attempt of* Peter de Stroſſe, *Admiral of a* French *Fleet, against a mightie* Spanish *Nauy, commanded by the Marquesse of* Sancta Cruce, *at these Ilands. Where this* Stroſſe *out of a wilfull bravery, contrary to the better advice of all his Captaines, and Masters, having alreadie landed many brave troupes of* Frenchmen, *in the Ilands, as assistant to* Don Anthonio, *named King of* Portugall, *vpon the first view would needes lay the Marquesse and the* Spanish *Fleet aboord, being compassed of mightie huge Gallions, and the* French *but slender nimble Ships. By which vnequall match, and foolish daring, he was beaten downe right, all his Nauie destroyed (sauing the Count* Brysack, *and a few others of better iudgement, that would not follow his vaine course) and himselfe being taken prisoner, was aliue most despitefully torne, and drawne asunder with two Ships. Thus lost he himselfe, and his honour, brought many gallant Gentlemen and Souldiers to a butcherly execution, and vtterly thrust* Don Anthonio *from the possession of the Iles of* Asores, *and confounded all those braue* French *troupes, which a little before he had placed in them. But in another manner, and with better successe were our affaires gouerned, in the yeere* 88. *when that mightie Fleet of* Spaine, *which they termed* Example of 88 inuincible, *came to inuade vs. For then I remember, amongst other good discipline, and instructions for the Sea fight; it was straitly ordained, that none of our Ships should voluntarily (if they could by any meanes auoid it) lay any* Spaniards *aboord, but alwayes to fight with them vpon aduantage, and indeauour by all meanes to keepe into the weather of them, and so leaue or take as occasion serued, they comming to inuade, and our end only to keep them from landing. The which direction was so well obserued, as that this inuincible Fleet, for all their force and powerfull appearance, proued at last insuisible, left many of their Ancors and good Ships behind them, got not, nor sunke any one of ours: but being sore gauled and beaten, with this manner of fight, and greatly affrighted with fire, and such like stratagems, were at last glad to packe away, as fast as they could ont rt the backe doore. I meane by the North Seas, round about* Scotland, *and* Ireland: *wherein they found a miserable and tedious flight, neuer having gotten so much as a dish of our fresh water, nor euer landed one man (except prisoners) vpon our Coast. Now, if our Admirall, the Lord* Charles Howard *had beene a wilfull Commander, standing vpon those vaine glorious termes of boording and assaulting the enemy, and not haue proceeded by counsell and policie temperately, then had he done that which the* Spaniards *expected and desired, their Ships being fit for the purpose, and comming to boording and handy fight, might very well haue distressed vs, and so haue hazarded both the Nauie, and the Kingdome together. But this noble Lord, as hee was very fortunate and indicious in Sea seruice, so* L. Admirall commended. *hee truely and wisely considered, how great a weight and charge lay on his iudgement and trust, and therefore did accordingly, with great wisdome and temper marshall his affaires, to the ouerthrow of his Enemies, to the perpetuall honour of his name, and the victorious seruing of his Prince and Countrey. This therefore may may stand for a Maxime and Caueat, to all great and wise Commanders, that to whom a King or State commits the trust and direction of an Army: It bridles him in the free vse of his owne courage, or from expressing (vpon euery temptation) his particular valour. For that forward humour of daring, is to be vsed in younger yeeres, before they arriue to these places of dignitie or command; and then euer after, counsell should command their courage, alwayes wrapping their heads in the Furre of the Foxe, and their Armes seldome in the Lyons skin, setting aside all respects of braning or vaine glory, as did that* Fabius Cunctator, *of whom* Ennius *in praise saith;* Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem.

And these presidents I haue here taken occasion to record, thereby onely to shew what inconueniences and detriments doe follow such vnbridled heat, and headdy humours, and to the contrary, what benefit and aduantage is gained in the true vse of timely and temperate proceedings. For surely, if these desperate offers, made by the Land Souldiers, instigating our forward Generall to the taking of the Terceta, *had beene then put in execution, the end had beene, that many a valiant man had there left his bones, and the rest returned home with the scorne of a disgraced attempt. Besides, if the Adelantado with the* Spanish *Nauie had then chanced to haue come on our backes, whilest our best men were ashoare ingaged about this desperate and vnfeasable enterprise, it might haue turned to the destruction of the whole Fleet, or at the least*

leaſt to the aſſured loſſe of as many as were landed about that buſineſſe. But (thankes be to God) good counſell preuailed, and preuented thoſe hazards.

After that this diſpute was ſo calmely concluded; our Generall himſelfe, and the Lord *Mountioy* in the *Defiance*, and two or three other tall Ships, bare in as cloſe along the ſhoare as they could, exchanging vpon pleaſure, ſome fifteene or twentie great ſhot with them, to very little purpoſe, and ſo left the Ile of *Tercera*, a place very ſtronge both by Nature and Art, and at that time well ſtored with Men, Munition, and Treaſure; by reaſon of the late arriuall of thoſe *Indian* Ships. From thence wee returned againe to the Ile of Saint *Michaells*, which before on *Michaelmaſſe* day wee made, and left then vpon this Intelligence. And now as ſoone as we were entred into the Road, that lies before Saint *Michaells* Towne, wee let fall our Ancors, and there; the Generall accompanied with diuers of our chiefe Officers, comming aboord our Reare-Admirall, hung out a Flag of Counſell, where it was conſulted about landing, and the taking of this good Town, which lay ſo glorioufly before our eies, promiſing many rich rewards to the Victors: In the which there was a ſlight Fort towards the Sea ſide, but the Towne vnwalled. The Generall appointed that all Companies ſhould bee made ready to land forthwith. But our Reare-Admirall deſired his Lordſhip; that hee would firſt permit him to view the place, and to find out where the Army might beſt make a deſcent, becauſe the Billowes about thoſe Ilands doe ſometimes ſo roule from the Sea, as might eaſily ouerturne the beſt Boates we had, as wee found by experience at *Fayall*, where wee had two long Boats ouerturned in landing, and Maſter *Thomas Rugway* alſo throwne with a Sea on the Rockes in his Boat. Our Generall at firſt, yeelded to the Reare-Admiralls requeſt, for viewing a fit place. But as hee was putting off, and ſcarce gone from the Ships ſide twentie paces, my Lord, ſtanding in the Gallery with Sir *Chriſtopher Blont*, called him backe againe in great haſt, and ſaid that he would goe himſelfe, and view it. Whereupon the Reare-Admirall returned againe, as my Lord commanded; and as his Lordſhip went out of the Ship into his Barge vnarmed altogether, but with his Coller and Sword, and without either Shot or Pike to waite on him, the Reare-Admirall called aloud vnto him, and deſired his Lordſhip to take his Caske, and Target proofe with him, if hee purpoſed to goe neere the ſhoare, ſeeing there lay ſo many Muskets on the reſt, there to receiue him. Whereunto my Lord anſwered, That hee would none, becauſe hee diſdained to take any aduantage of the Watermen that rowed him.

They arriue at S. *Michaels* the ſecond time.

Hollow Sea.

Boldneſſe by ſome eſteemed fortitude.

But (in my opinion) though that anſwere much ſhewed his valour, yet became it not the place that my Lord held, for in truth a Generall ought not to bee ſo aduenturous, and careleſſe of himſelfe vpon euery ſlight occaſion, nor to goe vnarmed to places of imminent perill. Homer *deſcribes the valiant* Heroes, *and braueſt Leaders of the* Greekes *to be beſt armed: As* Achilles, *an excellent Armour framed by* Vulcan, *at the requeſt of* Thetis *his mother, and* Aiax *with his ſeuenfold ſhield. Inſomuch as their very armes are famous euen to theſe dayes, the vſe whereof now wee make ſcornefull. But they are no beaten Souldiers in the warres, that hold theſe opinions: for it is truly ſaid, that a great and wiſe Generall ſhould dye old. And I haue read that famous* Epaminondas, *was fined by his Countrymen the* Thebanes, *for being too forward, and ſeruing in a battaile ill armed, although he wan the victory.* But to our matter: After that theſe landing places were viewed a farre off, and were not well liked, nor yet ſo neerely approached at that time, as within Culuerin Shot (for there lay all alongſt the ſhoare aboue foure hundred Shot vpon the reſt, intrenched to beate on our Boats;) in concluſion, after many offers and ſuruies made aloofe, the conueniences of that place, for landing was excepted againſt. Albeit in truth it was a faire and ſandy beach (as all the Fleet might well perceiue) and ſome foure or fiue miles from the Towne, and Fort, and much more eaſie then that of *Fayall*, where wee before wan our landing. And that this is moſt true, many that were preſent (now liuing) and ſaw both, can iuſtly affirme.

And although our Generall himſelfe, was very reſolute and apt to vndertake any good occaſion of ſeruice, yet hee was then ſo led and accompanied with ſuch politicke Land Captaines, as that of all the ſeruices which fell into conſultations and deliberations, thoſe moſt commonly, which were vnfeaſable, were offered to bee vndertaken, and things more likely and reaſonable neglected. Whereby our affaires ſpeed accordingly. And in this regard that this diſcent was not by my Lord Generall his viewers, allowed of, as fit for the Army to land at, ſo many Enſignes being placed and intrenched there to impeach vs, it was preſently by another conſultation agreed, that the Reare-Admirall ſhould with all the ſtrength of the Fleet, lye as neere before the Towne of Saint *Michael*, as conueniently they could, to hold them in expectation, whileſt my Lord Generall and the reſt, with two thouſand men imbarked into ſmall Barkes and Pinnaces, ſecretly in the night did conuey themſelues about the point, to land at a Towne called *Villa Franca*, ſome ſixe miles further then the firſt determinate landing. And for that purpoſe, they had moſt of all our Boates with them, and three *Engliſh* men for their guides, that perfectly knew all the Ilands and the Townes, by long trade and liuing amongſt them. Theſe three guides aſſured our Generall both of a quiet landing, and of a very faire and ſecret way, to march from thence to Saint *Michaels* Towne.

Villa Franca.

Our troupes being thus ſhipped, and our Generall alſo, they made haſt towardes *Villa Franca*, where

They land at *Villa Franca.*

where they arriued ſafe, & were al landed by the next morning, without any manner of reſiſtance. For moſt of all the Town vpon their arriuall abandoned the Town, and we that were left vnder the command of the Reare-Admirall, in the beſt Ships before the Towne of Saint *Michaells*, did all the night giue them perpetuall Alarums, with Shot, Drummes, and Trumpets, in ſuch Boats as were left, ſometimes in one place, ſometimes in another, alongſt the ſhoare, where the *Spaniards* kept their *Corps de Guards*, and fiers, who were often in great amazements, calling, and running to and fro, thinking verily that wee were landing in that place or about it. And thus wee did, to giue our Army the better, and more ſecret meanes to make their deſcent, and ſo to come vnlooked for on their backes, as their very way did lie, and might in truth very conueniently haue beene performed. They being thus landed, wee in the Ships did all the next day looke out apace, 10
hoping to ſee our troupes come marching ouer the Hills and Plaines, that were perfect in our view; for the moſt part of the way that they were to come, being all alongſt the Sea ſide, was in our ſight more brim from the Ships by farre, then if wee had beene aſhoare. But this good Towne of *Villa Franca*, had ſo welcomed and intertained our men, (being ſeated in a pleaſant
Hanibals Capua. ſoyle, full of fruits, wines, and freſh victualls, and the Sellars ſtuffed ſo full of Oade and Wheat) as that our Army was content there to ingarriſon, without any further purſuit of Saint *Michaels* Towne, and there for ſixe dayes together they lay feaſting, and carrying aboard of Oade, Wheat, Salt, and other merchandiſe, into certaine priuate mens Ships that followed the Fleet, for ſuch purpoſes.

Whileſt wee all in vaine ſtill gaped for their comming, which wee the rather thought would 20
haue bin at the laſt, for that in all this time, they neuer ſo much as ſent word, to make vs partakers of their determination to the contrary, whereby they would be ſure wee ſhould neither participate any of their Commodities, nor ſee the diſpoſure of them; although wee caſt many coniectures and aymed neere the marke, finding this lingring very ſtrange. But, to doe right to euery man, I aſſure my ſelfe, our Generall had no benefit of theſe wares and commodities, being of
The Earle excuſed. a diſpoſition too noble and bountifull to valiew ſuch trifles worth his regard. For it had beene eaſie for him to haue abounded with wealth and poſſeſſions, without following the fortune of the warres, or the hazard of the Seas, if hee had aymed at ſuch common markes. But in this meane while, as wee in the great Ships, ancored in Saint *Michaels* Road, there came in about the Point
A *Braſil* man. that lies weſtwards from the Towne, a ſmall *Braſil* man, and let fall his Ancor in the middeſt of 30
vs all. A little after him, wee might diſcerne aloofe off a mightie huge Carack, bearing in with
A mightie Carack. all ſayles toward vs, whom ſhee tooke to bee the *Spaniſh Armada*. And the *Braſil* man confeſſed that hee thought the ſame alſo: for the King of *Spaines* men of Warre (when he makes Fleets) are compounded of the ſhipping of diuers Nations, and therefore the more hardly to bee diſtinguiſhed from ours, which was at that time compounded of *Engliſh*, and *Holland* Bottoms; beſides one great *Spaniſh* Gallion, called the Saint *Andrew*, and ſome other leſſer *Spaniſh* Veſſels that wee had taken before. Now there blew a ſtiffe gale from the Land, ouer Saint *Michaels* Towne, in ſuch ſort, that ſhee muſt either put roome into the Sea, or fall vpon vs. For as the wind then ſtood, ſhe could not run in with the Towne or Fort by no meanes, neither was it any part of their meaning. 40

As ſoone as wee had made her to bee a Carrack, wee tooke in all our Flags by a generall commandement from our Reare-Admiral: and withall directions were giuen, that no man ſhould once weigh an Ancor, or ſhoot off a Peece, or put off a Boat, but with leaue or order. All this while ſhe ſtill bare in with vs, with all ſayles to the Boates end, when ſuddenly one of the *Holland* Squa-
Greedineſſe loſeth his morſell. dron (contrary to al diſcretion & the direction before) weighed his Ancors, hoiſed his top ſailes, & made towards this Carack, now ready to double the Poynt that entred the Road where we lay: and when the *Hollander* came neere the Carack, hee preſently made two or three Shot at her. Whereupon ſhee diſcouering vs to bee Enemies, changed her courſe, and at the very inſtant (in the view of vs al that obſerued it, as if ſhee had had the wind at her deuotion) the gale changed, & came full of the Seas: with the helpe whereof, and with the feare of falling into our hands, ſhee 50
The Carack ran her ſelfe on ground. She was ſet on fire. Examples of *Cades* voyage. tooke a reſolutiou to runne her ſelfe a ground, hard vnder the Towne and Fort. Which done, from thence there preſently came multitudes of Boats, fetching away their men and beſt wares, and that done, ſhee was inſtantly by them ſet on fire in many places at once, being full of great Ordnance, as appeared by the report they made. *Such is now the cuſtome and obſtinacie of all thoſe Seafaring men vnder the* Spaniſh *iuriſdiction, as that by reaſon of the ſeuere order, ſet downe by the King to that effect, they will careleſly burne their Ships, and wares, if they can eſcape themſelues, rather then to grow to any compoſition to ſaue halfe thereby. And the like was ſeene at* Cades, *by the Fleet that was outwards bound for the* Indies: *who after they had entertained a parley with vs, to compound for their Ships, and all the merchandize, at a ranſome of halfe the valew: whileſt they amuſed vs with this colourable pretence, thereby they gained time to ſteale out ſome of their goods, and afterwards ſet the* 60
Shippes on fire, where they road. But this argueth as great ſeueritie in the Soueraigne, as ſlauery in the ſubiect.

This Carrack was a Ship of infinite wealth, that at Saint *Hellens* watering as ſhee came from the Eaſt *Indies*, put ouer to *Braſil*, and ſo coaſted alongſt the Weſt *Indies*, and was fraughted with the

the riches and wares both of the East and West. Wee hasted all wee could when wee saw her a ground, tottering and reeling, with those few Boats wee had left, to haue entred her. But before wee could make vs readie, or come neere her, being three miles off, shee was on light fire in many places, her Ordnance thundring off apace, and too hot to bee approached, much lesse to bee entred at that time, without ineuitable destruction. And yet such hast was made to haue preuented this mischiefe, that diuers had like by ouercharging Boates and Pinnaces, to haue foundred in the Seas, the Billowes going very high. And in that case was our Reare-Admirall amongst others, who for hast to this banquet tooke his Row Barge, and was so ill able in her to indure the Seas that were rough, and went high at that time, as that I by chance seeing him so ill bested, & in danger was faine to clap him aboord with a good stout shipboat that I was in, hauing made hast also to that feast as fast as I could. But in conclusion wee came all too late, for the broth was growne to hot for our supping. To behold her thus flaming was a grieuous sight to vs, but a most wretched spectacle for the *Portugalls*, so to see their goods by their owne deedes and fury, to perish with fire and water in a goodly vessell, iudged to bee 1800. Tunnes at the least. Shee was a whole night, and all the next day in burning, and in beholding her, you might haue seene the very shape, Cordage, Masts, and Furniture of a Ship so perfectly in fire, as no Painter could haue halfe so well resembled it with Art, or Colours. And when she was cleane consumed to the water, there arose still a great smoake out of the Sea for many houres after, by reason of some close Decks full of Spices and Sugar vnder water, which the fire had taken hold of. Carack of 1800. Tunnes

This Tragedy ouerpast, wee then fell againe to looke out for our Army comming, but all in vaine. *For if in any time, for fiue dayes together after their landing, they had come forwards from* Villa Franca, *the Towne of Saint* Michaels, *and the Carack also had beene our owne, safe without question: For if our forces had in all that time inuested themselues of the Towne (which they might haue done, there being neither Walles nor Bulwarkes to hold them out) the Carack would haue runne her selfe a ground, vnder the Towne as shee did: or if shee had, then had shee fallen into the hands of our Generall, and his Troupes: or, if shee had kept a Sea-board, then had shee fallen into the mercy of our Fleet, which by no meanes she could haue escaped. But it was a losse then as vnexcusable, as lamentable, for that no good reason could bee yeelded (as was thought) nor durst bee diuulged, why so gallant a Company, so easily landed for so good a purpose, should so long linger in a little Towne, forgetting themselues and the whole Army, vpon Fruits and Wine, to the neglecting of the seruice determined. But it was manifest, that besides their pleasure and good cheer, the great store of Oade, Corne, and Salt, did intice some Land men of good credite, (who had Ships there of their owne) rather to take the peaceable, and priuate benefit thereof, then to vndergoe some paine and perill, for the winning of Saint* Michaels *Towne, for the publike good. And this was a piece of seruice very vnfortunately neglected, but vpon what good reason I could neuer learne. And I am perswaded, that if his Lordship had built lesse vpon some mens violent counsells, and vaine conceits, hee might haue done many things better, and long haue liued in great prosperitie. But all his care was to content and winne vnto him, certaine Politithens and Marshall men, whom notwithstanding (according to the custome of the world) hee found many times vngratefully to deale with him, to serue their owne turnes, drawing him withall into ambitious humours, and affectation of popularitie, which, with our Great men rarely succeeds well. And very strange it was, to see so many great fortunes lost in this one iourney; but that the very Heauens did in them (like Comets) foreshew the heauy and lamentable destiny, that traced our Generall towards his end, whose bright shining felicitie was soone after eclipsed, and admirably metamorphosed into ruine and destruction. Onely this comfort remained to his friends, that hee ended his life with as great resolution, pietie, and penetencie, as was possible to bee expressed in the countenance & words of a man, vtterly diuorced from the world, and wholly deuoted to celestiall Contemplation, to the vndoubted comfort of his Soule.*

We, from the ships looking thus still in vaine, for those that neither came nor sent vnto vs, whereby we lost all opportunitie of watering and refreshing our selues: for we in the *Wastspite*, and diuers of our Consorts, had not watered since our setting out from *Plimouth*) began to resolue to goe to our Generall, seeing wee could neuer heare from him in all that time. And as we were entring into this deliberation, wee might perceiue the Admiralls Ship by her Flag turning out from the point of *Villa Franca*: And two dayes before, many of our great Ships had left the Reare-Admirall, contrary to the Generall his order, which wee durst not breake in the *Wastspite*, by a late cautat, because it was flat contrarie to that which was appointed by a Councell, and the Generall his command. But as soone as wee had descried the Admirall (by his Flag) putting roome; our Reare-Admirall tooke his Barge, and Captaine *Morgan* with him, and rowed to him: and the same night sent Captaine *Morgan* backe againe, with directions in the Generalls name, to command all the Fleet to weigh, and to come for *Villa Franca*. *This was no little griefe to vs all, that had so long and diligently waited on Saint* Michaels *Towne, and looked to haue had a better account of that place, then so barely and abruptly to leaue it after all these offers. And (to say the truth) it was either a grosse ouersight, or a wilfull fault vnexcusable to the State, that it was not in better sort manned. For (no doubt) they would willingly haue ransomed their Towne, rather then haue abidden the fortune of the Warres by Sword and Fire, and wee had amongst vs, men of sufficient experience to deale in such compositions, which (for ought I know) they might doe.* Thus, with griefe and discontent we

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left Saint *Michaels* good Towne, the Inhabitants whereof wauing their Auncients, and ſhooting off their Ordnance, in great ioy triumphed to ſee this vnexpected modeſt departure of the whole Fleet, on a ſudden without any further trouble: And to mee it was ſtrange to ſee the Coronells and Captaines, that a little before were ſo forward and violent to haue landed at the *Tercera*, being a place ſo difficult to attempt, and of ſo great ſtrength, to bee now ſo ſlow to come forwards to Saint *Michaels* Towne, that had neither Ditch nor Wall about it, they being already landed for that purpoſe.

But now approached the time of the yeere, that brings with it violent ſtormes, and extreame foule weather to thoſe Ilands. In regard whereof, as alſo for that opportunitie was now paſt of doing any more good to our ſelues, or damage to our Enemies; vpon the meeting of the whole Fleet before *Villa Franca*, a generall commandement was giuen, that all ſorts ſhould with all ſpeed repaire aboord their owne Ships, for the Wind and Seas began to riſe too high to ride there any longer. And now our laſt worke, was to prouide for our returning againe into *England*: And therupon all the haſt and preparation that could bee, was made with the helpe of the ſmall Pinnaces and Boates to conuey all our troupes aboord. Wherein, the beſt ſort of Commanders ſpared no paines nor trauaile, and eſpecially our Generall himſelfe, who in his owne perſon was twice in very great danger of tumbing into the Seas, about the imbarking of the Souldiers, in ouercharging his own Boat with thoſe vnruely people, amongſt whom at ſuch times, it is hard to keep any order or moderation. And much trouble there was (conſidering the rough weather, and how the Seas rowled) to get all our Land men aboord. Beſides, our Ships began to find more tickle ryding in that wild Road, then wee ſhould haue done eight dayes before at *Gratioſa*, where wee loſt the *Indian* Fleet by tarrying one night. But now at our departure from *Villa Franca*, for a farewell the *Spaniards* and *Portugues* preſented vs with a braue skirmiſh, which being throughly anſwered, the Generall there did make certaine Knights. Our Army being thus brought aboord, and many ſicke men amongſt them, by reaſon of their lauiſh diet aſhoare, where they more weakened themſelues then the Enemy. This Towne alſo was left intire, neither fired nor demoliſhed. But vpon what conſiderations I know not, vnleſſe out of gratitude for the hoſpitalitie, Oade, Corne, and Salt, which it had alreadie yeelded: or elſe out of a prouident regard to leaue them in caſe to bee able to entertaine vs another time, or rather for ſome pettie ranſome to ſome particular perſons that were more capable then our Generall, in vouchſafing to take any benefit whatſoeuer. For ſure I am, that ſome reaſon there was, if I could light on it, wherein the Oademongers, and Corne Merchants might doe well to helpe mee, for they (I thinke) can ayme neereſt to the marke.

Preparation for returne.

Knights made.

The ninth of October, 1597. wee ſet ſaile from *Villa Franca* for *England*, with a faire leading winde for three or foure dayes together, and then it grew ſcanter and ſcanter, and at laſt ſtarke nought and flat in our teeths, with ſuch great ſtormes, foule weather, and exceeding high grown Seas, as that many of our Fleet were much puzzeled in the nights in falling foule one of another. Inſomuch that the *Mary Roſe*, by meere careleſneſſe of the Maſter, and his Mates, had like to haue ſtemmed the *Waſtſpite*, if wee had not beene very carefull and diligent to auoid the ſudden and emminent danger: which, yet wee eſcaped ſo narrowly, as that the *Mary Roſe*, with her Beake head, tore away all the Gallery on the Lardboord ſide of the *Waſtſpite*. This ſtorme on a ſudden ſeparated all the Fleet, and wee in the *Waſtſpite* after this ſhocke, had ſundry dangerous leakes breake out vpon vs, in ſuch ſort, as that much to doe wee had by pumping and all other meanes to keepe her aboue water, being a very new ſhip, but withall the weakeſt built Veſſell that euer ſwam in the Seas of her burden, and carrying ſuch great ſtore of huge Ordnance as ſhee did, moſt of the which wee were inforced to ſtrike downe into hold, to eaſe her labouring ſides that hourely were like to flye aſunder. Beſides all this, wee were in ſo great want of Freſh-water and drinke, as that I offered to giue to one of the Victuallers of the Fleet, ſixe Cheſts of Sugar, for ſixe Hogſheads of Freſh-water, and yet could not haue it at any hand: Inſomuch as wee were faine to begin to ſet our great Stills on worke, to prouide for the worſt the beſt wee could. For if the ſtorme had longer held in that violence, wee might haue taken the choice, whether we would haue beene drenched in the Salt-water, or choaked aboord our Ship for want of freſh. For with the extreamitie of this Northeaſterly ſtorme, we were put back cleane from our courſe and coaſt, into no little deſpaire. And as wee in the *Waſtſpite*, ſo were all the reſt of the Fleet (as I after learned) diſperſed aſunder, inſomuch that ſcarce ſly two ſhips in all the Nauie kept company together. But at laſt it pleaſed God, to ſend vs more faire and fit windes, wherewith wee brought our ſelues againe into our due courſe, and within three or foure dayes wee began to meet with one another, ſtragling and ranging in the Seas. And after that, wee in the *Waſtſpight* chanced alſo to deſcry our Generall, by his mayne Flag (as farre as wee could ken) wayted on onely with two little Barkes, who ſixe or ſeuen dayes before, was attended with foureſcore ſayle of good Ships. A true type of this worlds inconſtant pompe, which the winde and Seas did faithfully teach vs not to build too much vpon. And I would our noble Generall, for his owne ſake and better fortune, had made that good obſeruation thereof.

Their returne.

Want of water.

Stills.

When wee had thus met our Generall, and had hayled and ſaluted one another, with all the ioy

ioy that might bee, wee conferred of our course, and began to consult thereof with the aduise of our Masters and Pylots. Wherein, ours in the *Waste-spight* somewhat varyed from the opinion of the Generals Nauigatours, but yet we submitted our selues, and our skill, to the wisedome and authoritie of his Ship, whose Directions wee were to follow. And withall, wee made knowne vnto his Lordship our great leakes, and scarsitie of Drinke, who told vs very Honourably, that we should want no helpe that hee could yeeld vs, and therefore he straightly charged vs to keepe his course, and to follow his Light, which wee did obserue, though our Master was very vnwilling thereunto, assuring himselfe, that our Generals Master was mistaken, and besides his course, by too much crediting the perswasions and Art of one *Iohn Danis* a great Nauigator reputed, who at that time sayled much of his Pilotage, and coniecture for the *Sleeue*, to the no little hazard of the whole Fleet, as afterwards was seene. During this forenamed Storme, sundry Birds came flying into our Ships, when wee were two hundred leagues from our owne Coast. First, there fell into vs an *Owle*, then a *Tassell*, and a *Falcon*, one of the which wee tooke. and brought into *England*, then at the last, a *Dowe* lighted on our Maine-yard, which we all liked well, and tooke it as a presage of faire weather towards, and so (thankes bee to God) it succeeded presently after two dayes. After wee had thus met with our Generall, and being well aduanced on our way for the *Sleeue*, and as we coniectured not farre from the entrance of the Channell, wee began of all hands to fall a sounding for ground, and the next day found it, though indeed by that sounding I saw few the wiser, or the more assured of the Coast. For it was the Banke of *Silley*, but none could say so, nor then so iudge it, but onely the Master of our Ship, whose name was *Broadbant*, a carefull man and a right good Mariner. For in the Generals ship, they were all of a contrary opinion, and according to their Errour shaped their course, with straight commandement giuen to vs, and to the rest that were in his traine, to follow his Light and course. The which we did very diligently, my selfe indeed being most in fault for it. For the Master was loath so to doe, but that I vrged our dutie to the Generals commandement, and our danger in breaking it by former experience. And therefore I watched, and stood by the Helme, and Bitackle, most part of that night, to see it performed, though with much repining of the Master, and his Mates, against this dangerous Course as they feared it. Birds.

This sounding of ours, so much in practice, and yet many times bringing no great certainty withall, makes me now call to minde, an odde conceit and speech of a Spanish *Prisoner, which the Generall gaue me to this Iourney, but neuer yeelded me other Ransome then some faire promises and smooth discourses: For hee after corrupted or bribed his keeper (a Captaine of a Pinnace) to whom I had committed him in charge, and very cleanely conueyed himselfe away, without euer bidding me farewell. Howbeit others found better fruites of their Prisoners, which the Generall gaue vnto them.*

This Spaniard *of mine was a Gentleman, and a Souldier, but had of late yeeres, traded the West* Indies *by way of Merchandize: With whom I one day talking and discoursing of their Voyages and Nauigations (wherein hee was very well experienced) amongst other things hee told me, that in their Nauigation from the* Indies, *they sought out* Spaine *in a more certaine and gallant manner, then wee did* England. *For (said he) wee seeke out our Coast aloft with our Eyes, by the Heauens, by the Sunne, and Starres, and with the vse of Art, and Instruments, which seldome or neuer failes. But you (said he) that seeke for* England, *when you are to runne into narrow Seas, are (as I heare say) inforced for your surest Directions (like men blindfold) to search vnder the water, and to scrape with Lead and Tallow to the bottome for Bankes, Sands, and Shelues, as if you would rake Hell for instructions; to finde out the Channell, which you call the* Sleeue, *and yet for all your soundings, are oftentimes mistaken. I answered him againe, indeed it was true, that our Humilitie taught vs, to goe by the ground: Whereat their Pride led them to gaze aboue the Clouds, and by that meanes so dazeled their Eyes, as that they did often stumble vpon such men of Warre, that now vsed as well to sound* Spanish *Pockets, as the* English *Sleeue. Whereat my* Spaniard *smiling, and shaking his Head, said, hee could not well denie it, hauing so lately made too true experience thereof. For indeed hee was throughly rifled and ransackt of good short Wares, before that euer hee came to my hands. These words of his I remembred, and found true vpon our soundings, and the vncertaine coniectures thereof, with varieties of opinions.*

For after wee had all found ground, all that Night wee held on so precisely in following our Generals light, as that very early in the Morning, with the first peepe of day, wee in the *Waste-spight* looking about, found our selues on the North-side of *Silley*. Which when with cold comfort wee had perfectly made, and perceiued with all our narrow escapes in that darke Night, hard alongst the Rockes called the *Bishop*, and his Clarkes: wee began of all hands to looke out for our comforts. And then wee discryed our Generall and diuers with him, aduanced some three leagues before vs, bearing in with all Sayles towards the Coast of *Wales*.

The morning was very close and foggie, and the Generall steering North-east, in stead of East and by North, ranne right with the Sands of the *Welch* Coast, on which in that darke weather hee had stricken; and perished, if hee had held on, but a few houres longer. But on the contrary, although wee resolued not to lose the sight of his Lanthorne, yet wee kept our selues as farre to the East as wee could, and yet wee were scarce able to double *Silley*, but fell close aboord it, and a little to the North of it, at the breake of day. All which when I perceiued

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(the later Watch being mine, and the Reare Admirall being gone to rest) I did instantly command the Master Gunner to shoot off a great Piece to cause them to looke about, but both our Master, and the Master Gunner were so mad at me for forcing them to follow this course, as that they would hardly haue suffered a warning Piece to bee shot, but said, they deserued to taste the perill of their owne wilfulnesse, hauing brought themselues and all the Fleet, cleane out of the way into this danger. And out of very rage and discontent, these men had quite forgotten all Dutie and Charitie, and would by no meanes haue bestowed a shot vpon them, to alter them from that vnsafe course, but that I vrged their Durie, and inforced them to shoot, and shoot againe three or foure times, one after another, much against their wills.

Whereupon we might within a little time, plainly perceiue our Admirall with all his Traine, to tacke about, finding their owne Errours, as afterwards they confessed. And therefore presently they beat it vp, to double the Cape of *Silley*, thereby to enter the *Sleeue*, which with much adoe they performed. But we in the *Wast-spight*, being now by this time shot in alongst the North side of *Cornewall*, almost as farre as Saint *Ines*, our ship being extreame weake and leakie, and our Drinke and Water come to the last cast, at very bare allowance, wee durst not againe put to the Seas in these wants, and in a Vessell so ill able to beat it vp against the winde, to double againe the Point of *Silley*, whereby to recouer the *Sleeue*. And therefore stood alongst the Coast, and that night anchored before Saint *Ines*, where wee found sundry *Spanish* Carauels, and Flee-boates of the *Spanish* Fleet, which was set out vnder the *Adelantado*, to haue incountred vs at our returne from the Ilands, but were all dispersed and tossed with the same Storme, that before had scattered vs, which fell out very happily. For if wee had met, wee must haue tryed the Battell, chiefely by Boording, or else trusted to our Sayles, for that our best and greatest Ordnance (for the ease of our Ships in these stormes) were stricken downe vnder hold. So that wee should haue found great disaduantage, to haue incountred with a Nauie, comming strong and fresh from the Maine, and wee tired, and scattered a sunder, with a long and painfull Voyage. Herein was Gods fauour and mercy mightily shewed towards all sides: For by this Storme, which so furiously for the time afflicted vs, were wee, and that *Spanish* Fleet vnder the *Adelantado* seuered, and kept from incountring, which had cost much blood, and mischiefe: and to say a truth, in all likelihood, the worst might haue fallen to our shares.

Spanish Fleet dispersed.

For when wee had left the Ilands and were once bresse sayled for *England*, I obserued, that before the Storme, diuers of our best Ships, made all the haste they could homewards, neuer following nor attending the Admirals course, nor light. Which is an Errour too much vsed amongst vs, and very disorderly and dangerous, as would haue beene well found, if the *Adelantado* had then met with any of those straglers, or with the Admirall himselfe homewards bound, so slenderly accompanied.

Disorderly haste homewards.

Which manner of disorder and scattering, in the Conduct of a Royall Nauie, especially in so long a Voyage, is very fit to bee straightly reformed.

These *Spanish* Flee-boates and Carauels, had made many landings by stealth, on that side of *Cornewall*, and put the Countrey in great frights, and amazements: especially, vpon the report of a great Fleet, that was comming after them for *England*. Whereupon our Reere Admirall from before the Saint *Ines*, left the Seas, and went a Land, to take some order for the Countrey of *Cornewall*, whereof hee was then her Maiesties Lieutenant, seeing it then in much amazement and feare, and so meant to goe ouer land to *Plimouth*, there to meet with our Generall.

From the Road of Saint *Ines*, the next morning, wee in the *Wast-spight* set sayle for *Kingroad*, and met with such foule weather, as that ouer against the flat *Holmes*, shee brake againe her Maine yard, which was before broken, and new fished in the beginning of this Voyage. But at last, with much adoe wee brought her about, to *Kingroad*, and within a few dayes after moored her safe in *Hungroad*, where I tooke speedie order for the paying, and discharging of her men, at the *Spaniards* cost, and also for the repayring of her decayes.

By this time wee also had newes, that our Admirall and the rest of our Fleet, were safely met, and arriued at *Plimouth*. And at the same instant also wee had intelligence, by a small man of *Brasil*, but newly come from *Corke* in *Ireland*, that Sir *Iohn Norris* President of *Munster*, and the Lord *Burgh* Deputie of *Ireland*, were both lately deceased.

Death of Sir *Iohn Norris* and Lord *Burgh*.

Of which two men, her Maiestie and the Realme had no small losse, being both Martiall men of as great worth, and seruice, as *England* bred in many yeeres before. And although it be no part of this matter to speake of them, yet their Deathes, being diuulged to vs at the same time, cannot be thought vnfit, or vnworthy (by the way) heere to be remembred and lamented.

After I had thus taken order with the Officers of the Ship at *Bristoll*, I receiued Letters from the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Admirall, for the accomplishing of that, which I had already (out of due consideration) gone in hand withall: I meane the discharging and paying of the Marriners and Souldiers, being to the number of foure hundred men, which would haue growne to a great, and needlesse expense, to haue kept them in pay and victuals vntill such time as I could haue sent vnto the Court, to receiue directions backe againe for the same. And therefore did first take vp monies vpon credit, and then by the Drum make knowne in *Bristow*, that there

were

were Sugars, Brasil wood, and Fernanbuck aboord o. r Ships, which I would presently make sale of, to those that would giue most for it, and not merchandize vnder hand, nor in secret, to the preiudice and deceiuing of her Maiestie. And, therefore, with the knowledge and aduice of the Master, the Purser, and Boatswaine of the Ship, and the Customer, and Searcher of *Bristow*, I landed those Wares in safe Cellers, and sold them to the best Chapmen in publique, testified vnder the hands of these Officers of the Citie, and of the Ship, for my discharge in that behalfe, and made thereof fiue hundred pounds. The which summe I deliuered to one *Askew* then Purser of the aduenture, to the end that hee by his Booke might pay the Mariners, and the Souldiers by the

c: Rowlands wages, and other poore men vnder my Charge, which was duely performed.

10 d *The which I haue beene the more prisse in rehearsall vnto you, for that I had* [illegible] *paines and care, in getting these Sugars, and Brasill wood aboord vs, one of our ships that was ready to founder in the Sea, before Saint Michaels, and abandoned to any that would aduenture to goe aboord her, to fetch away the lading. Which businesse (in that vacant time that the Armie lay at Villa Franca, and not before S. Michaels Towne) I put my selfe, and my Marriners vnto, and had not so much paines and trauell in the getting, as trouble and vexation afterwards to preserue it, whilest it was aboord, where I came to Kingsale, from the purloyning and stealing of the Mariners, and Officers of the Ship: and yet for all that, I dare vtter much more then I will speake, that if there had beene in some other of her Maiesties ships the like regard for those goods that were gotten, and of the prisoners taken in this Iourney, and as faithfully answered as were these, there then for all the crosses and wracke that had happened, it had fully returned to her Maiestie the double value of all the Charges, she had beene at for this Voyage. But it was strange to see, what carelesse courses were held in all such actions, as were set out by the State, and what poore returnes were made againe into the Exchequer. And therefore more strange, that the Prince could subsist so often to set out, such chargeable Voyages, without any manner of getting, more then to particuler persons. For so fell it out before in the* Indian *Voyage, when* Sancto Domingo, *and* Cartagena *were taken, and sacked by Sir* Francis Drake, *and when* Cades *in* Spaine *was* surprised, *and sacke by the* English *Armie, where was infinite wealth. But that of* Lisbona *in* Portugall, *vndertaken by Sir* Iohn Norris, *where the Suburbes did so abound with Merchandize and Spicarie, being wholly at the mercy and disposition of our Armie, was to be excused, for that our Ships kept not promise with him, in comming vp the Riuer, that should haue both assisted the land Armie with Munition and Victuals, and also carried away those Spiceries and rich Merchandize: wherein the Sea-men were greatly wanting, and taxed by the generall voyce. But in this Voyage, wee all saw and knew, that there were beside* Brasill *wee, three good Prizes taken that came from the* Hauana, *laden with Cochynella, and other rich Merchandize, besides the Siluer, Gold, Pearle, Ciuet, Muske, Amber-greece, which was amongst the Passengers. And those three Prizes (whereof one was about 400. Tunnes, by the report of those Merchants that came in them) were said, and valued to bee richly worth aboue foure hundred thousand Duckets. At the taking of them I stood in our Gallerie in the* Wast-spight, *with the Reere Admirall, and wee hailed and called vnto some, to inquire of their lading and Merchandize, and from what places they came, whereby wee learned, that they were come from the* Hauana, *very rich, and at the least to the value aboue said. Whereupon our Reere Admirall said vnto me in priuate, that although wee should be little the better for these rich Prizes, yet he was heartily glad for our Generals sake: because they would in good sort giue contentment to her Maiestie, so that there should bee no repining against the poore Lords for the expense of the Voyage. And for my better satisfaction in the value of them, I had caused mine owne Prisoner to giue me notice of the Ships, wherein hee had Aduentures, and according to the Rates thereof set downe vpon his owne knowledge; those three Ships could not be so little worth, as they all had formerly affirmed. Now if wee doe but looke into the husbandrie and prouidence of former Ages, and of the mightiest Empire, and best gouerned State that euer was, wee shall plainely see, that they euer tooke a more strict and iust account of the benefit of their gettings and Victories. And that it was an especiall regard of the* Roman *Consuls, and Generals, at their returne from a prosperous Warre, to render a plentifull gaine into the publique Treasurie, which made their State still able to subsist in their great actions. And many times their greatest and worthiest Captaines were deepely called in question, for imbeseling any part of such gettings, as amongst others, was that famous* Scipio, *surnamed* Africanus, *prosecuted in that kinde by the* Petilij, *notwithstanding his many great services to the Common-wealth. But what became of all these our gettings God knowes. Onely I heare, that there was a Composition made afterwards with her Maiestie for the Cochynella, and other Merchandize, not to a third part of that it was worth. For neither that, nor yet any of the other riches, could truely come to light or publique knowledge, because they were neuer faithfully certified vnder the hands and testimonies of sufficient Officers, when they were first taken: nor any of that which was preserued sold when wee came home, but onely to the Buyers aduantage. And yet in Conclusion, they that had so played the wise Stewards, in so prouiding for themselues, and their followers, had all the grace and gaine, from those that had more carefully and iustly intended the publique Seruice. But this generall neglect of truth and merit throughout the world, is the cause, that so few doe apply to follow those sincere and unprofitable courses: especially, seeing how many doe daily, by fraud and flatterie, finde shorter and smoother wayes to Honours, wealth, and preferment: Euen beyond all measure and expectation.*

Note touching priuate gaines and publike losse in many Expeditions.

Roman policie.

The Conclusion of the Worke, with some later Aduertisements touching His Maiesties Care for VIRGINIA.

WE haue now compassed the World in the Courses of so many Planets, euery of which had a peculiar wandering, and yet none erring from the publike benefit of the Vniuerse. And as in Geometricall compasses one foote is fixed in the Centre, whiles the other mooueth in the Circumference, so is it with *Purchas* and his Pilgrimes, in this Geographicall compassing: they haue their owne motions, but ordered in this Circumference, from, for, and by him which abideth at home in his Centre, and neuer trauelled two hundred miles from *Thaxted* in *Essex* (lately adorned and augmented with Franchises by his Maiestie) where hee was borne. All their lines tend to this Centre, and this Centre to the Basis and Ground thereof, that is to his Country, to the honour and benefit wherof, he and all his are due. All Nations dance in this Round to doe the *English* service, and *English* Trauellers here enioy the Mayne; others the By, to attend, and with their Trauels to perfect the *English*, at lest the knowledge of the World to the *English*.

The Map of England.

ANGLIA
Pars Scotiæ
REGNI
HIBER-
NIÆ PARS
Hibernicum
mare
MARE VERGIVIUM
GERMANICUS
OCEANUS
Gallic
confinia
Meridies
Dublyn
Waterford
Bangor
Dundalk
Caryck
Angleſey
Carnarvan
Barnſley
Halyhead
Hartland point
Lezard point
Falmouth ha.
Salcombe
Portland
Wight
Yarmouth
Lincolne
Yorke
Durham
Carlisle
Berwick
Newcaſtel
Hexham
Lancaſter
Manchester
Liuerpoole
Chester
Shrewsbury
Worcester
Glocester
Oxford
Buckingham
Stafford
Northampton
Leiceſter
Nottingham
Derby
Lincolne
Norwich
Cambridge
Ely
Bedford
Hertford
Stamford
Huntington
Barwick
Northumberland
Cumberland
Weſtmerland
Bishoprick
Yorkeſhire
Lancaſhire
Cheſhire
Shropſhire
Staffordſhire
Warwickſhire
Leiceſterſhire
Lincolneſhire
Nottinghamſhire
Derbyſhire
Yorkeſhire
Norfolke
Suffolke
Cambridgeſhire
Huntingtonſhire
Bedfordſhire
Hertfordſhire
Middleſex
Eſſex
Kent
Surrey
Suſſex
Hampſhire
Berkſhire
Oxfordſhire
Buckinghamſhire
Northamptonſhire
Rutlandſhire
Glocesterſhire
Monmouthſhire
Herefordſhire
Worceſterſhire
Radnorſhire
Montgomeryſhire
Denbighſhire
Flintſhire
Merioneth
Caernarvonſhire
Anglesey
Carnarvan
Denbigh
Flint
Chester
Shrewsbury
Ludlow
Worcester
Hereford
Radnor
Brecknock
Monmouth
Glocester
Oxford
Reading
Windſor
Kingſton
Guilford
Darkeing
Lewes
Haſtings
Rye
Winchelſey
Canterbury
Sandwich
Dover
Rochester
Maidſtone
Tunbridge
Arundel
Chichiſter
Portſmouth
Southampton
Winchester
Baſingſtoke
Newbery
Abingdon
Wallingford
Henley
Aylesbury
Buckingham
Brackley
Northampton
Oundle
Peterborough
Stamford
Grantham
Boſton
Lincolne
Gainsborough
Retford
Doncaſter
Yorke
Ripon
Richmond
Durham
Newcaſtel
Morpeth
Berwick
Alnwick
Hexham
Carlisle
Penrith
Cockermouth
Whitehaven
Lancaſter
Preſton
Wigan
Warrington
Manchester
Liuerpoole
Chester
Nantwich
Namptwich
Middlewich
Northwich
Macclesfield
Congleton
Newcaſtel
Stone
Stafford
Lichfield
Tamworth
Coventry
Warwick
Birmingham
Worceſter
Droitwich
Bewdley
Kidderminſter
Bridgnorth
Shrewsbury
Wenlock
Ludlow
Leominſter
Hereford
Weobley
Ledbury
Tewkeſbury
Glocester
Cirencester
Malmeſbury
Chippenham
Marlborough
Newbery
Reading
Abingdon
Oxford
Woodſtock
Chipping Norton
Banbury
Brackley
Towcester
Daventry
Northampton
Harborough
Leiceſter
Melton Mowbray
Oakham
Uppingham
Stamford
Market Deeping
Spalding
Boſton
Sleaford
Grantham
Newark
Lincolne
Gainsborough
Retford
Workſop
Doncaſter
Pontefract
Wakefield
Leeds
Halifax
Yorke
Thirſk
Northallerton
Richmond
Durham
Darlington
Newcaſtel
Morpeth
Alnwick
Ber

YEa, in this *English* Centre also I haue chosen the Centre of that Centre, the Renowmed Name of Queene ELIZABETH; to which, because Mortalitie hath depriued vs of her Person, wee haue added that of King IAMES; the All that is left vs of Queene ELIZABETH, and more then that *All* in further perfection of Sexe and Arts. With those auspicious Names, as the faire Starres in the Constellations of both Poles, our Pilgrimes beganne their Progresse; by the Light of those two Eyes of Great *Britaine*, they haue taken view of the World, and therefore heere wee end in our Pilgrimage with those two auspicious Names.

His Maiestie first (for *Brute* is vncertaine) hath combined a Trinitie of Kingdomes into an Vnitie, *Petiit ex in gentem vnam*, & made the Ocean the Way to his Inheritance, hath rooted out the wonted barbarisme of Borderers, of *Scottish* Feuds, of *English* Duells, of *Irish* Bogges; hath confirmed and fenced those crude and more indigested beginnings of our prosperitie; hath enioyed Soueraigne-rie longer then euer did any of *Britaines* Soueraignes (and still & still may we long long enioy him) hath giuen so manifold securitie against the extreamest and most *fatall* rigor, both in number, weight and worth of Royall pledges.

The Map of Great Britaine and Irland.

He is beyond comparison compared with others, a meere transcendent; beyond all his Predecessors, Princes of this Realme; beyond the neighbouring Princes of his own times, beyond the conceits of subiects dazled with such brightnes: Beyond our victorious *Debora* not in sex alone, but as Peace is more excellent then War, and

Salomon

Salomon then *David*. In this also that He *is*, and we enioy his present Sunshine; in regard of posteritie not onely sowing herein the fruit of his bodie, but of his learned mind, like a *Salomon* indeed by voluminous Writings: and not (which is more vsuall to Princes) with apophthegmes flashes recorded by others like *Saul* sometime *among the Prophets*. A Miracle and Oracle both this in politicall, publicke, morall, ecclesiasticall, positive Theology, and Bookes of deuotion also: that, in that his Royall body hath had the honour not to be polluted with women, abominations, whose *Seruus*. And as we haue trauelled abroad that wee may bring forraine rarities home, wee find no greater rarity abroad or at home then his Maiestie the Father of the Clergie, the raiser of so many Families to honour, and of honours to Families; whose bounty and clemencie none deny (but others beware least they perhaps haue *ill eyes, because his is good*) so honoured of his Subiects with awfull loue, with louing awe, that himselfe hath professed no King hee in his superiour: and we can, and all History will professe with vs, that *England* neuer enioyed better daies then vnder her deceased Mother, and the present *Rex Pacifer*, who hath secured *Britaine* in peace and prosperitie, whiles all Christian Kingdomes haue beene shaken with warres: and that, which alone hath escaped the Lions, hath beene bitten by the Adder, the *Spanish* Dominions being coasted, braued, spoiled of thousands of their people, besides wealth and security, by the baseſt of enemies, the *Algier* Pirates. Thus at home doth Great *Britain* enioy this Gem of Goodnes, the best part of the Kingdome of the worlds Greatnes: & abroad, we see that as Gods Steward to others also, His Maiestie hath ballanced the neerer World by his prudence, by iustice of commerce visited the remoter, by truest fortitude without wrong to any man conquered the furthest North, and by iustest temperance disposed the ouerflowing numbers of his Subiects, not in Intrusions and Inuasions of weaker Neighbours, but in the spacious *American* Regions, (some thinly, others not all inhabited) to breed New *Britaines* in another World. We haue giuen Voyages thorow this Booke, and being now returned home and fixed on so illustrious a Name, I meane to trauell no more, here I hang vp my Pilgrims weeds; here I fixe my *Tabernacle, it is good to bee here*: wee haue brought all the World to *England*, *England* it selfe to the greatest of her Soueraignes, King IAMES.

1. *Sam.* 10.

But yet the mention of his Maiesties Plantations, makes me gratefully to mention his gracious care of the same, euen since the former *Virginian* Relations were printed. I then left *Virginia* with some griefe and sorrow, because of her distracted Children and Fathers, the diuisions and mutuall distasts of the Company here and Planters there, sighing to God for them, who hath put in his Maiesties heart to compassionate these his Subiects, and hauing appointed the Gouernment to be according to a Commission in that Case directed, hath to further *Virginias* gaine beene content to suffer the losse of many thousands yeerly in his Royall Customes arising out of Tobacco (so I haue heard deliuered in open Court) that so only that of the New Plantations may bee vendible till the Colonie may recouer greater strength.

His Maiestie is also pleased to send a Running Armie of Souldiers to scoure the Countrey of the vnneighbourly malicious Naturalls; and to secure the planters from their priuie ambushments. For openly they dare not attempt, but lurking in secret places attend aduantages. I feare not but so bright a Sunshine will quickly produce blessed effects.

Of their vndertakers for three yeeres Tobacco, I lust not to speake, because I wish, and euen from that vndertaking, shortly expect better commodities from thence then Tobacco. I cannot but magnifie His Maiesties care, and manifest that also of the Honorable Lords of the Councell, who after diligent search of *Virginian* Affaires the last yeare 1623. appointed Captaine *Iohn Harvey*, Master *Iohn Pory*, Master *Abraham Persy*, Master *Samuel Matthews* to search further into the diseases and possible remedies of that plantation. In *Februarie* and *March* last a gene-

rall

rall Assembly was summoned, and questions propounded to Sir *Francis Wiat* Gouernour and the said Assembly: First, what places in the Countrey were best and most proper to be fortified or maintayned both against *Indians* or other Enemies. Secondly, concerning the present state of the Colonie in reference to the Sauages. Thirdly, touching the hopes really to be conceiued of the Plantation, and fourthly touching the Meanes thereunto, &c. Their answere I know not whether I may publish in other things; In this one I presume, for better confirmation of what hath beene said before to incite and confirme Mens affections to *Virginia*; namely their answere to the third, subscribed (as the rest) by about thirty chiefe mens hands. We hold it to be one of the goodliest parts of the Earth, abounding with Nauigable riuers full of varietie of Fish and Fowle; falling from high and steepe Mountaines, which by generall relation of the *Indians* are rich with Mines of Gold, Siluer, and Copper: another Sea lying within sixe dayes iourney beyond them, into which other Riuers descend. The soile fruitfull and apt to produce the best sorts of commodities, repleniſhed with many Trees for seuerall vses, Gums, Dyes, Earths and Simples of admirable vertues; Vines and Mulberry Trees growing wild in great quantities; the Woods full of Deare, Turkies, and other Beasts and Birds. Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *Thomas Dales* reports to the Company, concerning those praises were in no part hyperbolicall, nor any Countrey more worthy of a Princes care and supportance. Other reports concerning the healthfulnesse of the aire (especially where the ground is cleered of woods) and other needfull prouisions of the plantation in numbers of Men and Armes (which some had hyperbolically disgraced) and in all other necessaries, seeing the late massacre hath not permitted it better, I am glad & reioyce that it is no worse, and hope and pray for the fortunate increase thereof daily. I reioyce also to heare (by one lately returned thence, Master *Morell* a Minister and man of credit) that the affaires of *New England* are thriuing and hopefull, which two Colonies of *Virginia* and *New England* (with all their Neighbours) God *make as Rachel and Leah, which two did build the house of Israel*, that they may multiply into thousands, and there inlarge the *Israel* of God, and the Churches Catholike confines, doing *worthily* in *America*, and being *famous in Great Britaine*. These, with the rest of his Maiesties Dominions, and his neerest and deerest possession, Prince *Charles* his Highnesse, the Count *Palatine*, the Lady *Elizabeth* (more shining, more pure in her fiery trialls, and like the pressed palme, and her Royall Godmother, spreading her boughes the more by greater weight) with the sweet and princely Fruits of her wombe, still multiplied (like the *Israelites* vnder the Crosse) God preserue and prosper vnto the Maiesty of our Dread Soueraigne, the mighty Defender of the True Faith,

KING IAMES;

There is report also of an *English* Colony left by C. *North* in *Guiana* still continuing. *Ruth.* 4. 11.

Amen O AMEN.

The end of the tenth Booke.

FINIS.

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Wiues *conuted a dignitie among the Savages, the hauing of many of them only permitted to the King, and those that haue proued themselues braue fellows*, 1188, 1217. Wiues *and children sold for Hatchets and Knines*, 1208. Wiues *put away for adultery*, 1870
Sir Io. Winkfield *dyeth at the fight in* Cadiz, *in warlike manner buried*, 1932
Wolues *in* New-England *pursuing our English Dogs*, 1849. Wolues *in the* New-found-land *faning and playing with English masty dogs*, 1885
Womens *strange entertaining strangers among Savages*, 1717. Women *dancing starke naked*, 1618. *Indian* womens *modestie, yet familiaritie*, 1158, 1159. Women *got by valour among the Savages*, 1209. Women *Archers*, 1226. 1228. Women *with vgly bodies and good faces*, 1228. *Eight* women *bought for a red-hafted knife*, 1249. *A* woman *roasted*, 1272. Women *starke naked*, 1268 Women *goe before men in* Brasile, 1292. *Their agreement there among*

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among themselues, their chastitie if maried, but loosenesse vnmaried, 1341. *A* womans *price amongst the* Carios *of the* West Indies, 1357. Womens *toile among some Indians,* 1382. Women *that revenge the wrong of their husbands, not solitarily by themselues called* Amazons, 1437. Women (*no not Kings daughters*) *might not enter the Temple of the Sunne among the ancient inhabitants of* Peru, 1465. Womens *vsage and habite among some Indians of* Florida, 1524. Women *amongst the Indians put to vile slavery,* 1869. Women *not suffered to enter any of the Ships of the King of Spaines Armada,* 1901

Wonders *of the new World,* 1477.

Wood-bind, *a plant running on trees like a Vine, that causeth a vehement and harmlesse purging,* 1801

Wood *that maketh fish drunke,* 1272

Wood *of all colours,* 1670

Wood *as hard as iron,* ibid.

Words *of the Savages language in* Virginia, 1667

Wormes *how killed in the bodie,* 1311

Wormes *breeding great torment,* 1251. *Very pernicious in* Brasile, *but killed by Garlicke,* 1382. Wormes *poysoning water,* 1286. Wormes *devouring the flesh,* 1365. Wormes *very preiudiciall to ships without sheathing, vnder the Æquinoctiall,* 1387

Wounds, *how cured,* 1310, 1311

Wyanatses, *a towne in the* West-Indies, 1208

Wyapocoories, *inhabitants in a Province of* Guiana, 1271

Wywaypanami *Indians with shoulders higher then their heads,* 1285

X

XAlisco, *a Province neere the South Sea.* 1559. *The great losse of inhabitants in it by the Spanish inhumane cruelty,* 1581. *Eight hundred townes burned in those Realmes by Spaniards,* ibid.

Xalpa *Province discouered by the Spaniards,* 1559

Xaltenango *Province,* 1559

Xaqua, *a harbour in the Iland of* Cuba, 1500

Xaragua, *a dominion in the Ile* Hispaniola, *its King and Lords traiterously burnt by the Spaniards, the Queene hanged, the youths thrust through, or having their legs cut off, they that fled condemned to perpetuall slauerie,* 1572

Xualla, *a Province in* Florida, 1539

Y.

YAes, *Indians neere the River* Wyapoco, *their nature and description,* 1263

Yaguiana, *a towne in* Hispaniola, 1186

Capt. Yerdly *Deputy Governour in* Virginia, 1773. *His acts and exploits there,* ibid. & 1774

Yerua viua, *an hearbe that is sensible, and shrinkes at any mans touch, not resprouting till his departure,* 1174

Youghtanund, *inhabitants of* Virginia, 1692

Youwalprenay, *a towne of the* Caribes, 1285

Ytara *an* America Floridan *town,* 1533

Yraua, *a towne in* Florida, 1541

Yupaha, *an Indian country in* Florida, *ruled by a woman, her great town, commodities, and abundance of gold,* 1535

Yupanqui *an Emperour of* Peru, *before the Spanish conquest, his difficult attempts,* 1474. *He subdued the* Chunchus, *and so extended his Empire,* ibid. & 1475. *His assault of the* Chirihuana, *a Savage Nation, and successe, his proceeding to conquer* Chili. 1475 *his miraculous Fort and buildings, other acts and death,* 1477, 1478

Yuia Pari, *a River in* America, *the inhabitants thereabout tortured by the Spaniards,* 1587

Z.

ZAcheo, *a place so called,* 1186

Zapatula, *a place of* New-Spaine, 1558

Zemie, *an Indian Nation neere the Riuer of* Plate, 1363

Zemais Saluaisco, *Indians so called in the River* Paiana, *their description,* 1350, 1351

Zumpanga, *a towne of Indians,* 1418

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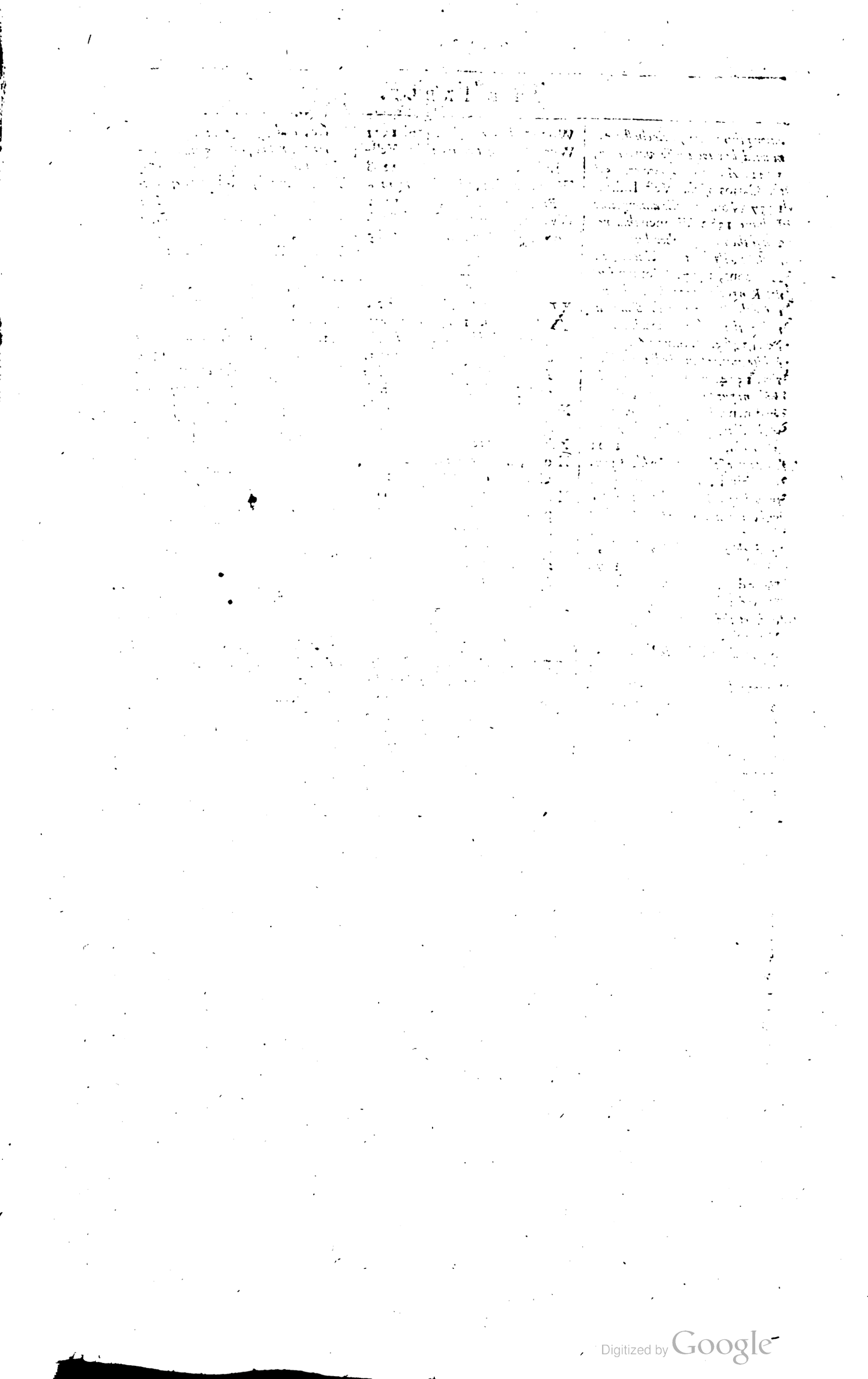

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